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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

AS WELL

Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. VII.

CONTAINING

The Reign of HENRY VIII, in whoſe Perſon were united the two *Houſes* of YORK and LANCASTER.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XV.

The Reign of HENRY VIII: *Containing the Space of Thirty Seven Years and Nine Months, with the* STATE *of the* CHURCH *of the* XVIth *Century.*

20. HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII, Son and Succeſſor of *Henry* VII, came to the Crown at the Age of eighteen Years, wanting a few Months *. My Lord *Herbert*, his Hiſtorian ſays, that the King his Father deſigned him at firſt for the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, becauſe having an elder Son, there was no likelihood that This would aſcend the Throne. And therefore, *continues he*, he took Care HENRY VIII. 1509.

* He was born *June* 28th, 1491, and came to the Crown *April* 22d, 1509.

1509. *His Education.* to have him instructed in all the Parts of *Learning* necessary for a Prince that was one Day to be a *Churchman*. He would have spoken more properly, if he had only said, that *Henry* VII had such a Design when he first put him upon his Studies. But as the young Prince was become his *Heir-Apparent* at the Age of eleven Years, it could not be with the same View that he made him pursue the Study of such Parts of Learning as were proper for a *Clergyman*. It is more likely therefore that the King his Father kept him to his *Studies* for fear his active and fiery Spirit should carry him to more dangerous Employments. He was only Son to Queen *Elizabeth*, Heiress of the *House of York*. Consequently he might have given the King his Father some Trouble, had he taken it into his Head to assert his Right as Heir to his Mother. But however *Henry* having taken a Relish for *Learning* in his younger Years, lost it not ever after. He always took a Pleasure in perusing good Books, and conversing with learned Men, even when the Hurry of Business, one would think, should have diverted him from such sort of Employments. By this Means he made such a Progress in the *Sciences* as is very uncommon to great Princes. *Francis* I, his Cotemporary, whom the *French* Historians call *the Father of the Muses*, was in this Respect far behind him. He spoke *French* and *Latin* very well and readily. He was perfectly well skilled in *Musick*, even to the composing himself two entire *Masses* for the use of his *Chapel*. He was exercised in the most abstruse Points of the *Aristotelian Philosophy* which alone was in vogue in those Days. But he applied himself chiefly to the Study of *Divinity*, as it was then taught in the *Universities*, all stuffed with vain and useless Questions. *Thomas Aquinas*'s *Summary* was his favourite Book.

Henry has good Conceit of himself. This Knowledge, which was considered as a great Accomplishment, even in ordinary Persons, had upon the young Prince an Effect which is not unusual. It gave him a good Opinion of himself, which had but

but too great an Influence upon all the Actions of his paſt Life. The exceſſive Commendations beſtowed upon him on all Hands, helped to confirm him in this good Conceit. When he was yet unexperienced in the Affairs of the *State*, he fancied himſelf very able; and this Self-Conceit was the Cauſe of his being often the Bubble of thoſe Princes with whom he had to do, as will amply appear in the Sequel of his Reign. 1509. *He is often impoſed upon.*

But in remarking that this Prince had a great deal of Self-conceit, I don't pretend to rob him of, or leſſen in any ways the noble Qualities he had from *Nature* or *Education*. In his Youth he was very handſome, and expert in all bodily Exerciſes, equal with or above any Prince of his Time. And therefore he was paſſionately fond of all thoſe Diverſions which gave him an Opportunity to ſhow his Activity. He was Couragious without Oſtentation, of a free and open Temper, an Enemy to Fraud and unfair Dealing, and above uſing indirect Means to compaſs his Ends. His Liberality perhaps was as much too Great as the King his Father's Avarice. One would think *Henry* VII had been ſollicitous to heap up Riches, on purpoſe to afford his Son the Pleaſure to ſquander them away without any Diſcretion. *His good Qualities.*

As *Henry* VIII upon his mounting the Throne, was little experienced in the Affairs of the Government, he made uſe at firſt of the King his Father's *Miniſters* and *Counſellors*. The Principal were, *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* [and Lord *Chancellor* of *England*] of whom *Erdſmus* * makes honourable mention ſome where in his Writings; *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, [*Secretary* and Lord *Privy Seal*,] who had been employed in the late Reign in the niceſt and moſt critical Affairs; *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surry*, [Lord *Treaſurer* of *England*] Son *His firſt Counſellors.*

* Of *Roterdam* came over into *England* in 1497, and ſtudied ſome Time in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. His Inſtructions mightily promoted the *new Learning*, and particularly the Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue.

1509. of the Duke of *Norfolk* ſlain at *Boſworth*-Field, fighting for *Richard* III. *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* Lord *Steward* of the King's *Houſhold*; *Thomas Ruthal Doctor* of Law; Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the *Garter* [*Controller*,] whoſe Name is ſtill famous for a *Statute* enacted in *Ireland* in the former Reign, whilſt he had the Government of that *Iſland*; Sir *Charles Somerſet* Lord *Herbert*, [of *Gower*, *Chapſtow* and *Rayland*,] Lord *Chamberlain* *.

Henry VII's *Funeral.*

Henry VII's Funeral was celebrated with great Magnificence in a few Days after his Death. His Body was interred at *Weſtminſter* in the *Chapel* he himſelf had built, and for the adorning whereof he had ſpaired no Coſt. This *Chapel* paſſed then for one of the ſtatelieſt in *Chriſtendom*. *Henry* VII, as covetous as he was, laid out fourteen Thouſand, ſome ſay Twenty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, a very conſiderable Sum in thoſe Days, when Money was much ſcarcer in *Europe* than it is at preſent *1.

The Lord Stafford *ſent to the Tower.*

While the Obſequies were preparing, the new King retired privately from his Palace of *Richmond*, to the *Tower* of *London*, under Colour of withdrawing on account of the King his Father's Death. But it was rather to ſettle with his *Miniſters* ſome Affairs which would not admit of Delay. Whilſt People imagined him taken up with his Devotions in his Retirement, he ordered the Lord *Stafford*, Brother of the Duke of *Buckingham*, to be apprehended. This was done in all probability upon ſome ſlight Suſpicion which ſoon blew over, ſince ſhortly after he was created *Earl of Wiltſhire*.

The

* To theſe my Lord *Herbert* adds, Sir *Thomas Lovel* Maſter of the *Wards*, and *Conſtable* of the *Tower*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, Sir *Henry Marney*, afterwards (1532) Lord *Marney*, Sir *Thomas Darcy*, afterwards (1511) Lord *Darcy*. Theſe he ſays were ſelected out of thoſe his Father moſt truſted, by the Counteſs of *Richmond* his Grandmother, and farther obſerves, that this *Council* was of *Scholars* chiefly and of *Soldiers*, without ſo much as one *Lawyer*, which he wonders at.

*1 His *Tomb*, perfected by his *Executors* 1519, coſt 1000*l*, which, as Money went then, might be thought a ſumptuous Monument. *Herb.*

The *See* of *Durham*, vacant by the Tranſlation of *Chriſtopher Bambridge* to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, was confered on *Thomas Ruthal* Doctor of Law, and one of the *Privy Council*. 1509. Ruthal *is made Biſhop of* Durham.

In a few Days after the King confirmed his Father's *General Pardon* granted before his Death. But all Offenders had not the Benefit of it. A *Proclamation* quickly appeared, wherein the King ſaid, that having been informed that his good Subjects had been oppreſſed under the ſpecious Pretenſe of preſerving the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, he gave them leave to bring their Complaints, and promiſed them Satisfaction. The Deſign of this *Proclamation* was not to reſtore to his Subjects the Sums the late King had unjuſtly extorted, but only to encourage People to exhibit their Complaints againſt *Empſon* and *Dudley*, the Inſtruments made uſe of by *Henry* VII, and to give them ſome ſort of Satisfaction by puniſhing theſe two *Miniſters*. XIII. 256. *General Pardon.* *Proclamation to encourage the People to complain.*

Upon iſſuing out this *Proclamation*, numberleſs *Petitions* were brought againſt them. This was what the Court wanted, not only becauſe theſe Men were odious to the whole Nation, but moreover to let the People ſee that the new King intended to rule in quite another Manner than the King his Father. Upon all theſe *Petitions*, *Empſon* and *Dudley* were called before the *Council*, where they were briefly told the principal Matters alledged againſt them. *Empſon* anſwered for both, and ſaid, *That* the Accuſation was of a very new and ſtrange Nature: *That* uſually Men were proſecuted for acting againſt the Laws, or diſobeying their Sovereign: But for their Part, they were accuſed by the People of putting the Laws in Execution, to which they themſelves had given their Conſent: *That* on the other Hand, the King called them to an Account for obeying the expreſs Orders of the King his Father, unheard of Crime, the Puniſhment whereof would be enough to Cauſe all his Subjects to rebell: *That* if they muſt be puniſhed for ſuch Offences, he deſired it might not be divulged to foreign Empſon *and* Dudley *are called before the Council.* Empſon's *Defence.* Herbert.

1509. Nations, leſt they ſhould infer from thence, that the final Diſſolution of the *Engliſh* Government was at Hand. To this it was briefly replied, That he had ſpoke with a great deal of Freedom; but that his Eloquence was fruitleſs and unſeaſonable: That they were not accuſed of putting the Laws in Execution, or of obeying the King; but of ſtretching the Laws beyond their due Bounds, and exceeding their Sovereign's *Commiſſion*, and that they had reaſon to fear theſe Accuſations were but too well proved. Then they were both committed to the *Tower*. The King was bent to make them an Example, in order to content the People who were extremely incenſed againſt them. So their Condemnation was reſolved upon before they appeared before the *Council*, though it was not yet well known on what to ground their Tryal. In any other Country, People would have been glad to ſee theſe two Men ſent to the Gallows by an Act of Sovereignty. But the Caſe is different in *England*, where the greateſt Criminals have Privileges which they cannot be debarred of, without giving ground to ſuſpect that the Court has a Deſign upon the Liberty of the Nation. It was neceſſary therefore to find out ſome expreſs Law whereby to condemn them. But upon examining the Matters alledged againſt them, great Difficulties occurred. It appeared that although they were accuſed of numberleſs Offences, nothing could be proved but their having put the Laws in Execution without Mercy. But notwithſtanding they had ſtretched theſe ſame Laws as far as the Words would bear, it could not be charged to them as a Crime, ſeeing they had the King's Warrant for it, in whom the Execution of the Laws is lodged. 'Tis true, *Henry* VII, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, had acted according to the utmoſt Rigour of the *Statutes*. But he might do ſo, and if the former Kings had done otherwiſe, it was more out of Condeſcenſion than Juſtice. Theſe two *Miniſters* then could not be tried for obeying him. Beſides, the condemning them for executing their Maſter's

They are ſent to the Tower.

Maſter's Orders was a publick Reproach to that Prince's Memory, and a renewing the remembrance of the Rigours he had exerciſed upon his Subjects. 1509.

Slight Accuſation againſt them.

It was reſolved therefore to put them to Death upon a falſe Accuſation, of their having an Intent to withdraw themſelves from their Allegiance to the King ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne. It is evident that this Accuſation had no manner of Foundation. For how could two Perſons ſo odious to the whole Nation, and ſtript of all Credit by the Death of *Henry* VII, be able to think of ſuch a Deſign, and ſtill much leſs to put it in Execution *. And yet there was no ſcruple made to take away their Lives for a forged Crime, becauſe it was believed they deſerved to dye, though the Law took no hold of them. Upon this frivolous Accuſation they were brought before their proper Judges, and found Guilty, whether falſe Witneſſes were ſuborned againſt them, or by a mental Reſervation hitherto unheard of in *England* in Tryals of this Nature. *Dudley* was tried at *London* the 16th of *July*, but *Empſon* not till the 14th of *October* at *Northampton*. *Henry* either out of Scruple, or from ſome other Motive, ſuſpended their Execution till the next Year.

They are condemned to dye.

Debate about the King's Marriage with Catharine of Arragon.

Whilſt Means were deviſing to diſpatch theſe two *Miniſters* out of the way, the King and his *Council* had an Affair of a much greater Conſequence to take into Conſideration. We have ſeen, in the former Reign, Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catharine* of *Arragon*, that Prince's Death without Iſſue, the Reaſons which induced King *Henry* VII to deſire that Prince *Henry*, become his Heir-Apparent, ſhould marry his Brother's Widow, the Conſent of *Ferdinand* and

* They were accuſed, as appears in their *Indictments* upon Record, of a Conſpiracy againſt the *King* and *State*, of ſummoning, during the late King's Sickneſs, certain of their Friends to be in Arms at an Hour's Warning; and upon the King's Death to haſten to *London*, from whence it was inferred by the *Jury* that they intended either to ſeize the King's Perſon, or to deſtroy him. *Herbert.*

1509. *Isabella* Father and Mother of the Princeſs, and Pope *Julius*'s Diſpenſation for that Purpoſe. The true Reaſon which made *Henry* VII propoſe this Match, was that he could not think of refunding the Hundred Thouſand Crowns he had received in Part of *Catharine*'s Dower. He was afraid moreover of loſing the other half which remained to be paid. In ſhort, he foreſaw that upon the receipt of the whole, he ſhould not be able to help letting the Princeſs his Daughter-in-law enjoy her Settlement of the Third Part of the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, and the County of *Cornwal*. But however, as it was not decent to urge ſuch a Motive to the Pope, to obtain a Diſpenſation for ſo ſtrange a Marriage, which could not but be looked upon as ſcandalous, 'twas pretended it would be requiſite in order to keep up a good Underſtanding between *Henry* VII and the King and Queen of *Spain*. That was the Motive alledged to the Pope, which he was very ready to think ſufficient, though there was but too great Reaſon to queſtion whether it was the true one.

Purſuant to the Pope's Diſpenſation, *Henry* and *Catharine* were ſolemnly affianced. Nevertheleſs, whether *Henry* VII had no Deſign but to over-reach *Ferdinand*, and to get out of his Hands the remaining hundred thouſand Crowns, or whether he was moved by the Remonſtrances *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made him upon the Score of this Match, he ordered it ſo, that the Prince his Son on the very Day that he entered into his fourteenth Year, made in the Preſence of certain Witneſſes a *Proteſtation* in form againſt the Conſent he had given. But this Proteſtation was kept ſo ſecret, that it came not to the Knowledge of the Publick till many Years after, when it was neceſſary to divulge it. Upon the News of *Henry* VII's Death, *Ferdinand* diſpatched to the Earl of *Fuenſalida* his Ambaſſador in *England* very ample Powers to renew the Treaty of Alliance made with the deceaſed King, ordering him withal to demand the Confirmation and Performance of that which was concluded

Act. Pub. XIII. 249. *May* 11.

concluded for *Catharine*'s ſecond Marriage with Prince *Henry* now become King of *England*. 1509.

Difficulties about the Marriage.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador having preſented a Memorial upon this Occaſion, it was debated in Council whether the King ſhould conſummate his Marriage with *Catharine*. This Matter was agitated with great Earneſtneſs. Againſt the Marriage it was alledged, that a Man's marrying his Brother's Widow was a Thing unheard of among *Chriſtians*: That ſuch a Match was contrary to the Law of God, and therefore it was a queſtion whether the Pope had a Power to diſpenſe with it. This was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Opinion, who could not help conſidering the Marriage as downright Inceſtuous. But *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was of another Mind. He ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the Pope's Diſpenſation, and the unlimited Power of *Chriſt*'s *Vicar*. He affirmed, that ſeeing the Pope had given a Diſpenſation, it was a certain Proof that he had the Power, and that was enough to ſatisfy the King's Conſcience: That no Perſon upon Earth could limit or ſo much as enquire into the *Papal* Authority; and though ſuch a Power ſhould be aſcribed to a *General Council*, yet the *Council* of *England* could not pretend to it. To theſe Arguments concerning Conſcience, the Biſhop added others drawn from Reaſons of *State* and the King's Intereſt. He ſaid, that in all likelihood the King would have, during the Courſe of his Reign, many Diſputes with *France*, *England*'s old Enemy, and whether the War ſhould be *offenſive* or only *defenſive*, an Alliance with *Spain* was abſolutely neceſſary: That the ſending back the Princeſs *Catharine* after her being betrothed, would be an Affront to King *Ferdinand*, which he would certainly revenge by making a League with *France*, which could not but endanger *England*, or at leaſt put the Nation to a vaſt Expence: That moreover, if the King refuſed to conſummate his Marriage with *Catharine*, he muſt reſolve either to reſtore her Dower, or let her enjoy her Settlement: But by marrying her he would ſave the Hundred Thouſand Crowns

Reaſons for and againſt it.

1509. Crowns the King his Father had received, get a Hundred Thousand more which the King of *Arragon* was to pay, and avoid the Charge he would be at in marrying another Princess, who could not be brought into *England* without great Expence. In a word, he dwelt upon the sweet and virtuous Temper of the Princess of *Wales*, which was capable of making a Husband perfectly happy. Adding, there was no room to question but that the Princess was still a Virgin, since she herself affirmed as much, offering withal to submit to be tried by Matrons, in order to show that she spoke the Truth.

Pol. Virg.

Henry *resolves to marry* Catharine.

All these Reasons, except the first relating to the Dispensation, were very strong. As to that, it was so dangerous for a *Churchman* to dispute the Pope's Authority, especially such a Pope's as *Julius* II, who was still in his Vigour, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* durst not persist openly in his Opinion. So the King closing with the Bishop of *Winchester*'s and almost the whole *Council*'s Sentiments, it was resolved that he should consummate his Marriage. But first he required of the Princess that she should renounce by a solemn *Act* her Dower of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, and consent that the said Sum should belong to the King her Spouse, to be claimed again neither by herself nor Heirs, nor by King *Ferdinand* her Father, nor Queen *Joan* her Sister, nor any Person living, on any Pretence whatever. Two Days after the Earl of *Fuensalida* made the like Renunciation in the Name of King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Joan*. *Catharine*'s *Letters Patents*, wherein she stiles herself only *Princess of Wales*, bearing date *June* the 7th, it is evident that the King married her not on the Third of that Month, as Historians affirm, and that it was not at soonest before the Day these *Letters* were signed. Their Coronation was solemnized on the 24th of the same Month, and five Days after died *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond* and *Derby*, the King's Grandmother *.

Act. Pub. XIII. 251. Jun. 7.

Ibid. p. 253.

Death of the Countess of Richmond.

In

* She was buried at *Westminster*.

In the Beginning of his Reign *Henry* willingly left to his *Council* and *Miniſters* the Care and Management of his Affairs. As he was in Peace with all his Neighbours, what paſſed in the Kingdom could not keep him much employed. He bent his Thoughts to ſuch Pleaſures and Diverſions, as were more ſuitable to his Years than Application to Buſineſs. But as he was naturally liberal, the Entertainments he gave at Court were not made without a very great Expence. The antient Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Henry* VII's old *Miniſter*, could not help murmuring to ſee the Money laviſhed away without any Neceſſity, which his deceaſed Maſter had heaped up with ſo much Care, Pains and Injuſtice, in which he had been himſelf employed. He threw all the Blame upon the Earl of *Surry*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, who had been his Rival in the late King's Favour, and continued to be ſo ſtill in the preſent King's, by endeavouring to win the Affection of his new Maſter by a blind Compliance to his Will. During *Henry* VII's Life he was more cloſe, and harder to part with Money than the King himſelf. How expreſs ſoever his Orders were for the Payment of any Sum, he always found Difficulties, and by that Means made his Court admirably to his Maſter. Being continued in his Poſt in the preſent Reign, he became quite another Man. He not only paid without Examination all he was ordered, but put the King upon ſpending extravagantly. This gained the Favour of the young Prince, who was naturally addicted to Prodigality. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* openly blamed his Conduct as highly prejudicial to the King's Intereſt. But he was little regarded in a Court where every one was ſtriving to take Advantage of the Sovereign's liberal Temper. However, his Diſcourſes exaſperated more and more the Earl of *Surry*, and the young Courtiers againſt him, who never ceaſed to do him ill Offices with the King. Thus the Biſhop who had been in ſo great Credit in the late Reign, began to loſe Ground in this. His Diſgrace, which ſat heavy upon his Mind, put him upon deviſing Means to ſupplant

1509. Henry *gives himſelf up to his Pleaſures.*

Quarrel between the Biſhop of Wincheſter *and the Earl of* Surry.

Surry's *Character.*

The Biſhop of Wincheſter's *Credit ſinks.*

1509. *He introduces* Wolsey *at Court.*

plant his Rival, by introducing at Court *Thomas Wolsey*, whose Qualifications he was no stranger to. *Wolsey* was a *Clergyman*, who had already began to make himself eminent by his Merit, though he was but a *Butcher*'s Son of *Ipswich*. The Bishop of *Winchester* easily foresaw, that the King would quickly stand in need of Persons fit and able to help him; and as he knew *Wolsey*'s Genius, he did not question but when he was at Court he would make himself necessary to the King. To that End he got him to be made *Almoner*. We shall see presently that the Bishop was not out in his Judgment, or rather that his Foresight was far short of *Wolsey*'s good Fortune *.

Confirmation of the Treaties with Scotland, XIII. 257.

About the middle of the Year, the Treaties confirmed between *Henry* VII and the King of *Scotland*, were confirmed or renewed by the Bishop of *Murray*, who was sent into *Scotland* to congratulate *Henry* upon his Accession to the Crown.

The

* *Thomas Wolsey* was born at *Ipswich* in *March* 1471. He was sent so early to *Oxford*, that he was *Batchellor of Arts* at 14 Years of Age, and from thence called the *Boy Batchellor*. Soon after he was elected *Fellow* of *Magdalen College*, and when *Master of Arts* had the Care of the School adjoyning to that *College* committed to him. Being charged with the Education of the Marquis of *Dorset*'s Three Sons, his Lordship presented him to the Rectory of *Lymington* in *Somersetshire*, *Oct.* 10. 1500. He had not long resided at his Living, before Sir *Amias Pawlet* a *Justice* of *Peace* put him in the *Stocks* for being drunk, (as is said) and raising Disturbances at a *Fair* in the Neighbourhood. By the Recommendation of Sir *John Nafant* he was made one of the King's Chaplains. In 1506. he was instituted to the Rectory of *Redgrave* in the Diocese of *Norwich*. Whilst he was King's Chaplain he insinuated himself into the Favour of *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and of Sir *Thomas Lovel*, who recommended him to the King as a fit Person to be employed in negotiating the Marriage between *Henry* VII and *Margaret* Dutchess of *Surry*. He was dispatched to the Emperour her Father, and returned with such Speed, that the King seeing him supposed he had not been gone. Having reported his Embassy, he was made *Dean* of *Lincoln*, *Feb.* 8. 1508. and on the 20th of the same Month Prebendary of *Walton Brinhold* in that Church. In these Circumstances he was when he was introduced at Court by Bishop *Fox* after *Henry* VII's Death, where he soon found means to insinuate himself into the Favour of his Son and Successor.

The Emperour *Maximilian* ſent likewiſe an Embaſſy to *Henry* to congratulate him, and confirm the Treaties made with *Henry* VII in the Year 1502. 1509. *and with the Emperour*, p. 260.

Chriſtopher Bambridge, Archbiſhop of *York*, being at *Rome*, where he was gone to get his Election confirmed, received a Commiſſion from the new King to act as his Ambaſſador. We ſhall ſee preſently the Reaſon why the Pope wiſhed to have an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador reſiding at his Court, and why the King was deſirous to be fully informed of what paſſed at *Rome* and in all *Italy*. Sept. 22. Bambridge *Archbiſhop of* York *Ambaſſador at* Rome.

Theſe were the moſt remarkable Occurrences in *England* during the firſt Eight Months of *Henry* VIII's Reign. They were for the moſt Part domeſtick Affairs of little Moment, if we except the King's Marriage, which was attended with very great Conſequences. But there happened abroad Matters of vaſt Importance, which became as it were the Source of the Troubles wherewith almoſt all *Chriſtendom* was agitated for above Fifty Years, and wherein *England* was but too much involved. Some time ſince the Affairs of *Europe* had begun to have a new Face, and what fell out this Year in *Italy* put them upon ſuch a Foot, as obliged almoſt every Sovereign to be concerned in them. *Henry* VIII unhappily went and entangled himſelf in the Troubles of that Country, which one would think he had little or nothing to do to meddle with. This makes the Knowledge of the Affairs of *Italy* ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that without it one cannot underſtand but by Halfs the Events of this Reign, nor have a true Notion of this King's Character. It will be needful therefore to give a pretty large Account of this Matter, which relates not only to the Hiſtory of *England*, but alſo to thoſe of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, the principal Events whereof, for a good while together, flowed properly from the Affairs of *Italy*. It is true that moſt of the Authors who have written the Hiſtories of theſe *States*, take it for granted that their Readers are acquainted with what paſſed in *Italy* at the ſame Time. *Neceſſity of knowing the Affairs of* Italy *for the full Underſtanding of the Hiſtory of* Henry VIII.

1502. Time. They have by that means much ſhortned their Works, but then they have made them very obſcure to thoſe who are not ſo fully inſtructed as they ſuppoſe. For my part I intend to take another Courſe. Since the Affairs of *Italy* are the Baſis of moſt of the Occurrences that happened in *Europe*, and particularly in *England*, during almoſt one half of the Sixteenth Century, I think one ought not to omit a full Account of them. It is the only way to render clear the particular Hiſtories which relate thereto. But that I may not make too long Digreſſions which would be unavoidable in the Sequel, it is neceſſary to give firſt a diſtinct Notion of the State of *Italy*, as well as of the Characters and Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes.

State of Italy, Milan *and* Naples. I have already related in the foregoing Reign how *Lewis* XII. with the Help of the *Venetians*, had conquered the Dutchy of *Milan* upon *Ludovico Sforza* pretending a Right to it as Grandſon to *Valentina Viſconti*, Daughter of *John Galeazzo* I. Duke of *Milan*. I have likewiſe had occaſion to ſpeak of the Conqueſt of *Naples* by the united Arms of *Lewis* XII and *Ferdinand*, and of the Means *Ferdinand* uſed to remain ſole Maſter of that Kingdom. It will ſuffice therefore to add here, that although *Lewis* XII had loſt his Share of that Conqueſt, he had not dropped his Pretenſions, but was waiting for a favourable Opportunity to aſſert them. I muſt now ſay a word of the other *States* of *Italy*, and firſt of that which is called *the Eccleſiaſtical State*.

Eccleſiaſtical State. Before the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had ſet foot in *Italy*, the Popes were as it were the Sovereigns of that Country. But it was not ſo much by means of their *Temporal* Arms as of their *Spiritual*, of which they made frequent uſe. For ſome *Centuries* paſt they had loſt great part of the *Demeſns* which formerly belonged to the *Church*. About the End of the Reign of *Otho* I, *the Eccleſiaſtical State* conſiſted of the City of *Rome* and its Territory, with *Tuſcany*, *Marquiſate* of *Ancona*, the Dutchy of *Spoleto*, *Ravenna*, all

La

La Romagna, and the whole Country in general comprized formerly under the *Exarchate*. But afterwards, during the Wars of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, the Emperours wreſted from the Popes all *Tuſcany* and ſeveral Towns in other Places. Some of theſe Towns had thought fit to withdraw their Obedience from the *Church*, and the Popes themſelves had been forced to grant others in *Fee* to Lords who ſerved them, or from whom they expected Aſſiſtance. At length the Emperour *Rodolphus* I. having made as many Cities of *Italy* free as would purchaſe their Liberty, there were ſeveral formerly belonging to the *Church* that embraced that Opportunity, to ſhake off at the ſame Time both the Emperour's and the Pope's Yoke *. Hence there were quickly in *Italy* almoſt as many *Sovereignties* as Cities. The ſtrongeſt ſwallowed up the weakeſt, and fell in the End themſelves under the Dominion, or rather the Tyranny of ſome of their own Citizens, who found means to engroſs the whole Power. In this manner were formed in *Italy* ſeveral petty *States* out of the Ruins of what the antient Kings of *Italy*, the Emperours, and the Popes were poſſeſſed of heretofore. 1509.

In the Pontificate of *Alexander* VI, the *Eccleſiaſtical State* was reduced within narrower Bounds than it had been before, though the Popes had kept the Sovereignty of ſeveral Cities, of which they were no longer Proprietors: Of this Number were *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Urbino*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Pezzaro*, *Imola*, *Ceſena*, *Peruſa*. In ſpite of theſe Loſſes, they were however very powerful ſtill, becauſe their *ſpiritual* Arms gave them great Advantages over their Neighbours. Moreover, beſides the Revenues of the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, they had very conſiderable *Comings-in* from all *Chriſtendom*.

But when *Lewis* XII took Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Ferdinand* of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Affairs of *Italy* had quite another Face. Then the *Tem-*

* As *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, *Bologna*, &c.

1509. *Temporal* Power of the Popes was nothing in Comparison of that of these two Monarchs, who besides their Dominions in *Italy*, had moreover at their Command the Forces of two large Kingdoms. On the other Hand, the *Roman Pontiffs* met with more Opposition, when they had a mind to brandish their *Spiritual* Weapons, the Force of which was in proportion to the Weakness of those against whom they were lifted up. This put them upon seeking all sorts of Means to drive the Foreigners out of *Italy*. But as they were not able of themselves to execute such a Design, they were fain to make use of one of these Kings to destroy the other, in doing of which they were often out in their *Politicks*. The Truth is, they could not humble one without giving the other a Superiority more destructive of their Interests, than the Equality which was between them before. This for many Years was the Motive of all the Pope's Intrigues, and withal a Clog they could never get clear of. Sometimes they joined with one to pull down the other; sometimes having set them together by the Ears, they looked on as Spectators of the Battle. Then they called in Foreigners to make the Ballance incline to the Side they had a mind to favour. But whatever was the Issue of these Wars, it seldom failed but he that had carried the Day became too formidable to the Pope and all *Italy*. It is certain therefore that the Conquests of *Naples* and *Milan* gave a mortal Wound to the *Temporal* Power of the Popes; and were also very detrimental to their *Spiritual* Authority. As the Popes from thenceforward had frequent Occasions of quarrelling with the Kings of *France*, now become their Neighbours, they sometimes made use of their *Spiritual* Weapons, but not with the same Success as they had formerly done against the Sovereigns of *Italy*. As they had to deal with Princes who would not easily stoop, they only gave them occasion to examine the Grounds of the *Papal Authority*; and this Inquiry was not to the Advantage of the Popes.

Besides

Beſides the Intereſt of their *See*, the *Roman Pontiffs* had another of which they were no leſs mindful, that of their Family. Every one of them ſeeking to raiſe his Nephews or other Relations, all the Cities which had formerly belonged to the *Church* were ſo many Objects that inflamed their Deſires. *Alexander* VI, who of all the Popes his Predeceſſors had the leaſt Conſcience, had formed a Deſign of making a great Prince of *Cæſar Borgia*, his Baſtard Son, by erecting him a *State* out of ſeveral Cities or *States* of *la Romagna*, which ſtill owned the Pope's Sovereignty, and were under his Protection. To this End it was that *Cæſar Borgia*, either by Fraud or Force, became Maſter of *Peruſa*, *Urbino*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Pezzaro*, *Ceſena*, under colour that the Poſſeſſors had not been punctual in paying the yearly Tribute or *Relief* to the *Holy See*. But *Alexander* VI being dead before his Son was well ſettled in his Conqueſts, it fell out, during the ſhort Pontificate of *Pius* III and the Interval between his Death and the Election of *Julius* II, that the former Owners of theſe Cities found Means to get Poſſeſſion again. This was done chiefly by the Help of the *Venetians*, who, for the Pains they had been at, kept *Faenza* and *Rimini*. 1509.

Julius II, who ſucceeded *Pius* III, intended to do for the Houſe of *la Rovere*, of which he was, the ſame Thing as *Alexander* VI had done for that of *Borgia*. He was no ſooner in the *Papal Chair*, but he began the Execution of his Deſigns with acquainting the *Venetians* in an imperious Tone, that his Intent was to reunite to the *Church* whatever had been alienated, and therefore they muſt give up *Faenza* and *Rimini*. Upon their refuſal he demanded Aid of the Emperour *Maximilian*. This was properly the firſt Riſe of the *League of Cambray*, which I juſt mentioned in the foregoing Reign, and of which I ſhall be obliged to ſpeak more fully preſently. *Character and Deſigns of* Julius II. Guicciard

The *Senate* of *Venice* paſſed long ſince for the wiſeſt and moſt politick Aſſembly in the World. By their Prudence and Abilities they had by Degrees formed *The Republick of* Venice. Paruta. Doglioni. Sabellico. Bembo, &c.

1509. in *Terra firma* a *State*, which being ſupported by a very ſtrong naval Force, was ſecond to none in *Italy*. This *State* conſiſted of *Friuli*, *Treviſo*, *Verona*, *Vincenza*, *Padua*, *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Crema*, *Cremona*, *Rovigo*, and the whole *Poleſin*, *Ravenna*, *Faenza* and *Rimini*. Moſt of theſe Cities with their Territories were formerly Part of the Kingdom of *Italy*. After that they fell under the Dominion of the *German* Emperours, who governed them by their *Vicars*. At length, it happened either that theſe *Vicars* were become Sovereigns, or that being expelled, the Cities recovered their Liberty, and then fell again under the Tyranny of ſome private Perſons who had uſurped an abſolute Power. Of theſe the *Venetians* had acquired them either by Money or Force of Arms. But however it was, when they had once acquired them, it is certain that the Authority of the Emperours was hardly any more acknowledged. Mean while theſe ſame Emperours always kept up their Pretenſions to all theſe Cities, as having been formerly Parts of the Empire, or rather of the Kingdom of *Italy*, and in the Poſſeſſion of their Predeceſſors. *Friuli* was conquered upon the *Church* of *Aquileia*, to whom *Otho* I. made a Preſent of it; *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, *Rimini* formerly belonged to the *See* of *Rome*. *Rovigo* and the *Poleſin* were conquered upon the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Cremona*, and *Gierradadda*, appertained to the Dutchy of *Milan*, having been given up by *Lewis* XII. *Breſcia* was taken from the Dukes of *Milan*, and *Crema* freely reſigned by Duke *Francis Sforza*. They had ſtill in the Kingdom of *Naples* five Maritime Places, which had been mortgaged to them by one of the Kings.

Bologna. Ghirard. Albert.

Bologna * was a rich and powerful City, but much ſunk from her former Greatneſs. Civil Diſcords had at length compelled her to ſubmit to the *Church* upon certain

* The ſecond City of the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, and the Third of the Four moſt conſiderable *Univerſities* in the World, *Paris*, *Oxford*, *Bologna*, and *Salamanca*, ſays *la Forreſt*.

certain Terms. After that, the City was governed by the Pope's *Legates*, who were ſent thither from time to time. But their Dominion met with frequent Interruptions. The *Legates* oppreſſing the People, forced them often to ſhake off their Yoke and expel them the City. But it was only to fall again under the Tyranny of the Heads of Factions, who by their Oppreſſions put them under a Neceſſity to have recourſe to the Pope and receive his *Legates* again. This is what happened ſeveral times. In the Year 1440, *Hannibal Bentivoglio* became ſo powerful, that he was little leſs than a Sovereign. From that time to 1506 ſome one of the Family of the *Bentivoglio*'s held the Government all along, though the Pope's *Legates* were ſtill admitted and honoured, but without having any real Power. At laſt, *Julius* II. not content with this Shadow of Authority, demanded in 1506, Aid of *Lewis* XII. to make himſelf Maſter of *Bologna*. Tho' *France* had hitherto protected the *Bentivoglio*'s, *Lewis* however ordered the Governor of *Milan* to ſend the Pope ſome Troops. Whereupon *John Bentivoglio*, Head of that *Houſe*, ſeeing himſelf forſaken by the King of *France*, quitted *Bologna* with all his Family, and retired to *Milan*, leaving the City to the Pope. 1509.

The Dutchy of *Ferrara* * was a *Fief* of the *Church*, held long ſince by the Family of *Eſt*, who were inveſted by the Pope, and paid an yearly *Relief* in Money. This petty *State* bordering upon the Pope and the *Venetians*, and ſtanding very convenient for both, preſerved itſelf by their mutual Jealouſy; but however, the *Venetians* took from them *Rovigo* and the *Poleſin*. But *Julius* II had large Views, and thought in good earneſt to annex the whole Dutchy to the *Church*. Ferrara. Sardi.

* The Birth-Place of the Poet *Arioſto*, who has a Tomb and Epitaph in the *Benedictin*'s Church.

1509. Modena *and* Reggio. G. Batt. Pig.

Modena and *Reggio* were likewise under the Dominion of the Family of *Est*, not as making Part of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, but as a distinct *State* which that Family acquired after their being Dukes of *Ferrara*. *Julius* II had also Pretensions to these two Cities, as having been formerly given to the *Church* by *Charlemain*, and it may be on the sole Pretence that they belonged to the Duke of *Ferrara* his Vassal.

Urbino. Cimrelli.

*Urbino** had formerly belonged to the *Church*. But the Popes had not for a long while claimed more than the Right of Sovereignty. *Cæsar Borgia* had seized this City, and expelled thence Duke *Guidobaldi Ubaldini*, who recovered it after the Death of *Alexander* VI. As *Guidobaldi* had no Children, *Julius* II persuaded him to adopt *Francis Maria de la Rovere*, Nephew to both, Son of the Pope's Brother and the Duke's Sister. Shortly after *la Rovere* became Duke of *Urbino*, by the Death of *Guidobaldo* his adoptive Father.

Parma *and* Plaisance. Alberti.

Parma and *Plaisance* had been under the Dominion of several Lords or Tyrants, till at last they became subject to the Dukes of *Milan*. *Lewis* XII took Possession of them after his Conquest of the *Milanese*.

Florence. Machiavel.

Florence, a very potent City and the Chief of *Tuscany*, was fallen at length under the Dominion of the Family of *the Medici*. But in time an opposite Faction to *the Medici* prevailing, they were driven from thence, and were now in Exile, attempting however from time to time to get themselves restored.

Pisa. Alberti.

Pisa had been formerly a very considerable City by reason of her naval Forces: but at length becoming subject to the Dukes of *Milan*, a Bastard of that Family, to whom it was given, sold it to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans* were against the Sale, and would have recovered their Liberty, but they failed in their Attempt. After that, *Charles* VIII, in his way to *Naples*, restored *Pisa* to her Liberty: but as soon as the *Florentines* stood no longer in fear of him, they besieged

* The-Birth Place of the famous Painter *Raphael*, and *Polidor Virgil*, who wrote the *English* History.

beſieged *Piſa* though aſſiſted by the *Venetians*, and the Siege was ſtill carrying on at the Time of the *League of Cambray*. 1509.

Genoa. Bizarro.

The City of *Genoa*, after ſundry Revolutions occaſioned by the Factions of the *Fregoſſa*'s and the *Adorno*'s was at length fallen into the Hands of the *French* in the Reign of *Charles* VII. After that *Lewis* XI reſigned it to the Duke of *Milan*, and *Lewis* XII took Poſſeſſion of it after his Conqueſt of the *Milaneſe*.

Motives of the League of Cambray, *againſt the* Venetians.

This Survey of the *States* of *Italy* ſhows that *Italy* was then divided between ſix Sovereign Powers, namely, Pope *Julius* II, *Lewis* XII King of *France* and Duke of *Milan*, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, the Republicks of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*. To theſe ſix may be added the Emperour *Maximilian*, who without holding a Foot of Land in *Italy*, had however Pretenſions to whatever the Emperours had formerly poſſeſſed, more eſpecially to the *State* of *Terra Firma* of the *Venetians*, whoſe Deſtruction the other ſix were equally concerned to work. The Emperour pretended that all the *Venetian* Dominions belonged to the Empire; he wanted mightily to wreſt ſome Place from them that would give him footing in *Italy*, and afford him an Opportunity to re-eſtabliſh the Imperial Power in that Country. *Julius* II, as I ſaid, had formed a Project to annex to the *Church* whatever had been alienated, and eſpecially the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and the Cities of *la Romagna*. This Deſign could not be accompliſhed but by the Deſtruction of the *Venetians*, ever upon the watch to hinder the growing Power of their Neighbours. Beſides, the Pope had a Mind to begin with them, and force from them *Ravenna*, *Faenza* and *Rimini*. *Lewis* XII repented of yielding up to them *Cremona* and *Gierradadda*. He wanted to have them again, and under Colour of that, to get Poſſeſſion alſo of *Crema*, *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*, and of all in general that had belonged to the Dukes of *Milan*. *Ferdinand* was deſirous to get out of their Hands, without Money, the

Hiſt. della Legha. di Cambray.

1509. five maritime Cities of the Kingdom of *Naples* which had been mortgaged to them. Moreover his Interest required, that there should be always Troubles in *Italy*, which might hinder *Lewis* XII from thinking of the Conquest of *Naples*. The Duke of *Ferrara* wished to recover *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*. Lastly, the *Florentines* obstinately bent upon the Siege of *Pisa*, protected and defended by the *Venetians*, could desire nothing better than to see that Republick unable to continue to aid the *Pisans*.

League of Cambray. Such were the Motives of the League formed against *Venice*, of which the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *France* were the chief Promoters. To keep Matters the more Secret, they spread a Report that the Emperour, as *Guardian* to *Charles* of *Austria* his Grandson, had agreed that his Quarrel with the Duke of *Gueldres* should be amicably adjusted. To that Purpose, the City of *Cambray* was appointed for the Place of Congress, whereby it was intimated that no Business would be done there but what related to the *Low-Countries*. Here it was that the famous League against the Republick of *Venice* was concluded; and for a Blind, was signed at first a Treaty of perpetual Peace between the Pope, the Emperour, *Lewis* XII. and *Ferdinand*, which was indeed made Publick. But a second Treaty, which care was taken to keep private, contained a League *Offensive* and *Defensive* against the *Venetians*, the principal Articles whereof were these.

Hist. della Legha. d' Cambrai.

Treaty of the Allies against Venice. In the first Place it was set forth in the Preamble, that the *Turks* having begun to make great Progress in *Europe*, it was absolutely necessary for the *Christian* Princes to join their Forces against them, but that the *Venetians*, by their continual Incroachments, laid insuperable Obstacles in the way of this Union. Hence it was concluded that there was a Necessity of stripping them of what they had usurped. This was the pious Motive of the League. To that Purpose it was agreed, that their Spoils should be thus divided, the Pope should have *Ravenna*, *Faenza* and *Rimini*, the Emperor as such, *Verona*, *Vincenza*, and *Padua*, and

as Duke of *Auſtria*, *Treviſo* and *Friuli*: *Lewis* XII as Duke of *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Gierradadda*, *Breſcia*, *Crema* and *Bergamo*: the King of *Arragon*, *Manfredonia*, *Trani*, *Monopoli*, *Brindiſi*, and *Otranto*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Savoy*, and the Marquiſs of *Mantua* ſhould be admitted into the League if they deſired it, the firſt to recover *Rovigo* and the *Poleſin*, the ſecond, to get the Kingdom of *Cyprus* out of the Hands of the *Venetians*, and the third, to obtain Satisfaction touching certain Demands he had upon *Venice*. Laſtly, that all thoſe who had any Claim upon the *Venetians*, ſhould be received into the League as Principals, upon their declaring their Minds within three Months. Thus in order to be able to wage War againſt the *Turks*, no better Means were found out, than to ſtrip the *Venetians* of all their *State* of *Terra Firma*, and leave them only the ſolitary City of *Venice*. 1409.

Projects of the Allies. Guicciard Mezerai.

To accompliſh this Deſign, it was agreed, that the King of *France* in Perſon ſhould enter the Territories of the *Venetians*, the 1ſt of *April* in the Year 1709, with an Army of forty Thouſand Men: That the Pope ſhould ſend an Army into *la Romagna*: That *Ferdinand* ſhould have one in *Lombardy*, with a Fleet in the *Gulf*, and that the Emperour ſhould attack the *Venetians* from the Side of *Germany*. But as he had lately made a Truce with them for three Years, a rare Expedient was deviſed to furniſh him with a Pretenſe to break it, which was that the Pope ſhould ſummon him as the *Church*'s Advocate to come and defend the *Patrimony*. In fine, *Julius* II engaged to thunder out all the *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures* againſt *Venice*. This League was ſigned at *Cambray*, *December* 10th, 1508.

Campain of the Year 1509. Mezerai.

The Time of putting the Projects of the League in Execution being come, *Lewis* XII ſet out from *Milan* in the Beginning of the Month of *April*, 1509, at the Head of forty Thouſand Men, whilſt the Pope's Army entered *la Romagna* under the Conduct of *Francis Maria de la Rovere* Duke of *Urbino*, and whilſt

1509. *Raymond* of *Cardona* threw himself into *Lombardy* with the King of *Arragon*'s Troops. At the same Time the Duke of *Ferrara* took the Field in the *Polesin*. But the Emperour contented himself with keeping at *Trent*, and seeing the rest of the Allies act, that he might be at Hand to reap the Fruits of their Labours. In the mean while the *Venetians*, having first provided their Towns with Ammunition, set an Army on Foot under the Command of Count *Pitigliano* their General, whose Lieutenant was *Barthelemi d' Alviano*.

Battle of Agnadel. The Vanguard of the *French* Army commanded by *Chaumont* passed the *Adda* on the 15th of *April*, and at the same Time the Pope excommunicated the *Venetians*, and put the City of *Venice* under an *Interdict*. On the 14th of *May* was fought the Battle of *Gierradadda* or *Agnadel* *, between the *French* and *Venetians*, contrary to the Opinion of Count *Pitigliano*, though General in chief of the *Venetians*, and to all Reason. The Truth is, the *Venetians* having nothing to depend upon but their Army, it was by no Means proper to run the hazard of a Battle. But the Heat and Fury of *Barthelemi d' Alviano* got the better of his General's Prudence. The *Venetian* Army was entirely routed, and *Alviano* made Prisoner. Whereupon the *Venetians* being no longer able to withstand their Enemies, *Lewis* in less than a Fortnight became Master of *Cremona*, *Peschiera*, *Crema*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and of all the Places in general which had formerly belonged to the *Milanese*. Moreover *Vincenza*, *Verona*, and *Padua* sent him their Keys. But as by the Treaty of *Cambray* these Places were the Emperour's Share, he sent the Deputies to him. *Maximilian* was then at *Trent* expecting the Issue of the Arms of the Allies. Upon the Arrival of the Deputies, he ordered his Troops to advance towards *Venice*, and as these Cities freely opened their Gates, he had nothing to do but to place Garrisons in them. *Treviso* alone refused him Admit-

Venetians *lose all their State of* Terra Firma.

* Called also the Battle of *Rivolta*.

Admittance, and held out ſtoutly for the *Venetians*, though reduced to the laſt Extremity. *Friuli* and the Towns of *Iſtria* followed the Stream and ſubmitted to the Emperour. On the other Side, the Duke of *Urbino* with the Pope's Army, took *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, whilſt the Duke of *Ferara* became Maſter of *Rovigo*, and the Marquiſs of *Mantua* of ſome Caſtles which ſtood convenient for him. Thus in the twinkling of an Eye the *Venetians* ſaw all their Dominions reduced to the ſingle City of *Venice*, with five Places in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which could be but of little Service to them. Mean while their Courage drooped not amidſt ſo many Calamities, though the *Senate* and People were under the greateſt Conſternation. Their main Care was to draw together their ſcattered Troops, and to uſe their Endeavours to break a League which had done them ſo much Miſchief. 1509. Sardi.

The Misfortune befallen the *Venetians* cauſed the Loſs of *Piſa*. This City having now no Proſpect of Relief from *Venice*, or from the King of *France*, who had deſerted her at laſt, ſurrendered to the *Florentines*, after having endured a long Siege. Piſa *ſurrenders to the* Florentines. Guicciard

Lewis XII having compaſſed his Ends, returned into *France*, after he had detached a Body of his Troops under the Command of *la Paliſſe* to go and join the Emperour, who in all Appearance had not Men enough to ſupply his Garriſons, and to keep an Army in the Field againſt the *Venetians*, who were drawing together their Forces again. Upon the King of *France*'s Departure, Affairs began to have a new Face. The *Venetians* took *Padua* by ſurprize, and kept it ever after. Moreover they found Means to ſend into *Friuli* an Army which kept the greateſt Part of the Emperour's Troops in Play. In ſhort, they appeaſed the Pope by their humble Submiſſion, and got his poſitive Promiſe to give them *Abſolution*, and take off the *Interdict* upon certain Conditions which they could not refuſe him. On the other Side *Ferdinand*, who had not yet reaped any Benefit by the League, was eaſily Lewis XII *returns to* France. Mezerai. Guicciard. *The* Venetians *retake* Padua *and appeaſe the Pope.*

1502. eaſily prevailed upon by the Offer the *Venetians* made him of the five Cities they held in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Emperour beſieges Padua *in vain.*

Whilſt the *Senate* was labouring to draw off the Pope and King of *Arragon* from the League, *Maximilian* with his own and *la Poliſſe*'s Forces, laid Siege to *Padua*. But after an unſucceſsful Aſſault, he raiſed the Siege and retired into *Germany*. At the ſame Time the *French* General returned to *Milan*. By which Means the *Venetians* had Time to breathe a little, and purſue with the Pope Negotiations which made them hope that the Iſſue of the War would not be ſo fatal to them as they had till then apprehended.

The Pope's Uneaſineſs. Mezerai. Guicciard

The Union of the King of *France* with the Emperour, made *Julius* II very uneaſy. He beheld the *French* King ſo firmly ſettled in the Dutchy of *Milan*, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge him. On the other Hand, the Emperour could not but be formidable to him, ſince he had an Inlet into *Italy*, by means of *Verona* and *Vincenza*. He did not know what to think of the powerful Aid *Lewis* XII lent that Prince, to compleat the Deſtruction of the *Venetians*, and he was not without Apprehenſions that theſe two Monarchs had made a private Treaty together to ſhare all *Italy* between them. Mean while, he hardly ſaw how theſe two formidable Potentates could well be withſtood. *Venice* was come to nothing. The *Florentines* were drained by the long *Piſan* War. As for the King of *Arragon* it was next Door to impoſſible to treat with him, without running the risk of being bubbled. He knew how to make the beſt of all the Treaties, and ſcrupled not to forſake his Allies, when it was for his Intereſt. Maugre all theſe Difficulties, the Pope formed the Project of putting the Affairs of *Italy* upon another Foot, that he might be able to execute his firſt Deſigns. He reſolved therefore to agree and make a League with the *Venetians*; to draw off *Ferdinand* from the League of *Cambray*, by inveſting him with *Naples*; to uſe his endeavours to ſet the Emperour and King of *France* at Variance; to bring

He forms new Projects.

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an Army of *Swiſſers* into the *Milaneſe*; in a Word, to perſwade the new King of *England* to make a Diverſion in *France*. Theſe were the Pope's Projects, the Succeſs whereof we ſhall ſee hereafter. He began with making Peace with the *Venetians* upon three Conditions. Firſt, that they ſhould give up all Claim to the Cities of *la Romagna*, which had lately been taken from them. Secondly, that they ſhould renounce the Right of placing in *Ferrara* a certain Magiſtrate called *Biſdomino*. Thirdly, that they ſhould leave the Navigation of the *Gulf* free to all the Subjects of the *Church*. In the Circumſtances *Venice* was then in, there were no other Conditions to be impoſed upon her. 1509. *He makes Peace with the* Venetians.

After ſo long a Digreſſion about the Affairs of *Italy*, which however is not beſide the Purpoſe, as will appear in the Sequel, we muſt return to the Affairs of *England*.

The Parliament being aſſembled on the 21ſt of *January* 1510, the *Commons* repreſented to the King, that certain *Statutes* made in the former Parliaments, had given Occaſion to the King his Father's *Miniſters*, to oppreſs the People, by putting *forced* Interpretations upon them, contrary to the natural meaning of the Words: That therefore it was neceſſary to ſoften them, or explain them in ſuch a Manner as to prevent ſuch Abuſes for the future *. *Henry* readily agreed to what was propoſed by the *Commons*, not only becauſe the Thing was juſt in itſelf, but chiefly becauſe it naturally paved the way to his Deſign of having *Empſon* and *Dudley* condemned by the Parliament. Though theſe Men had been already condemned by their proper Judges, the King had deferred the Execution of the Sentence. He could not help having ſome Scruples for cauſing them to be accuſed of a Crime which he knew very well they were not guilty of. Nevertheleſs he wanted to ſacrifice them to 1510. *The Parliament meets.* Herbert. Statutes *ſoftened.*

* The Benefit of *Forfeitures* for *Penal Laws* was alſo reduced to the Term of three Years next preceeding. There was likewiſe a *Sumptuary* Law againſt Exceſs in Apparel repealed, and a more decent one ſubrogated. *Herbert.*

1510. to the People, without incurring the Imputation of a false Accusation, and withal to vindicate the Memory of the King his Father, by intimating that they had gone beyond his Orders. To reconcile these two Things, he managed it so, that the Parliament passed an *Act* of *Attainder* against them; that is to say, they were condemned to dye by the Authority of the King and Parliament, without any particular mention of the Crimes they had incurred, or of the Proofs upon which their Sentence was founded. This Method, which till then had been seldom practised, was but too frequently used in the Sequel of this Reign, so dangerous a Thing is it to establish such *Precedents*. Mean while, *Henry* having still much ado to get over his Scruples, delayed their Execution till the *August* following.

Act of Attainder against Empson *and* Dudley.

New Treaty of Alliance between Lewis XII *and* Henry VIII. Act. Pub. XIII. 270. *March* 23.

Whilst the Parliament were thus employed, *Lewis* XII sent Ambassadors to *England* to renew with the King the Treaties he had made with *Henry* VII. As the Peace of *Estaples* ran, that after the Death of one of the two Kings of *France* and *England*, his Successor should send Word to the Survivor, whether he would continue the Alliance, it was *Henry*'s Business to let *Lewis* XII know his Mind. Nevertheless he had done nothing yet towards it. But as he was a young Prince full of Life, and abounding in Riches, *Lewis* thought doubtless it would be proper to be beforehand with him for fear he might engage in Designs destructive of the Welfare of *France*. His Ambassadors therefore concluded with *Henry* a new Treaty of Alliance, wherein no mention was made of the former Treaties. By this it was agreed, that the Peace between the two Kings should last till the Death of one of them; That it should be confirmed by the *States* General of *France*, and the Parliament of *England*; That each of the two Kings should take Care to have it approved by the Pope, and get him to grant beforehand a Sentence of *Excommunication* against the first Breaker of it.

There

There was nothing ſaid in this new Treaty of the 745000 Crowns that *Charles* VIII had engaged to pay to *Henry* VII or his Succeſſors, and for the Payment of which *Lewis* XII himſelf was bound by a ſubſequent Treaty, becauſe the Buſineſs was only to renew the Peace between the two preſent Kings. However *Henry* omitted not to ſecure the Debt, by requiring of *Lewis Letters Patents*, wherein he promiſed to diſcharge the Arrears by paying Twenty-five Thouſand *Livres* every ſix Months, till the whole Sum was paid. After which the Peace was ratified and ſworn to by both the Kings. 1510.

Julius II had vaſt Deſigns in his Head againſt *Lewis* XII. The Succeſs of the League of *Cambray*, though he himſelf had been a ſufficient Gainer by it, made him very uneaſy. He ſaw the *French* more firmly ſettled in *Italy* than ever, and *Lewis* XII better able to protect the Duke of *Ferrara*. To accompliſh what he had projected againſt *France*, he ſtood in need no doubt of Aſſiſtance, and to that End he tried to ſtir up all the *States* of *Europe* againſt that Kingdom, as we ſhall ſee preſently. So in order to inſinuate himſelf into the Favour of the King of *England*, he began with ſending him this Year the *Golden Roſe*, which the Popes, after *conſecrating* it, were wont to preſent to ſome Prince *. It is moreover ſomething probable, that the King of *Arragon*, in concert with the Pope, began from that time to take Meaſures to cauſe *Henry* his Son-in-law to enter into a League againſt *France*. *The Pope ſends Henry a conſecrated Roſe.* Act. Pub. XIII. 275. April 9.

The Succeſs of the laſt Campaign made the King of *Arragon* no leſs uneaſy than the Pope. He was ſenſible that *Lewis* never loved him, and that he had no reaſon to care for him; and he ſaw this Enemy of his, ſince the Ruin of the *Venetians*, in a Condition to diſturb *Ferdinand falls off from the League.*

* It was dipped in *Chriſm* and perfumed with *Muſk*, and ſo ſent to Archbiſhop *Warham* with Inſtructions to preſent it to the King at *High Maſs*, with the Pope's Benediction. *Julius's* Letter in *Burnet's* Collection is dated *April* 5. 1510.

1510. disturb him in the Possession of *Naples*. On the other Hand, the League of *Cambray* could not help him to any further Advantages, whereas the Offers made him to leave it were very considerable. The *Venetians* agreed to give him up the Cities they were possessed of in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Pope was willing to drop his Claim of 40000 Crowns, and give him the Investiture of that Kingdom for a *Spanish Genet* only. This was enough to induce him to break through his Engagements at *Cambray*. In all appearance, ever since the End of the last Year, he had taken Measures with the Pope to form a new League against *France*. But as he never acted above-board, he was desirous these Measures should be kept private, that he might take *Lewis* the more unawares. To that purpose, on the 6th of *January* this Year 1510, he commissioned *Lewis de Caroz* of *Villaragud*, his Ambassador at *London*, to treat with *Henry* VIII about a stricter Alliance than had yet been between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*.

New Treaty of Alliance between Henry *and* Ferdinand Act. Pub. XIII. 284.

Whether *Henry* could not so soon resolve to conclude this new Alliance with *Ferdinand*, or whether he was willing first to finish his Matters with *Lewis* XII, it was not till the 24th of *May* that this new Treaty was signed. It was only a *defensive* Alliance between the two Kings, with a Promise of mutual Aid upon Occasion. But *Ferdinand*, who had his Views, had caused these words to be inserted: That in case one of the two Kings should be attacked by any Prince whatever, the other should be obliged to proclaim and wage War against the Aggressor, tho' he should prove to be his Ally: That if the King of *France* should attack one, the other should be obliged to go against him in Person with a powerful Army. This Treaty secured to *Ferdinand* the Kingdom of *Naples*, because if *Lewis* XII should have had a mind to undertake the Conquest of it, the Diversion he would have been threatned with from *England* would have infallibly taken him off from his Purpose. But it is hard to conceive what Benefit could accrue to *Henry* from such a Treaty, since there was no likelihood that *Lewis* intended to attack him;

Remark on that Treaty.

so

ſo that all the Advantage lay on *Ferdinand*'s Side. It must needs have been either that *Henry*'s *Miniſters* were not very clear-ſighted, or that, from a Motive of Generoſity for a Father-in-law, whom he was not yet aware of enough, he unavoidably took that Step which was the more extraordinary as he had juſt renewed the Peace with *France*. 1510.

But it muſt not be thought that *Henry* was then a compleat Politician. He was young, and minded his Diverſions more than State-Affairs. There was nothing every Day but *Turnaments*, *Balls*, *Entertainments*, *Conſorts of Muſick*, which conſumed by degrees the Eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, found in the King his Father's Coffers *. He uſed likewiſe to play at *Tennis* and *Dice* with certain Strangers who cheated him of his Money, which he found out at laſt, and though too late, ſhamefully chaſed them from Court. He was ſo paſſionately fond of *Muſick*, that it devoured great part of his Time; which, added to the Hours he ſpent in his *Studies* and other Diverſions, left him but little Leiſure to apply himſelf to the Affairs of the Government, the Management whereof he freely left to his *Miniſters*. And therefore one may venture to ſay, that in Matters of *Politicks*, never Prince committed groſſer Faults, or was a greater Bubble than himſelf, eſpecially in the firſt Years of his Reign. Henry *minds only his Diverſions.* Herbert.

Whilſt *Henry* was wholly addicted to his Pleaſures, there was one riſing by degrees at Court, who was one Day to have an abſolute Sway over him, and to manage all his Affairs as well *Foreign* as *Domeſtick*. I mean *Thomas Wolſey*, who was made the King's *Almoner* laſt Year, and in the Beginning of this *Dean* of *Lincoln* *. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, Wolſey *riſes at Court.* Act. Pub. XIII. 269.

* The Reader may ſee a large Account of the King's *Juſts*, *Pageants*, and other coſtly Deviſes in *Hall* and *Hollingſhead*, who have many Particulars worth peruſing by ſuch as delight in ſuch Matters.

*1 *Burnet* ſays, he not only ſerved the King in all his ſecret Pleaſures, but was leud and vicious himſelf; ſo that his having the *French-*

1510. *Acts*, that on the 30th of *January* the King made him a Preſent of a Houſe in *London* which had belonged to *Empſon*, and muſt have been a conſiderable one, ſince there is mention in the *Patent* of Twelve Gardens belonging to it. We muſt now retire to the Affairs of *Italy*, which will afford us Matter for ſeveral Years.

The Pope's Deſigns. *Julius* II had two grand Deſigns in his Head. The firſt was to become Maſter of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*; the other to drive the *French* and *Germans* out of *Italy*. His Forces alone not being ſtrong enough to execute theſe Projects, he was under a Neceſſity to make uſe of the Aid of ſome other Princes, and try to engage them in his Deſigns. The Scheme he had laid was to join in a League with the *Venetians*; to draw off *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* from the Intereſts of *France*; to break the League of *Cambray*; to perſuade the King of *England* to make a Diverſion in *France*; to ſtir up the *Swiſſers* to invade the Dutchy of *Milan*. He brought all theſe Projects to bear, but it was not without encountring ſuch Difficulties as would have quite diſheartned any Man leſs reſolute than himſelf. Firſt he made a private League with the *Venetians*, which done, he ſolemnly gave them *Abſolution* on the 24th of *January*. Then he ſecretly agreed with *Ferdinand* by promiſing him the *Inveſtiture* of *Naples*. That done he picked a Quarrel with *Lewis* XII, by filling a Biſhoprick in *Provence*, without asking his Conſent, contrary to his own Promiſe. *Lewis* complained of it

He abſolves and leagues with the Venetians p. 294.

He quarrels with Lewis XII.

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French Pox (which in thoſe Days was a Matter of great Infamy) was ſo publick, that it was brought againſt him in Parliament when he fell into Diſgrace. He had alſo the Art of attaching ſo effectually thoſe to his Intereſts in whoſe Company the King did moſt delight that they were always ready to forward his Views. Being of a gay, facetious, and open Temper, he would divert himſelf with them in ſuch Exerciſes (ſays *Polidor Virgil*) as were moſt agreeable to the Levity and Paſſions of Youth, and which did not perfectly ſuit with the Character of a *Dean* in the Church. He would deſcend to ſing, laugh, rally, and even dance with them, as for the time he had quite laid aſide that Severity of Behaviour which became his Station.

the Pope denied he had promiſed any ſuch thing; and in ſhort they came at laſt to give one another the Lie in form. This was the very thing the Pope wanted, that he might have a Handle to break with him. 1510.

His League with the *Venetians* being publickly known, he commanded in an imperious Manner the Duke of *Ferrara* to renounce the League of *Cambray*, and join his Forces with thoſe of *the Church*. The Duke not believing that his being *Vaſſal* to the *Holy See* obliged him thus blindly to give himſelf over to the Pope's Humours, refuſed to break his Alliance with *France*, and ſo gave *his Holineſs* the Pretence he had long been ſeeking. When the Duke offered to pay him the Tribute due to *the Church* for the *Fief* of *Ferrara*, the Pope refuſed it, giving to underſtand plainly enough by that, he intended to confiſcate the Dutchy. *and with the Duke of* Ferrara. Sardi. Mezerai.

In the mean while, *Ferdinand* was acting underhand with *Henry* VIII his Son-in-law, to draw him into the Pope's Intereſts which were become his own, purſuant to the Projects they had formed in common. But his Practices were ſo ſecret, that *Lewis* XII never miſtruſted him. On the contrary, he entirely confided in the Aſſurances he gave him by his Ambaſſador, that his Deſign was to continue ſtedfaſt to the League of *Cambray*. Ferdinand *acts underhand to gain* Henry.

On the other Hand, *Julius* II won the Biſhop of *Sion**, who having great Credit among the *Swiſſers*, found means to ſet them at Variance with *France*, by perſuading them to demand an Augmentation of their Penſions. The Alliance they had made with that Crown being about to expire, they required for the renewing it that their Penſions ſhould be increaſed. Upon *Lewis*'s Refuſal, the Biſhop of *Sion* uſed to good Purpoſe that Pretence to ſtir them up againſt *France*, to which the King himſelf contributed by making an Alliance with the *Griſons*. Which thing ſo provoked *The Pope ſets the* Swiſſers *at variance with* France. Guicciard. Mezerai.

* Or *Valais*, lying betwixt *Swiſſerland*, the *Milaneſe*, the Valley of *Aoſt* and *Savoy*.

1510. the *Swiſſers*, that at a *Diet* held at *Lucern* they declared for the Pope, and reſolved upon ſending an Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*.

He tries to reconcile the Venetians *to the Emperour.* Guicciard.

In fine, the Pope omitted nothing that he thought capable of inducing the *Venetians* to agree with the Emperour at any rate, even to the adviſing them to give up to him *Treviſo* and *Padua*. He intimated to them, that the moſt effectual Means to chaſe the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, was to draw off the Emperour from their Intereſts; and when once they were out of *Italy*, it would be an eaſy Matter to wreſt from the Emperour not only *Treviſo* and *Padua*, but all his other Conqueſts too. But the *Venetians* durſt not venture to ſtrike ſo bold a Stroke.

Lewis XII *begins to ſuſpect the Pope.* Mezerai.

Such were the vaſt Projects of the Pope. He was ſo private in his Negotiations, that *Lewis* XII imagining he had no other Deſign than to become Maſter of *Ferrara*, contented himſelf with ordering *Chaumont*, Governour of *Milan*, to aid the Duke in caſe he ſhould be attacked. But ſhortly after a *Venetian* Fleet, and an Army of the Pope's commanded by *Fabricius Colonna* having attempted, though unſucceſsfully, to ſurprize *Genoa*, *Lewis* had but too much reaſon to ſuſpect there was ſome grand Deſign on foot againſt him. And therefore he ſent *Chaumont* Orders to watch narrowly the Pope's Motions.

Julius II *is like to be ſurprized at* Bologna.

Theſe *Orders* came to *Milan* in good time. *Julius* II had really a Deſign to beſiege *Ferrara*, and for that Purpoſe he was come to *Bologna*, till an Army which *Raymond* of *Cardona* was getting ready at *Naples* under ſome Pretence or other, ſhould be near enough to join his and the *Venetian* Troops. But *Chaumont* did not allow him time to execute his Projects. Upon Notice that the Pope was arrived at *Bologna*, he ſet out from *Milan* at the Head of an Army, and made ſuch Speed that he would have ſurprized the Pope there, had he not ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with Parleys. Whilſt he was negotiating with the Pope's Envoys, ſome *Venetian* Troops which were in the Neighbourhood throwing themſelves into the City,

put

put him out of danger of being inſulted. Whereupon *Chaumont*, being wholly unprepared for a Siege of that Importance, was obliged to retire. 1510.

Julius II made great Noiſe at this Inſult of the *French*, and filled all *Europe*, and particularly the Court of *England* with his Clamours. He excommunicated all the Generals of the *French* Army, and preſently after his and the *Venetian* Gallies made a ſecond Attempt upon *Genoa*, but with no better Succeſs than before. *He excommunicates the* French *Generals, and tries to ſurprize* Genoa. Bizarro. Mezerai.

At the ſame time, Twelve Thouſand *Swiſſers* began their March in order to enter the *Milaneſe*, under the Conduct of the Biſhop of *Sion*. But he found the Paſſages ſo well guarded, that they deſpaired of carrying their Point. So, as they received not moreover from the Pope the Money he had promiſed them, they choſe to return back into their own Country. *The* Swiſſers *can't enter the* Milaneſe

War being thus proclaimed between *Lewis* XII and the Pope, *Lewis* thought to have no further regard for him. He had done his utmoſt to be Friends with him, even to the offering to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*. But the Pope, depending upon *Ferdinand*, and expecting great Matters from *England*, had ſhifted off all his Offers. Wherefore, to ſtop the Fury of this impetuous old Man, *Lewis* made a new League with the Emperour, whereby he engaged to put him in Poſſeſſion of all *Italy*, except *Genoa* and *Florence*. *Maximilian* had the good Fortune, that in all his Leagues he was always a great Gainer, though he contributed the leaſt. At this Juncture *Lewis* XII could hardly do without him, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep up the War in the Dominions of the *Venetians*, who otherwiſe would have been able to back the Pope too powerfully. The League being concluded at *Blois*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, *Lewis* convened an *Eccleſiaſtical* Aſſembly at *Tours*, to conſult how he ought to behave with reſpect to the Pope. The Aſſembly were of Opinion, that the King ſhould once more offer the Pope to agree upon reaſonable Terms: and in caſe of refuſal, he might with a ſafe Conſcience wage Lewis XII *joins in a League with the Emperour.* *He calls a Synod, which allows his going to War with the Pope.* Mezerai.

1510. wage even an *offensive* War with him. *Lewis* wanted no more to justify the Steps he intended to make. Presently after, he concluded with *Maximilian* a fresh Treaty, whereby they agreed to cause a *General Council* to be summoned to *Pisa*, in order to depose *Julius* II. To that end they won to their Side Nine *Cardinals*, who readily took upon them to call the *Council* in their own Name. Some of these *Cardinals* were actually with the Pope; but they found Means to get from him under divers Pretences, and when he would have recalled them they refused to obey.

Treaty with Maximilian *to summon a Council* at Pisa. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Such was the Posture of the Affairs of *Italy* during the Year 1510. I have said nothing of the Events of the War which continued all this while between the Emperour, assisted by the *French* King and the *Venetians*, because these Particulars are of little Service to our History. It will suffice to observe, that *Chaumont* seeing *Genoa* and *Milan* in danger, had withdrawn the *French* Troops from the Emperour's Army to keep them at *Milan*. The going off of these Troops gave the *Venetians* some Respite, who by that means saw themselves in Condition to repair some Losses they had sustained in the Beginning of the Campain, and to aid the Pope who still designed to besiege *Ferrara*.

Chaumont *retires to* Milan.

The Step *Chaumont* had made in trying to surprize the Pope in *Bologna*, afforded *Raymond* of *Cordona* Viceroy of *Naples*, a Handle to march to the Relief of *his Holiness*. The *Spanish* Forces joined the Pope's and the *Venetians* in the Month of *December*, hard by *Modena*, which Place *Fabricius Colonna* had taken in his return from his *Genoa* Expedition. Though the Season was not very fit to begin to enter upon Action, the Pope was absolutely bent to besiege *Mirandola*. This Town belonged to the Heirs of *Joannes Picus* of *Miranda*, with whom he had no Quarrel. But as it lay convenient to back the Siege of *Ferrara*, he would not leave it in his Rear, but ordered it to be attacked vigorously. In spite of his Age, and the Rigour of the Season, he came himself to the Siege, in order to animate the Troops by his Presence; and upon the

The Pope's Forces and Spaniards *join.*

Siege of Mirandola.

Town's

Town's ſurrendring at laſt on the 20th of *January*, 1510.
he was pleaſed to enter through the Breach.

Lewis XII complained to *Ferdinand* about his aſſiſting the Pope. But *Ferdinand* making light of it, replied, that as *Vaſſal* of *the Holy See*, he could not help defending *his Holineſs*'s Perſon and Dominions: That beſides, he was not concerned in the Quarrels of the Pope and King of *France*, but that his Intention was to keep cloſe to the Articles of the League of *Cambray*.

Thus far *Henry* does not ſeem to have any thing to do to meddle with the Affairs of *Italy*, though the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians* had formed a Deſign to draw him in. He led a quiet Life amidſt his Pleaſures, without minding what paſſed Abroad. On 1511.
the 1ſt of *January* 1511, he had the Satisfaction to ſee *Birth of a Prince*; Herbert. *and his Death.*
his Queen brought to Bed of a Prince, at whoſe Birth there was great rejoicing over all the Kingdom. But the Joy was but ſhort-liv'd, ſince the young Prince died before *February* was over *.

Mean while *Ferdinand* was thinking of Means to en- *Deſigns of* Ferdinand
gage *Henry* in the League he intended to make with the Pope againſt *France*. *Henry* was rich and potent, and conſequently his joining in the League would be of great Moment, and create *France* a great deal of Trouble. On the other Hand, his Youth and ſmall Experience made his Father-in-law hope that it would not be impracticable to draw him by degrees, and inſenſibly, into Projects which a King of *England* had no Buſineſs to concern himſelf with. It is certain *Ferdinand* was already agreed with the Pope. All his Proceedings, and the ſeveral Circumſtances of Hiſtory make it ſo evident, that there's no room to queſtion it. However, he uſed a profound Diſſimulation in this Reſpect. He feigned to have nothing in view but the Peace of *Europe*, that all the Princes of *Chriſten-*

* He was born at *Richmond*, and chriſtened *Henry*. He was preſented to the King by the Queen as a *New-years-Gift*. He was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

1511. *dom* might join together in a War againſt the *Infidels*. But as he ſtood in need of an Army and Fleet to execute his Deſigns, he made as if he had very much at Heart the Continuance of the War he had undertaken againſt the *Moors*. He had ſent laſt Year upon the Coaſts of *Africa* a Fleet commanded by *Peter* of *Navarre*. Shortly after he had reinforced his Fleet with ſome Troops under the Conduct of one of the Duke of *Alva*'s Sons, who attempting to make a Deſcent at *Gelves* was ſlain, and all his Men cut in pieces. *Ferdinand* made this Loſs ſerve for a Blind to the Preparations he was carrying on againſt *France*. Under colour of being revenged on the *Moors*, he drew an Army together, and equipped a Fleet, which he pretended he would ſend to *Africa*, but was however deſigned for *Italy*. As it was not yet a proper time to diſcover his Intentions, he puſhed his Diſſimulation ſo far as to demand of the King his Son-in-law a Thouſand *Engliſh* Archers to ſerve in this pretended Expedition. A poor Aid! to be ſent for ſo far off and at ſo great a Charge, if he had really intended to make uſe of them. *Henry*, not diving into his Deſigns, readily complied with his Requeſt, and appointed Sir *Thomas Darcy*, on whom at the ſame Time he conferred the Title of *Baron* *, to go and command that ſmall Body. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Ferdinand's* Letter of Thanks to *Henry* *1 for theſe Succours, and for the Advice he gave him not to hazard his Perſon in that Undertaking: Advice, *continued he*, that he could not follow, becauſe *Religion* was concerned. And yet it quickly appeared afterwards, that he had never intended any ſuch Thing, ſince

He demands Aid of Henry for his pretended War with the Moors.

Act. Pub. XIII. 297. June.

* *Dugdale* ſays the Title of Baron which had ceaſed (6 *Hen.* 5.) in the Daughters and Heirs of *Philip* Lord *Darcy*, was revived to this *Sir Thomas* by writ of Summons to Parliament. 1 *Hen.* 8.

*1 By this Letter (writ in a moſt religious Strain) it appears that all our Hiſtorians, and *Dugdale* himſelf is miſtaken in the Number of the Archers ſent into *Spain*, *Ferdinand*'s Letter calling them 1000, whereas they are ſaid to be in our Hiſtories 1500. *Rym. Fœd.* XIII. 267.

since he employed against *France* the very Forces which seemed to be designed against the *Moors*. 1511.

Nothing now was wanting to conclude the projected League against *Lewis* XII, but to win the King of *England*. To that End all Hands were at work during the Beginning of the Year 1511. The *Venetians* sent him an Ambassador, under colour of thanking him for the Pains he had taken to reconcile them to the Pope, desiring him at the same time, in their *Credentials* dated the 2d of *March*, to give Credit to what their Ambassador should impart to him from them, the which could relate only to the intended League. About the same time it was that the Pope conferred the Dignity of *Cardinal* upon *Christopher Bambridge*, Archbishop of *York* and Ambassador at *Rome*, at a Promotion on the 11th of *March* at *Ravenna*. All the Historians unanimously affirm, that *Bambridge* was made *Cardinal* purely for having laboured to set *Henry* at variance with *France*. *Matthew Skinner* Bishop of *Sion*, was promoted to the same Honour for Services of the like Nature, which he had done the Pope already, and for those he could do him still. In those Days it was neither *Learning* nor *Virtue* that raised Clergymen to the *Cardinalate*, but solely their Abilities in worldly Affairs joined to an entire Submission to the Pope.

They try to get Henry *into the League against* France.

Bambridge *made Cardinal.*

The Endeavours that were used to draw *Henry* into the *Italian* League had at length the Success the Allies expected. In all appearance, it was represented to him that he was highly concerned to oppose the Progress of the King of *France*, who was already become too powerful by the Conquest of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Ruin of the *Venetians*. However that be, it appears that about the Middle of the Year *Henry* was determined to follow the Suggestions of the Pope and *Ferdinand*. In *June* he appointed *Commissioners* to take care that the *Militia* of the Kingdom were provided with good Arms, and ready to serve upon the first Notice, the which was not usual to be ordered, but upon the Prospect of a War at hand. The Rea-

Henry *engages with the Allies.*

Ibid. p. 300.

1511. ſon the King gave for iſſuing out theſe Orders, plainly ſhow what his Deſign was. He ſaid, that although the Kingdom was in perfect Tranquillity, nevertheleſs, as the Arms were commonly ſuffered to ruſt in time of Peace, he wiſhed that his Subjects would be in a readineſs to ſerve him, as well againſt the Enemies that had a mind to invade the Kingdom, if any ſuch there were, as in Defence of his Allies. Theſe laſt words could reſpect only the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*; from whence it may be inferred, that the King had given his Word already. But the Sequel will make it appear ſtill more clearly.

He guards againſt Scotland.

The ſtrict Union which had long ſince ſubſiſted between *France* and *Scotland*, gave *Henry* juſt Cauſe to fear, that as ſoon as the War with *France* ſhould break out, the King of *Scotland* as Ally to *Lewis* XII, would concern himſelf in the Quarrel. And therefore that he might take from him all pretence of Rupture he took Care to appoint *Commiſſioners* with *Powers*, to make Satisfaction for all the Outrages which might have been committed ſince the late Peace. But his Precautions proved ineffectual. An Accident which fell out this Year, afforded the King of *Scotland* a Handle to quarrel, which *Henry* was very deſirous to prevent.

Cauſe of Quarrel between England *and* Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

Andrew Breton a *Scotch* Merchant having complained to the King of *Scotland*, that the *Portugueſe* had killed his Father, and ſeized upon a Ship belonging to him, the King gave him *Letters of Mark*, after trying in vain to get him Redreſs from the Court of *Portugal*. Whereupon *Breton* fitted out two ſtout Ships, and found Means to make himſelf ample amends for his Loſſes, by falling upon all the *Portugal*-Ships trading to *Flanders* and *England*. The *Portugal* Ambaſſador reſiding at *London* complained to the *Council*, and repreſented that ſince the King of *England* pretended to the Sovereignty of the *narrow Seas*, it was but reaſonable that he ſhould protect the foreign Ships that came into the *Channel*. Upon this Complaint, the King equipped two large *Men of War*, and appointed

appointed the two Sons of the Earl of *Surry* * to command them, with orders to take the *Scotch* Pyrate. These two Lords watched him so narrowly that they met with him at last as he was sailing back from *Flanders* to *Scotland*. *Breton* fought desperately: But he was killed in the Fight, and his two Ships taken and brought into *England* *1. The King of *Scotland* hearing of this, sent and demanded the two Ships with speedy Reparation of the Outrage committed against the Peace. The Ambassadors were told, that *Pyrates* were not included in the Treaty of Peace, and that the punishing such People according to their Deserts was no Breach of it. Apparently, *Breton* had made himself more than amends for the Damage he had sustained, as it often happens on such Occasions. But however King *James* not being able to obtain any Thing from the Court of *England*, protested against the Injustice done him, being determined to resent it when an Opportunity offered. 1511.

I left *Julius* II, after the taking of *Mirandola*, bent upon the Siege of *Ferrara*, and only waiting for the return of good Weather. Though *Lewis* XII did not yet know all by a good deal, of what passed in *Spain* and *England*, he knew enough however to put it beyond doubt that the Pope was endeavouring to raise him Enemies on all Hands. He was even satisfied, that although he seemed to have no Design but to become Master of *Ferrara*, yet that was only the first Step to some greater Project. Nevertheless he was at a great stand. There was properly nothing to be got by quarrelling with the Pope, unless he would seize the *Church*'s Patrimony. But he had a great deal to lose, not to reckon the Vexations which the stiff and haughty Temper of the Pope might create him. This made him resolve to try all possible Ways to be Friends with him. To that End, whilst the Pope

The Pope rejects the French *King's Offers.*

* *Thomas* and *Edward*, which last was Lord Admiral. *Herbert.*

*1 He encouraged his Men though grievously wounded, with his Whistle, even to his last Breath. The King pardoned the Men and sent them out of the Kingdom. *Herbert.*

1511. Pope was taken up at the Siege of *Mirandola*, he made him some Overtures by the Hands of *Chaumont*; but it was to no Purpose. The Pope would hearken to nothing, but continued the Siege till he forced the Town to capitulate. At last, *Lewis* seeing there was no Prospect of agreeing with him, ordered *Chaumont* to keep no more Measures with him, but to support the Duke of *Ferrara* at any rate. Whereupon *Chaumont* took the Field in the midst of Winter. His Army, which the Duke of *Ferrara* had joined, was not so numerous as the Forces of the Pope, *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians*: But it consisted of so good Troops that the Allies durst never hazard a Battle, though it was offered them more than once. Mean while the Pope was at a very great Loss. Instead of being able to carry on without Molestation his Preparations for the Siege of *Ferrara*, he was forced to keep the Field during the Winter, without knowing even how to save *Modena*, which was in Danger of a Siege. *Ferdinand*, who foresaw what Trouble that Place would give the Pope, had advised him to yield it up to the Emperour. There had ever been a Negotiation upon that Score, but without Success, because *Maximilian* would not accept of it but as a Place held of the Empire, to which the Pope had refused to agree. At length, upon *Chaumont*'s Approach with Design to besiege it, the Pope was willing to give it up in the manner the Emperour required, because he could not save it but by venturing a Battle. The Terms of this Bargain are not precisely known. But from thenceforward all the Emperour's Proceedings gave Ground to suspect that *Modena* was not acquired but upon Conditions very prejudicial to the King of *France* his Ally.

Lewis resolves to regard the Pope no longer. Sardi.

Julius II *gives up* Modena *to the Emperour.* Mezerai.

Ferdinand's Dissimulation.

The King of *Arragon* pretended to be in Alliance with *France*: He would not declare against her till he had made sure of the King of *England*, with whom he was privately negotiating a Treaty which required a pretty long Discussion. Indeed his Troops, which were not to serve the Pope but three Months, according

ng to the Terms of the Inveſtiture of *Naples*, were ſtill joined with thoſe of the Allies. But he pretended that the *Viceroy* of *Naples* acted contrary to his Orders, in ſtaying in the Pope's Army longer than he had commanded him. Mean while the Army was hard preſſed by *Chaumont* and the Duke of *Ferrara*, who were cloſe upon their Heels, and endeavoured to give them Battle. So to gain Time, *Ferdinand* who would ſtill paſs for one that ſtood Neuter, and well affected to the Quiet of *Italy*, propoſed the holding of a Congreſs at *Mantua* in order to ſee to make a Peace. The Pope immediately cloſed with the Overture. The Emperour agreed to it likewiſe, and *Lewis* XII durſt not reject it, leſt he ſhould be charged with being the ſole Author of the Troubles of *Italy*. It is certain that if at this Juncture, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by a Negotiation, the ſole Aim whereof was to cauſe him to loſe the Opportunity of puſhing his Enemies, he had ordered his Troops to advance, he would have been able to over-run the whole *Eccleſiaſtical State*, ſo great was the Terrour his Arms had inſpired the Allies with. But he had to deal with his Subjects as well as his Queen, who looked upon a War with the Head of the *Church* as a heinous Crime, though there had been but too much Provocation. He had himſelf likewiſe his Scruples upon that Account, which he could not eaſily get over. But however he was willing to try once more, whether the Congreſs of *Mantua* which was propoſed to him, would be to any Purpoſe. He hoped at leaſt that the breaking off that Negotiation, in caſe it had not a good Iſſue, would fully juſtify him. The Congreſs produced the Effect the Allies expected from it, that is to ſay, it made the *French* loſe a great deal of Time to no Purpoſe. 1511.

Congreſs of Mantua *ineffectual.* Guicciard.

A few Days before the Congreſs of *Mantua*, the Biſhop of *Gurck*, who was to be there from the Emperour, had held a Conference at *Bologna* with the Pope, after which they pretended to part in great Diſguſt. But what followed plainly ſhowed the contrary, ſeeing

The Emperour ſides privately with the Pope.

1511. ing from that Time the Emperour never did any Thing conformable to the Alliance he had made with *Lewis* XII. He agreed however, that the *Council* of *Pisa* should be called in his Name, and that the *Summons* should be set up at *Modena* and several other Places belonging to him, because it was not yet Time to declare himself. The Summons ran, That *Julius* II having refused to call a *Council*, pursuant to the Decree of *Constance*, the Cardinals were empowered by the said Decree to summon one in their own Name. And therefore with the Consent of the Emperour and King of *France*, they ordered that the *Council* should meet on the 1st of *September* in the City of *Pisa*, to set about the Reformation of the *Church*, in the *Head* and *Members*.

A Council summoned to Pisa *in the Emperour's and* French *King's Name.*

The Bishop of *Gurck*'s Conference with the Pope, and the breaking up of the Congress of *Mantua*, made the King of *France* greatly suspect the Emperour. On the other Hand, he could not help being afraid of the King of *Arragon*, knowing by Experience what might be expected from him. He saw him making great Preparations under Colour of the *African* War, and he knew withal that notwithstanding that Prince gave daily Assurances that he would not concern himself with the Troubles of *Italy*, he was using his utmost Endeavours to make Peace between the Emperour and the *Venetians*. That is, properly speaking, he was trying to draw off *Maximilian* from the Interest of *France*. In short, *Ferdinand* sent him brotherly Admonitions to make his Peace with the Pope, and not bring on himself the just Reproach of waging an unnatural War with the *common Father* of all *Christians*. *Lewis* could not but consider these Remonstrances as a sort of *Protestation* that he would assist the Pope in Case of need. At the same Time he could not believe he would do so, without he was sure of the Emperour. These Things sat hard upon his Mind, and made him apprehensive that he should in the End be the Bubble of the Pope, the Emperour, and *Ferdinand*. So for Fear of being prevented, he

Lewis suspects the Emperour and King of Arragon.

gave

gave expreſs Orders to *Trivulce*, who commanded his Army in the room of *Chaumont* lately deceaſed, to take all the Advantages of the Allies that lay in his Power. 1511.

He orders Trivulce to puſh the War vigorouſly. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Trivulce upon this aſſaulted and took *Concordia* in the Beginning of *May*, juſt as the calling of the *Council* of *Piſa* was poſted up in all Places. Then he endeavoured by ſeveral Marches to oblige the Allies to a Battle, without being able to ſucceed. At length he reſolved to approach *Bologna*; not that he believed he could lay Siege to the City, but to draw the Allies from their advantagious Poſts, and give the *Bolonnois* an Opportunity to riſe in favour of the *Bentivoglio*'s whom he had brought along with him. The Pope had done his utmoſt to perſwade the Generals of the Allies to hazard a Battle, without being able to prevail with them. So greatly did they dread to cope with the *French*. Wherefore knowing how the Army ſtood diſpoſed, and miſtruſting the *Bolonnois* who loved him not, he went away to *Ravenna*, leaving in *Bologna* the Cardinal of *Pavia* his *Prime-Miniſter*. He was no ſooner gone, but a Tumult aroſe in the City, during which the Inhabitants called in their old Maſters the *Bentivoglio's*, and put them in Poſſeſſion of the Government. The Cardinal of *Pavia* had taken to flight the Moment he perceived their Reſolution. On the other Hand, the Army of the Allies having advanced as far as to one of the Gates of *Bologna*, and hearing that the *Bentivoglio's* were gone in, and the *Legate* withdrawn, ran away in Confuſion, leaving in the Camp their Artillery, Baggage, and Ammunition. Whereupon the Inhabitants ſallying out, and joining with the Peaſants, compleatly ſtripped the ſcattered Army, and rendered it entirely unſerviceable for ſeveral Months. The Duke of *Ferrara* laying hold of this Opportunity, recovered with Eaſe the Places the Allies had lately taken from him.

Trivulce takes Concordi.

He approaches Bologna.

The Army of the Allies takes to flight of their own accord.

Amidſt

1511. *The Cardinal of* Pavia *ſtabbed by the Duke of* Urbino. Guicciard.

Amidſt all theſe Mortifications, the Pope met with one more which ſenſibly touched him. The Cardinal of *Pavia* was ſtabbed by the Duke of *Urbino*, who taxed him with being the Cauſe of the Loſs of *Bologna*. The Pope's Vexation was ſo much the greater as he durſt not puniſh in the Perſon of his Nephew, a Crime he would have thought worthy of the ſevereſt Treatment, if it had been committed by any other Perſon whatever. His Army being diſperſed, and his Deſigns upon *Ferrara* come to nothing, he quitted *Ravenna* and retired to *Rome*. In his way thither he had the frequent Mortification to ſee the *Papers* poſted up for the Calling the *Council* of *Piſa*, wherein he was himſelf ſummoned to appear in Perſon.

The Pope retires to Rome.

Lewis *orders his Army to retire to* Milan.

All the World expected that *Lewis* XII would puſh his Arms farther; and certainly in the Poſture *Italy* was in at that Time, it was his own Fault that he was not Maſter of *Rome*. The Pope had no Remedy near enough at Hand, to help him out of the ſad Condition he was in. The King of *Arragon* was too far off: The *Venetians* were not in a Condition to ſend him the Aid he wanted, and the Emperour was not powerful enough to ſave him, ſuppoſing he had been willing. *Genoa*, *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Milan*, were in the Hands of his Enemies. But *Lewis* either from a Scruple of Conſcience or ſome other Motive, inſtead of puſhing his Point, ordered *Trivulce* to retire to *Milan* with the Army, and even to diſband part of the Troops. In all Appearance, he was willing to take from the Pope the Pretenſe of ſtirring up all *Chriſtendom* againſt him, and of giving out that he intended to become Maſter of *Rome* and all *Italy*. He was very juſtly apprehenſive of this from the Pope, ſeeing it was in Effect the Foundation or rather the Pretenſe of the League which was formed ſome Months after againſt *France*. *Trivulce* was no ſooner at *Milan*, but *Ferdinand*'s Fleet arrived at *Naples*, with about three Thouſand Men on Board, who were ſoon to be followed by a more conſiderable Body.

It

It was no hard Matter to perceive that the King of *Arragon* had ſent his Fleet to *Naples* on purpoſe to ſupport the Pope's Intereſts, and to be a Check upon the King of *France*. *Julius* II, who knew theſe Things better than any Body, took Heart again at the News, eſpecially as he rightly judged that *Ferdinand* would not have been ſure of the King of *England*. Since the Loſs of *Bologna*, and the Rout of his Army, he had ſeemed willing to agree to an Accommodation with *France*; and though he had made ſome Overtures more like a Conqueror than one conquered, *Lewis* had accepted them on Condition the Emperour gave his Conſent. But when the Pope found that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was at *Naples*, and that *Ferdinand* began to declare himſelf, he added new Terms to thoſe he had already propoſed, and plainly ſhowed he was no longer for a Peace. This Behaviour put *Lewis* XII beyond all Patience. So deſpairing to agree with ſo obſtinate an Enemy, he ordered *Trivulce* to ſend Supplies to *Bentivoglio* to guard *Bologna*, and ſome Time after took *Bologna* and the *Bentivoglio*'s under his Protection. On the other Side, though he was not obliged to aſſiſt the Emperour unleſs he came into *Italy* in Perſon, he joined to the *German* Troops which were in the *Venetian* Dominions a ſtrong Reinforcement commanded by *la Paliſſe*. Mean while the Pope having certain Advice of the good Inclination of the Kings of *Arragon* and *England* in his Favour, reſolved to ſummon a *General Council* in Oppoſition to that of *Piſa*. To that End, he publiſhed a *Bull*, wherein having firſt accuſed the Neglect the *Schiſmatick* Cardinals laid to his Charge, and inveighed againſt their Inſolence, he called a *Council* to be held at the *Lateran-Church* on the 19th of *April* 1512.

1511. Julius II *offers to agree with* Lewis XII.

He falls out again.

Lewis *takes* Bologna *under his Protection.*

Act. Pub. XIII. 303. *Jun.* 30. *He aids the Emperour.*

The Pope calls a Council at the Lateran-Church.

Since the Biſhop of *Gurck*'s Conference with the Pope, *Maximilian*'s Behaviour was ſo doubtful, that it was difficult to form a certain Judgment of it. He had agreed to the calling of the *Council* of *Piſa*, which had been done with his expreſs Conſent. But then he had yet appointed no Ambaſſadors, neither was it known

Doubtful Behaviour of the Emperour.

1511. known that any *German* Biſhop was preparing to go thither. Moreover, he had promiſed to go and command in Perſon in *Italy*, and lead thither a ſtrong Supply. And yet he kept at *Inſpruck*, without ſhowing that he had any thoughts either of the *Council* of *Piſa* or the War of *Italy*. Mean while, the Conqueſts which they hoped to make upon the *Venetians* were to be all his. Thus, in the preſent Poſture of the Affairs of *Italy*, *Lewis* XII ſaw the Burthen of the War laid upon his Shoulders alone, without his daring to complain to the Emperour, for fear he ſhould join with his Enemies. And indeed *Maximilian* was ſtrongly ſollicited by the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians* themſelves, who offered him a good round Sum to induce him to drop his Pretenſions to their Dominions. It is very probable that he was yet unreſolved; and that knowing of the League which was forming againſt *France*, he had a mind, according to Cuſtom, to let the two Parties proceed, that he might afterwards take that Side which ſuited beſt with his Intereſt. This doubtleſs was the Reaſon that he was willing to keep a good Underſtanding with *Lewis* XII, by agreeing to the calling of the *Council* of *Piſa*, and withal to reſerve a Means to be reconciled to the Pope, by ſending neither Biſhops nor Ambaſſadors to the *Council*. Thus, remaining almoſt equally ſuſpected by both Parties, he waited till the Iſſue of the War, or the Offers which both Sides ſhould make him, ſhould oblige him to declare for one or other.

Uncertainty of the Affairs of Italy.

Mean while, Affairs continued ſtill in the ſame Poſture. The Pope and *Venetians* were alone in open War with *France*. The Emperour ſeemed to float between both Sides. The King of *Arragon* had hitherto done nothing more than afforded Hopes that he would join in the League when it ſhould be concluded. But it was not concluded yet, every one fearing to engage in it unſeaſonably. *Julius* II and *Ferdinand* knew one another too well to have any Confidence in each other. Each of them ſtrove to make the

the other ſubſervient to his Deſigns, and was afraid at the ſame time of being over-reached. *Ferdinand* had all along in *France* an Ambaſſador, who endeavoured to perſuade the King, that the Preparations which were making in *Spain* concerned only the *Moors*. On the other Hand, the Pope had not ſo fallen out with *Lewis* XII, but that he left him ſome hopes, and kept up all along a ſort of Negotiation with him, by the Means of the Biſhop of *Murray* the *Scotch* Ambaſſador, who did the Office of a Mediator. *Ferdinand* was afraid, that in caſe the Pope made a ſeparate Peace with *France*, the Kingdom of *Naples* would be in danger. The Pope had no leſs reaſon to fear, that to ſecure the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* would forſake the Intereſts of *the Church*, and leave him expoſed to the Mercy of the King of *France*. In that caſe, the Pope would have nothing to hope for from *England*. Thus Affairs were come to that paſs, that it was neceſſary either that each ſhould forthwith make a ſeparate Treaty, or that they ſhould all jointly declare their Minds, in order to come out of this State of Uncertainty. And therefore *Ferdinand* began at length to pull off the Mask a little, by ſending to *Naples* the Troops he pretended were deſigned for *Africa*, that he might hinder the Pope from thinking of making up Matters with *France*. 1511.

Ferdinand *ſends an Army to* Naples.

Whilſt the Pope and the King of *Arragon* were thus feeling one another's Pulſes, the *Cardinals*, who had ſummoned the *Council* to *Piſa*, and were come to *Milan*, thought fit to have it opened by *Commiſſioners*. But this was only for Form's ſake, in order to keep to the Day appointed. Never was *General Council* ſo thin. The Biſhops of *France* were not yet arrived, and there was no likelihood of any from *Germany*. The Pope raged and fumed when he heard the *Council* was opened at *Piſa*. In the Paſſion he was in with the *Florentines* for ſuffering the *Council* to meet in one of their Towns, he *excommunicated* them as well as the *Piſans*, and put both the Cities under an *Interdict*. But the *Florentines* forced

Opening of the Council of Piſa.

The Pope puts Piſa *and* Florence *under an Interdict.*

 Guicciard.

1511. forced the Priests to celebrate *Divine Service*, leaving to private Persons the Liberty to observe or reject the *Interdict*.

The Florentines *make a Jest of it.*

It was a difficult Matter for *Julius* II and *Ferdinand* to continue long in the Situation they were in, without affording Occasion for mutual Jealousies, capable of giving a new Turn to Affairs. The Reason which had hitherto with-held *Ferdinand*, namely, his Uncertainty with respect to the King of *England*, was vanished. *Henry*, after a long suspense, had at length given his positive Promise to enter into the League which should be made against *France*. As soon as *Ferdinand* was sure of that, the Negotiation of the League was in greater Forwardness in one Month than it had been in a whole Year before. It was a constant and invariable Rule with that Prince, to cover all his Designs with the Cloke of Religion, little caring, that after he had compassed his Ends, his Artifices were discovered. The Fleet and Army he had prepared in *Spain*, had for a Blind, a War with the *Infidels*. When he was about to declare openly against *France*, he failed not to use the Pretence of protecting *the Church* against the Outrages of *Lewis*. As soon as he had gained the King of *England*, they jointly sent Ambassadors to *Lewis* to require him to let the Pope alone; and to give him to understand, that as *Christian* Princes they could not dispense with protecting *the Church*, disturbed by his Ambition. *Lewis* saw plainly enough that as their Measures were concerted already, it would be too late to justify his Conduct. And therefore he chose to return a haughty Answer, which was the very Thing his Enemies wanted.

Henry promises to enter into the League

Henry's *and* Ferdinand's *Embassy to* Lewis XII.

League against France *concluded at* Rome.

Shortly after, on the 4th of *October*, the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians* concluded a League at *Rome*, leaving a Place for the King of *England*, who had shown his Desire to be included in it. The Truth is, Cardinal *Bambridge* was concerned in the Negotiation as *English* Ambassador. But he was ordered not to sign the Treaty, because *Henry* expected to make a private one, more agreeable to the Interests

reſts of *England* than that which concerned *Italy* only. By this Treaty the Pope promiſed to find for the Service of the League Four Hundred *Men at Arms*, Five Hundred *Light Horſe*, Six Thouſand *Foot*, and Twenty Thouſand *Ducats* a Month. The *Venetians* were to furniſh Eight Hundred *Men at Arms*, a Thouſand *Light Horſe*, Eight Thouſand *Foot*, and to pay monthly Twenty Thouſand *Ducats*. *Ferdinand* was to provide Twelve Hundred *Men at Arms*, a Thouſand *Light Horſe*, Ten Thouſand *Foot*, and Twenty Thouſand *Ducats* a Month. It is true, neither the King of *France*, nor the Duke of *Ferrara*, were named in the Treaty as Enemies of the Allies. But it was eaſy to perceive they were pointed at, ſince the Intent of the League was to reſtore to the Pope the City of *Bologna*, and all that belonged to *the Holy See*, of what nature ſoever it might be, and to make War upon all Perſons that ſhould offer to hinder it. A Place was left for the Emperour in caſe he would enter into it; and *Raymond* of *Cardona*, Viceroy of *Naples*, was declared *General of the League*. 1511.

Articles of the League. Act. Pub. XIII. 305.

Whilſt all the World was in Expectation of the Iſſue of this League, the *Council* of *Piſa* was ſolemnly opened in that City by the *Cardinals* who had convened it, and ſome Biſhops of *France* and *Milan*. The firſt Seſſion was held on the 4th of *November*, though the Pope had excommunicated the *Cardinals*, and deprived them of that Dignity. The ſecond was held on the 11th of the ſame Month. But becauſe there was a Commotion that Day in the City, the Cardinals and Biſhops were ſo terrified, that they removed the *Council* next Day to *Milan*, where they expected to be more out of danger. The Truth is, the Inhabitants of *Piſa* could not but look with an ill Eye upon a *Council*, which rendered them obnoxious to an *Excommunication* and an *Interdict*, though it was not in their Power to oppoſe the Orders of the *Florentines* their Sovereigns.

A more ſolemn opening of the Council of Piſa.

The Council removes to Milan.

I have taken notice that the *Swiſs* were fallen out with *Lewis* XII, by the Practices of the Cardinal of *Sion*,

The Swiſſers *march into the* Milaneſe.

1511. *Sion*, or rather of the Pope himſelf, who ſet him to work. Their firſt Attempt to enter the *Milaneſe* proving unſucceſsful, they reſolved this Year to levy Sixteen Thouſand Men, the Cardinal of *Sion* having given his poſitive Promiſe that they ſhould receive Money upon their coming into *Italy*, and that at the ſame time the Army of the Allies ſhould keep the *French* in play in *la Romagna*. As this Levy could not be ready till the Beginning of the Winter, they began their March in the Month of *November*, and penetrated as far as *Vareſe*. *Gaſton de Foix*, Nephew of *Lewis* XII, Governour of *Milan*, was ſo unprovided with Troops, that he knew not which way to oppoſe their Paſſage. However, with the few Men he had he took the Field, that he might annoy them and obſtruct their march. But it was not poſſible for him to hinder them from coming to the very Gates of *Milan*.

They retire ſuddenly. The *French* had begun to furniſh the Caſtle with Ammunition in order to quit the City, when on a ſudden the *Swiſſers* hearing no news of the Pope, nor the Army of the Allies which they thought was drawn together in *la Romagna*, retired to their own Country, after they had burnt ſome Villages. If the Pope had kept his word with them, and ſent them the Money he promiſed them; and if at the ſame time the Army of the Allies had acted in *la Romagna*, *Milan*, *Bologna* and *Ferrara* would have been in great danger, ſince the *French* were then very weak in thoſe Parts. *La Poliſſe* was at that time in the Emperour's Army with a large Detachment of the King's beſt Troops.

Falſe Policy of Henry VIII *to meddle with the Affairs of* Italy. Nothing could be more advantagious to *England* than to ſee the Forces of *France* turned againſt *Italy*. The Conqueſt of the Dutchy of *Milan* was leſs beneficial to *Lewis* XII than to *England*. It helped *England* to a ſettled Tranquillity, whereas it created *France* perpetual Troubles, and put her to an exceſſive Expence. It was therefore Policy in *Henry* to let the *French*, *Germans*, *Italians* and *Spaniards* battle it in *Italy*, without involving himſelf in a War which could never turn to his Account. To the Time

Time I am ſpeaking of, the Kings of *England* had taken care not to meddle with the Affairs of *Italy*, if we except *Henry* III, who having unfortunately a ſtrong Inclination to make his ſecond Son King of *Sicily*, ruined his own Kingdom to put that extravagant Project in Execution. But he was not a Prince whom his Succeſſors ſhould take for a Pattern. The Advantages of this Policy were ſo manifeſt to all the *Engliſh*, that it required no leſs than *Ferdinand*, the craftieſt and moſt ſubtle Prince of his Age, to make them alter their Courſe. 1511.

This Prince had joined with the Pope ever ſince the Beginning of the Year 1510, or it may be ſince the latter End of the Year before, and yet he had been near two Years without declaring himſelf. This Delay proceeded only from his Deſire of being ſure of *England* firſt, that *Henry* might make a Diverſion in *France*, which would oblige *Lewis* XII to neglect the Affairs of *Italy*. This Diverſion muſt needs have been advantagious to the King of *Arragon*, ſince it would remove from *Italy*, or at leaſt weaken a Rival who kept him greatly in Awe. But it is hard to conceive wherein it could be of uſe to *England*. On the contrary, there ſeemed to be ſeveral very ſtrong Reaſons that ſhould have diverted *Henry* from ſuch a Deſign, not to ſay any Thing of the Peace he had lately renewed with *France*, and confirmed by a ſolemn Oath. This was probably what made him defer ſo long the Concluſion of the League I ſhall ſpeak of preſently. Indeed it was not poſſible but that ſome of the King's *Council* were clear-ſighted enough to ſee that this League was no ways advantagious to *England*, what colour ſoever they might give it.

Whilſt this Negotiation went on ſlowly in *England*, new Occurrences put *Ferdinand* upon taking freſh Meaſures, and contriving all ſorts of ways to ſucceed with *Henry*. *Lewis* XII perſiſted in his Deſign to hold *the Council of Piſa*, as hath been ſaid, and that cauſed *Julius* II to convene one at *the Lateran*, and excommunicate by the ſame *Bull* all the Princes and others who

The Pope excommunicates all the Adherents of the Council of Piſa.

1511. stood by the first. Among these Princes was *John d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, who being an Ally of *Lewis* XII, blindly followed the Directions of the Court of *France*. The King of *Navarre* had no sooner declared for *the Council of Pisa*, but *Ferdinand* formed the Design to take from him his whole Kingdom upon that Pretence, and to make *Henry* his Son-in-law his Instrument to bring it about. To that End he gave *Henry* to understand, that a fair Opportunity was offered to recover *Guienne*, which *France* had taken from one of his Predecessors, seeing the League that was going to be made in *Italy* would find *Lewis* XII so much Business, that in all likelihood he would not be in Condition to defend his own Country. But as the Distance of *Guienne* might make *Henry* apprehensive of the great Difficulty of such a Conquest, *Ferdinand*, out of his Affection for him, was very willing to promise to find him Troops, Transport-Ships, Artillery, Provisions, Ammunition, without stipulating any thing for himself, but the sole Pleasure of doing his Son-in-law so great a Kindness. This Offer opened the Eyes of *Henry* and his *Council* *. The Acquisition of *Guienne* seemed to them a Thing so advantagious, and withal so glorious in the Beginning of this Reign, that the King without any farther scruple entered into the League which the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians* had proposed to him. This was the real Motive *1 that induced the Court of *England* to break the Peace lately made with *France*, without alledging any other Reason but the Protection granted by *Lewis* to the Ben-

The King of Navarre *is of the Number.*

Ferdinand *designs to seize* Navarre.

He makes a cautious Proposal to Henry.

Henry *resolved upon carrying War into* Guienne.

* My Lord *Herbert* says, Some of the *Council*, who more seriously weighed the Business, were against a War with *France*, and more particularly for a Reason which *England* should never forget. *Let us therefore* (says one of the Council) *leave off our Attempts against the* Terra firma. *The natural Situation of Islands seems not to sort with Conquests in that kind.* England *alone is a just Empire. Or when we would enlarge our selves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the Eternal Providence hath destin'd us; and* that is by SEA. Herb. p. 8.

*1 Another Inducement to *Henry* was the Pope's Promise to take away the Title of *Most Christian* from the King of *France*, and confer it on him. *Herbert.*

Bentivoglio's and the calling of the unlawful Aſſembly of *Piſa*. As if *England* was any ways concerned to help the Pope to *Bologna*, and oppoſe with Arms a *Council*, conſiſting of ſome Twenty *French* Biſhops, without Power and Credit even in the very Place where they were aſſembled. We ſhall ſee preſently, how *Henry* was the *Dupe* of his *good* and *loving* Father-in-law and how *Ferdinand* politickly made uſe of him to ſerve his own Ends, without giving himſelf the leaſt Trouble about his Son-in-laws Affairs. 1511.

As ſoon as *Ferdinand* had gained *Henry*, he concluded at *Rome* with the Pope and the *Venetians*, the League ſpoken of before. In that Treaty of *Rome*, it was expreſsly ſaid, that all the Articles were negotiated and ſettled with the King of *England*'s Knowledge, the Cardinal of *York* acting for him, and expecting orders every Day to ſign it; but that for certain Reaſons the Concluſion of it could be no longer put off.

League between Henry and Ferdinand for the Conqueſt of Guienne. Act. Pub. XIII. 311. Nov. 17.

About ſix Weeks after, *Henry* and *Ferdinand* concluded at *London* a private League for the Conqueſt of *Guienne*. This was done in Purſuance of the firſt, upon the Suppoſition that the depriving of the King of *France* of that Province was a good Means to ſerve and protect the *Church* of God, which was the great and chief Aim of the Allies. If ever God's Holy Name was taken in vain, in an open and ſhameleſs Manner, it is ſo in the *Preambles* of theſe two Treaties. In the firſt, the Pope proteſted that his ſole Aim in deſiring *Bologna* and the other States which belonged to the *Church*, was to reſtore *Italy* to her former Tranquillity, that all *Chriſtians* might join their Forces and make War upon the *Infidels* as he had all along wiſhed, and ſtill did ſo with all his Heart. Thus to be able to war againſt the *Infidels*, it was neceſſary that *Italy* ſhould be free from Troubles, which could not be expected before the Pope ſhould have executed his ambitious Projects, without which *Italy* was not to hope to enjoy any Quiet.

False Motives of the League of Rome.

1411. *Articles of the League of* London *between* Henry *and* Ferdinand

In the second Treaty *Henry* and *Ferdinand* set forth, that they had made Alliances with all *Christian* Princes, with the sole View of being able to wage War with the Enemies of Christ: That therefore they were now taken up with preparing powerful Armies by Land and Sea; but that on a sudden, when they least expected it, News was brought them that the King of *France*'s Troops were besieging *Bologna*, where the Pope, old and sickly, lay seized with a grievous Distemper, and attended by all his Cardinals; That being extremely afflicted at this News, they had besought the King of *France* by Letters and Ambassadors sent on Purpose, to give over his Design: That the Pope had offered him the *Pardon* of all his Sins, provided only he would with-hold his Hands from the Patrimony of the *Church*, cease to inflame the *Schism*, and adhere to the *Council of Lateran*. But that all this had been to no Purpose. That on the contrary he had made himself Master of *Bologna*, by the Treachery of some of the Inhabitants; that he had twice routed the Army of the *Holy Church* of *Rome*, and in Contempt of the *Holy See* had convened a *Council*, having first bribed some of the *Cardinals*. That since the Pope had sent a *Legate* to him to demand only and nothing more but to leave off warring against the *Church*. That the *Legate* not having been able to prevail with him, the two Kings of *England* and *Spain* had sent Ambassadors to him to advise him in a friendly manner to give over his Undertakings, and agree with the Pope, or else they could do no less than take in Hand the Protection of the *Church*; but that their Advice had been slighted. That upon all these Considerations, the two Kings knowing perfectly well how detrimental such an Ambition might be to the *Catholick Faith*, the *Church* of God, and the Welfare of *Christendom*, had thought proper to agree upon the following Articles, to the Praise and Glory of Almighty God, our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and the whole Triumphant Court of Heaven, for the Defence, Exaltation, Increase of the *Catholick Faith*, the *Christian* Religion,

Religion, the *Holy Church* of *Rome*, which was unjuſtly oppreſſed, and upon the frequent Inſtances, Exhortations, and Admonitions of the Pope the Head thereof. The Subſtance of this pious Treaty was as follows : 1511.

I. The two Kings took upon them the Defenſe and Protection of the *Holy Roman Church* againſt all Perſons that ſhould dare to attack her.

II. *Ferdinand* as *Catholick King*, and to diſcharge his Duty to God and the *Church*, promiſed to take up Arms in the Defenſe of *Italy*.

In the IIId Article it was ſaid, that the Pope and the *ſacred College* had judged, that in order to deliver the *Church* from the Oppreſſion ſhe groaned under, it was neceſſary to wage War upon the King of *France*, not only in *Italy*, but in ſuch of his Provinces alſo as bordered upon the two Allies. And therefore it was agreed, that they ſhould carry their Arms into *Guienne*, and conquer that Province for the Crown of *England*, and that *Henry* in aſſiſting the *Church* might at the ſame Time recover what belonged to him. That to that Purpoſe, as ſoon as *Ferdinand* ſhould have actually declared againſt the Kingdom of *France*, and taken up Arms in Defenſe of the *Church*, *Henry* at a proper Seaſon ſhould proclaim War againſt the ſame Prince in Defenſe of the ſame *Church*.

To perform this Article, *Henry* promiſed to ſend into *Guienne* ſome Time in *April* 1512 a Body of ſix Thouſand *Foot* commanded by a good General; to maintain them at his own Expence, and not to recall them without the Conſent of the King of *Arragon*. *Ferdinand* bound himſelf on his Part to find five Hundred *Men at Arms*, fifteen Hundred *Light-Horſe*, and four Thouſand *Foot*, on the ſame Terms. Moreover he engaged to furniſh the *Engliſh* Troops with Proviſions and Ammunition at a moderate Price. It was farther agreed, that each of the two Kings ſhould ſend a Fleet to Sea with three Thouſand good Soldiers

1511. Soldiers on Board, beſides the Sailors, and that neither of them ſhould recall his Fleet without the other's Conſent.

IV. That *Ferdinand* ſhould find forty Ships, at a reaſonable rate, to tranſport the *Engliſh* Forces.

V. That in Caſe the Allies ſhould take any Places in *Guienne and elſewhere*, they ſhould be put into the Hands of him of the two Kings who had a *prior* Title to them.

VI. That if the Army of one of the two Kings ſhould be in *Guienne or elſewhere*, they ſhould jointly take care of the Defence of the Country of him who wanted it, with all their Power and in good earneſt.

VII. The two Kings conſidering that the Pope had convened at *Rome* a *Council*, which all *Chriſtian* Princes ought to obey, and ſend Ambaſſadors to, and ſince it was affirmed that the King of *France* perſiſted in his Deſign to continue the *Council* he had cauſed to be ſummoned to *Piſa*, they agreed to ſtand by whatever ſhould be decreed by the *Council of Lateran*, and to oppoſe that of *Piſa* with all its Friends and Abettors.

That neither of the two Kings ſhould make Peace or Truce without a mutual Conſent.

That by this Treaty, former ones ſhould not be deemed void, but on the contrary they ſhould remain in full Force.

That it ſhould be ratified within four Months, by *Henry* and *Ferdinand* in his own and the Name of Queen *Joan* his Daughter.

Imprudence of Henry and his Council.

Henry and his *Council* thought no doubt they had made a very advantagious Treaty, ſince it was to procure them the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and ſince *Ferdinand* demanded nothing for himſelf, as if he had acted purely from a religious Motive, and out of Affection for his Son-in-law, tho' in reality he had conſulted only his own Intereſt. As for the Pope's Affairs, which both Kings ſeemed to have ſo much at Heart, it may be affirmed, they did not ſo much as think of them,

m, as plainly appeared afterwards. But they ſtood 1511.
eed of that Pretenſe to dazzle the Eyes of the
rld, though in all appearance the World was not
blind as to imagine that two great Kings ſhould
e up Arms on purpoſe to diſſolve a *Council* which
led itſelf *General*, conſiſting of a ſmall Number of
hops, of one Nation only, and ſo little regarded,
t even at *Milan* where it was removed, the Go-
nment was forced to make uſe of their whole Au-
rity to get it received.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Emperour gave the *Lewis's Suſpicions of the Emperour.*
g of *France* ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect him of un-
Dealings, that nothing but mere Neceſſity made
put any farther Confidence in him. There was
German Biſhop come to the *Council*, and when the
perour was preſſed upon that Head, he replied,
as neceſſary firſt to have the Approbation of the
Diet of the Empire, which he did not queſtion but he
uld obtain: That although he ſhould ſend Biſhops
m his Hereditary Dominions to *Piſa*, it would do
re hurt than good to the *Council*; ſeeing it would
e occaſion to imagine that he deſpaired of obtain-
the *Diet*'s Conſent. On the other Hand, inſtead
going to command in Perſon his Army in the *Ve-*
an Dominions, as he was obliged to do, he left all
the *French* Troops, who were come to his Aid. In
rt, whilſt he liſtened to the Offers of the Pope,
dinand, and the *Venetians*, he inſinuated to the
nch Ambaſſador, that he was ready to march to
me at the Head of an Army, provided his Maſter
uld ſend him a ſtrong Reinforcement, and a Sum
Money in proportion to the Vaſtneſs of the Under-
ng. Amidſt theſe Uncertainties, *Lewis* knew not
t to truſt to. He could not look upon *Maximi-*
but as an Ally ready to abandon him if he found
ore for his Intereſt to ſide with his Enemies. In
ch Caſe, all the Conqueſt the Emperour ſhould
e upon the *Venetians*, would be ſo many Loſſes to
nce. Mean while the Supplies he lent him were
chargeable, and yet he durſt not afford him a
Handle

1511. Handle to change Sides. Thus *Lewis* saw himself u
on the Point of having upon his back all the For
of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetia*
without any Prospect of Assistance from the Emp
our. As for *England*, though he knew nothing yet
the Treaty of *London*, and though *Henry*'s Ambas
dors positively denied that his Master had any Des
to concern himself in the Quarrel, all *Henry*'s P
ceedings made him plainly perceive it would not
long first before he declared against him.

Lewis suspects Henry.

The King of Arragon's Army joins the Pope and Venetians.

Mean while the Pope, who had ever in his Eye the t
ing of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, was very pressing with t
Viceroy of *Naples* to move forward his Troops, a
come and take the Command of the *confederate* Arm
But maugre all his Sollicitations, the Forces co
not be joined till the middle of *December*, and t
the *Naples*-Artillery not being yet arrived, the Ar
could not be employed only in some Expeditions
little Moment in *la Romagna*, with which ended
Year 1511. It is Time now to return to the Affa
of *England*.

Guicciard.

Though *Henry* had not yet proclaimed War w
France, *Lewis* XII knew well enough what he was
expect. He had pretty good Intelligence by me
of one *Buonviso* a Merchant of *Lucca*, who upon M
ters going ill with him, had retired into *Engla*
where he had obtained so much Favour from
Pope, as to be made a kind of Agent. This M
having suffered himself to be bribed by *France*,
covered to *Lewis* the Secrets the Pope was someti
forced to trust him with; and hence it was that
Court of *France* was informed of many Things wh
the *English* would very fain have hid from him.

Lewis has notice of the League of London.

Lewis was probably by this Means that the King of *Fr*
had the first notice of the League concluded at *L*
don, though they made a great Secret of it.
shortly after he had no longer any need of Spies
know *Henry*'s Intentions.

he Parliament being met on the 4th of *February*, King imparted to them his Deſign of making upon *France*. He proteſted that his ſole Aim to free the Pope from the Oppreſſion the King of *nce* held him in, and eſpecially to cauſe the Schiſical *Council* of *Piſa*, now removed to *Milan*, to be olved. Though this War taken in Hand, as the g himſelf affirmed, purely for the Pope's Sake, d not with the Intereſt of *England*, the Parliament ever gave the King a large *Subſidy*. In all appear-, the leading Members in the *Houſe of Commons* g let into the true Reaſons, ordered it ſo that the fell in with their Opinion. Otherwiſe it would have very difficult to make them underſtand the neity of *England*'s going to War with *France*, on poſe to reſtore *Bologna* to the Pope and diſſolve a *ncil* ſo inconſiderable as that of *Piſa*. Before the liament broke up, the King was pleaſed to reſtore *n Dudley* Son of *Edmund Dudley* to the Rank and nours his Family had been deprived of by the Fa-'s *Attainder*. From that Time he had always a dneſs for him, and at length, towards the End of Reign he made him Lord High-Admiral.

1512. Henry *acquaints the Parliament with his Deſigns and obtains an Aid of Money.* Herbert.

John Dudley *Son of* Edmund Dudley *reſtored.* Herbert.

he War *Henry* intended to undertake againſt *nce*, having for Colour the diſſolving of the *Council Piſa*, he could not help acknowledging that of *La-n*, and ſending thither Ambaſſadors. He made ice of *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with Sir *Ro-Wingfield*, and commiſſioned them to agree in his ne to whatever ſhould be deemed neceſſary for Reformation of the *Church*, as well in the *Head as be Members*. This *Clauſe* was deſigned purely to a Miſt before People's Eyes, ſince certainly no-g was farther from the Pope's Thoughts, than to bout in this *Council*, either his own or the *Church*'s ormation.

Henry *ſends Ambaſſadors to the Council of* Lateran. Act. Pub. XIII. 325. *Feb.* 9. Herbert.

he Time being come to put in Execution the Pro- *Henry* and *Ferdinand* had agreed upon in the aty of *London*, *Henry* gave the Command of his Fleet

The Marquiſs of Dorſet *leads an Army into* Spain. Act Pub. XIII. 329.

1512. Fleet to *Edward Howard* Son and Heir to the E of *Surry*, and of his Army which was to act Land, to *Thomas Grey* Marquiſs of *Dorſet*. All Troops that were to ſerve in the Expedition u *Guienne*, being embarked about the End of *May*, Board *Spaniſh* Veſſels, arrived on the 8th of *Jun Paſſage*, in the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, where the M quiſs of *Dorſet* landed thoſe he was to command. Lord *Herbert* ſays, theſe Troops conſiſted of Thouſand Men, but in all appearance he include that Number the three Thouſand that were to at Sea according to the Treaty *.

The Admiral having convoyed the Marquiſ *Dorſet* to *Spain*, put to Sea again, and arriving the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, landed ſome Troops who p dered the Country. *Henry* having notice that King of *France* was preparing a great naval Ar ment, ſent a Supply *1 to his Admiral, which bled him to make Head againſt the *French*. two Fleets meeting on the 10th of *Auguſt* came furious Engagement, which ended in great Loſs both Sides. The *Regent*, a firſt Rate Ship *2, and *Cordeliere* commanded by *Primauget* *3 being g pled, blew up both together, with the Loſs of e Soul on Board. This Accident happened by deſp

* He ſays farther, that it appears by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory that were among them 5000 *Archers*, who carried, beſides their *Halberts*, which they pitched in the Ground till their Arrows ſhot, and then took up again to do Execution on the En An excellent Part (ſays he) of Military Diſcipline, and yet n marked by our *Engliſh* Chronicles. p. 9.

*1 Of 25 Ships, which the King came and viewed at *mouth*.

*2 Commanded by Sir *Thomas Knevet* Maſter of the Horſe.

*3 *Barbarouſly* called by our Chronicles, Sir *Piers Morgan*, my Lord *Herbert*, p. 11. In this Sea-Fight the *Engliſh* ha and the *French* 39 Ships. *Hollingſhead* gives a large Deſcripti the Battle.

desperate Courage of *Primauget*, who finding he could not save his Ship, set Fire to the Powder *. 1512.

The Treaty of the *London*-League seemed to be made on Purpose to pave the way for *Henry* to the Conquest of *Guienne*. But *Ferdinand* had never any such Thoughts. His sole Aim was to conquer *Navarre* for himself, and to employ to that End the *English* Troops he had sent for into *Spain*. But as it was by no means proper to let *Henry* know so much, he had decoyed him with the hopes of recovering *Guienne*, in order to induce him to send his Troops. This is the true Reason which made *Ferdinand* show in the Treaty so much Disinterestedness, that all the Benefit seemed to be on the Side of *England*. But his Deeds were very far from corresponding with his Words. *Ferdinand's private Design to conquer* Navarre.

Upon the Marquiss of *Dorset*'s Arrival in *Guipuscoa*, he found a Commissioner of the King's, who paid him a great deal of Respect, and told him that the Duke of *Alva* was going to take the Field in order to join him. And indeed the Duke immediately put himself at the Head of the *Spanish* Army. But instead of joining the *English* who were encamped near *Fontarabia* with Design to besiege with him the City of *Bayonne*, as was resolved, he kept at *Logrogno* on the Borders of *Navarre*. He forthwith intimated to the *English* General, that the King of *Navarre* being in Alliance with *France*, it would be too dangerous to leave *Navarre* behind them whilst they attacked *Bayonne* : That whilst they should be employed in the Siege, the King of *Navarre* might let the *French* into his Dominions, join with them, and by encamping between the Mountains of *Navarre*, and the Sea, cut off the Provisions which should be brought to the Camp before *Bayonne*, without being obliged to give Battle, if he thought proper : That therefore it would be necessary before they undertook the Siege, to *His many Artifices to compass his Ends.*

* Upon the loss of the *Regent*, the King built a Ship the greatest ever known before. Though *Buchanan* and *Leste* say, he imitated *James* IV King of *Scotland* in one he had made, but built so that they could not make it steer. *Herbert*. p. 11.

1512. to try to bring the King of *Navarre* into the Intereſt of their Maſters.

Theſe Reaſons were ſo plauſible, that the Marquiſ of *Dorſet* was eaſily perſwaded to ſend an *Engliſh* Offi cer to the King of *Navarre*, to require him to ſid with the Allies. *Ferdinand* called upon him likewiſe but with more haughtineſs, to forſake the King o *France*, and come into the League *. The King o *Navarre* replied, that he was reſolved to ſtand Neu ter. But the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* not ſatisfied with thi Anſwer, preſſed him jointly to declare himſelf, o to put into their Hands four of his Towns for thei Security, which that Prince would not agree to During theſe Negotiations a *French* Army com manded by the Duke of *Longueville*, approached th Frontiers of *Bearn*. Whereupon the Marquiſs of *Dor ſet* complained to *Ferdinand*, that the Time which ha been loſt in ſolliciting the King of *Navarre*, had ſerve only to give the *French* an Opportunity to come an defend their Borders, and withal he preſſed him t declare whether he would attack *Guienne*, purſuant t the Treaty of *London*. *Ferdinand* anſwered, tha Prudence would not ſuffer him to ſend his Army t *Fontarabia* in order to beſiege *Bayonne*, and to leav his Dominions expoſed to the Invaſions of the *Fren* and *Navarrois*: That it was much better to pa through *Navarre* and ſecure three or four Places, tha he might hinder his Enemies from making uſe of tha Kingdom againſt him: That therefore he wiſhed th *Engliſh* would come and join with the Duke *d' Alva* and that his Army ſhould make the Vanguard, an be expoſed to the firſt Dangers: That however th Siege of *Bayonne* would be in no ways retarded, be cauſe there was no queſtion but the King of *Navar* would be glad to ſee himſelf put to ſtraits a littl that he might be able to clear himſelf to the King *France* when he ſhould enter into the League. Where upon the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, who did not yet ſee int

* It was called the *Holy League*.

s Deſigns, having called a Council of War, re- 1512.
ied, That by his Inſtructions he could undertake
thing againſt the King of *Navarre:* but if the Duke
Alva would paſs through that Kingdom, he might
it if he pleaſed; but for his Part, being already
ar *Bayonne*, he could not think of taking ſo great
Compaſs to go and join him.

Ferdinand was not ſatisfied with this Anſwer. He *The Duke of* Alva *beſieges* Pampelu-na.
iſted upon what he had propoſed, that the *Engliſh*
roops ſhould come and join his Army, and in the
ean while gave Orders to the Duke of *Alva* to lay
ege to *Pampeluna*, Metropolis of *Navarre*. During
e Siege, he continually amuſed the Marquiſs of
orſet, with poſitive Promiſes that immediately after
e taking of *Pampeluna*, the Duke of *Alva* ſhould
me and join him in order to beſiege *Bayonne*. Mean
ile, the King of *Navarre* not being in Condition to *The King of* Navarre *retires to* France.
fend himſelf was gone to *France*, where he made a
reaty with *Lewis* XII for their common Defence. But
coſt him the Town of *Salvatierra*, and all *Bearn*,
ich he was forced to put into the Hands of the
ench.

Pampeluna having ſurrendered by Capitulation on Pampelu-na *taken*.
e 25th of *July*, *Ferdinand*, according to his Promiſe,
ould have ordered the Duke of *Alva* to go and
n the *Engliſh*. But the reſt of the fortified Towns
Navarre ſerved him for a Pretence to put it off. So Ferdinand *goes on with his Artifices*.
e Duke of *Alva* carried on his Conqueſts, whilſt
Engliſh Troops, though without ſtirring from their
mp, ſerved as a Countenance to his Deſigns. And
eed, though the *French*, who daily received freſh
pplies, ſaw themſelves ſtrong enough to withſtand
Duke of *Alva*, yet they never dared to enter *Na-*
rre, for fear of getting between the *Engliſh* and
niards. Wherefore, contented to remain encamped *The Duke of* Alva *over-runs* Navarre.
tween *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, they gave the
ke of *Alva* all the Leiſure he wanted to over-
almoſt all *Navarre*.

1512. *The Marquis of* Dorset *perceives* Ferdinand's *Artifices.* Ferdinand *gets an Order for the Marquis to obey him.*

Then it was that the Marquis of *Dorset* plainly perceived that the King of *Arragon* acted unfairly, and that his Design from the very first was not to invade *Guienne*, but to conquer *Navarre*. *Ferdinand* was very sensible that his Artifices would in the End be discovered. And therefore, to prevent the Complaints which the *English* General might make to the King his Master, he had dispatched an Express to *England* to give *Henry* an Account, after his own way, of the Affairs of that Country, and to desire him to order his General to act in Concert with him. *Henry*, who had received nothing to the contrary from the Marquis, was easily brought to do as *Ferdinand* desired, and sent *Windsor*-Herald with his Orders to the General.

He has a mind to attack Bearn.

Whilst the *Herald* was on his Way, the Duke of *Alva* became Master of St. *Juan de Pie del Puerto*. Presently after the taking of that Place, *Ferdinand* sent word to the Marquis of *Dorset*, that his Army was ready to march into *Guienne*, and desired him to join the Duke of *Alva* without delay. But the Marquis was no longer willing to be imposed upon. He knew that the *French* Army was intrenched between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, with the River *Bidassoa* in Front, which could not be passed but within their view; and that besides *Bayonne* was so well provided with all things, that there was no likelihood of being able to besiege it. So that what *Ferdinand* proposed was impracticable, and no more in Effect but the Continuance of his Artifices. From St. *Juan de Pie de Puerto*, one could alike march into *Bearn* by going to the Right, or to *Bayonne* by taking the Left-hand Road. So the Duke of *Alva*'s Intent was to engage the *English* to enter *Bearn* with him, under colour that there was no other way to draw the Enemies from their advantagious Post, or at least to carry on the Siege of *Salvatierra*. But the *English* General having no Orders to make War upon the King of *Navarre* either in *Bearn* or elsewhere, refused to join the *Spaniards*. *Ferdinand* reaped this Advantage from

The Marquis refuses to help him.

Refus

Refuſal, that he caſt the whole Blame upon him, of their not attacking *Guienne* according to the Treaty. After that, the Duke of *Alva* turning back, went and beſieged *Eſtella*, the only Place the King of *Navarre* had left. 1512.

He prepares to return to England.

The Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, full of Indignation at theſe Proceedings, and conſidering that his Army grew weaker every Day by Sickneſs and want of Proviſions, of which he was cut very ſhort ſince the War was carrying on in *Navarre*, deſired the King to furniſh him with Ships for his Return. He had much ado to get any, *Ferdinand* proteſting ſtill againſt his Departure as directly contrary to the Treaty. Mean while, he was not ſorry for it, ſeeing the *Engliſh* were almoſt become uſeleſs to him, ſince he was Maſter of *Navarre*. Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* falling ill, the Lord *Thomas Howard* took the Command of the Army. At the ſame time, as the Troops were juſt going to embark, the Herald arrived from *England* with poſitive Orders to the General, to obey King *Ferdinand* in every thing he ſhould command. But the Army mutining upon this News, it was impoſſible to keep the Soldiers any longer in *Spain*; and therefore embarking them, they arrived in *England* in the Month of *November*. *Henry* was at firſt in a great Paſſion with his General: But being informed of all Particulars during the Campain, he plainly ſaw that *Ferdinand* had made a Cully of him, and that the Diſintereſtedneſs which he had affected in the Treaty of the League, was only to decoy him the more eaſily into the Snare. He thought proper however to diſſemble the Matter, for fear of giving *Ferdinand* a Pretence to ſide with *France*, and ſo leave him in the Lurch.

He arrives in England.

Henry perceives he had been impoſed upon.

Before the Year was expired, *Ferdinand* ſaw himſelf in full Poſſeſſion of *Navarre*, though the King of *France* had uſed ſome Endeavours to wreſt that Conqueſt out of his Hands. In the Month of *December*, the King of *Navarre* and *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* beſieged *Pampeluna*: but not being able to take the

1512. Ferdinand *keeps* Navarre.

Place, they were forced to abandon the rest of the Kingdom to the *Spaniards*. After *Ferdinand* was in Possession of *Navarre*, he sought Pretences to keep it, but found no better than a *Bull* of Pope *Julius* II, who excommunicated *John d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, and gave his Kingdom to the first that should take it. *Mezerai* affirms, this *Bull* never appeared; but my Lord *Herbert* says, it was dated *March* 1. 1512.

Affairs of Italy.

We must now see what passed in *Italy* whilst *Ferdinand* was conquering *Navarre*. The confederate Army of the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*, under the Command of the Viceroy of *Naples*, taking the Field in the Month of *December*, the Pope caused the Viceroy to be continually pressed by Cardinal *John de Medicis* his Legate to lay siege to *Bologna*.

Siege of Bologna, *raised by* Gaston de Foix.

At length, in spite of the Opposition of the Viceroy and the *Venetian* General, who foresaw great Difficulties in the Execution of that Design, the Pope must be complied with; and the Siege of *Bologna* being resolved upon, the Army of the Allies came before the City. But *Gaston de Foix* Duke of *Nemours* and Governour of *Milan*, coming to its relief, compelled the Allies to raise the Siege. Some Days after he defeated a *Venetian* Army at *Brescia*, and slew Eight Thousand Men. At last, having found Means to give the Allies battle near *Ravenna*, he put them to rout and took the *Legate* Prisoner: but he was slain himself after the Battle, as he was too hotly pursuing a Body of *Spaniards*, who were retreating in good Order. After that Prince's Death, *la Palisse* took the Command of the Army, and next Day became Master of *Ravenna*. Whereupon, all the Towns of *la Romagna*, which the Pope had taken after the Battle of *Agnadel*, voluntarily surrendred to the Cardinal of St. *Severin*, who was in the *French* Army as *Legate* of the *Council* of *Pisa* transferred to *Milan*.

He routs the Allies, but is killed himself.

La Palisse *is Master of all* la Romagna.

The Pope tries to gain time.

The Consternation at *Rome* was so great, that the *Cardinals* went in a Body to petition the Pope to make a Peace with *France*. But *Julius* II had After-games, which the *Cardinals* it may be knew nothing of. Wherefore,

fore, all they could get of him was to engage him to make ſome feigned Advances in order to gain time, and hinder the *French* from marching to *Rome*, as they might eaſily have done without fear of meeting any Oppoſition. 1512.

Whilſt *Lewis*'s Affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt flouriſhing Condition, they were in reality juſt going to decay. The *Swiſſers* egged on by the Cardinal of *Sion*, preparing to exert their utmoſt to invade the Dutchy of *Milan*, *la Paliſſe* thought it more proper for his Maſter's Intereſts to go and relieve that Country which was deſtitute of Troops, than to puſh his Conqueſts in the *Eccleſiaſtical* State. So, leaving the Cardinal of St. *Severin* in *la Romagna*, with five or ſix Thouſand Men, he marched with all ſpeed to *Milan*. The Retreat of the *French*, when it lay in their Power to come up to the Gates of *Rome*, inſpired *Julius* II with freſh Courage. From thenceforward he would no longer hear a Word of Peace, though *Lewis* XII offered him the ſame Terms he had done before his Victory. At this Juncture it was that the *Council* of *Lateran* was opened on the 3d of *May*, it having been delayed by reaſon of the Battle of *Ravenna*.

Lewis's Affairs decline.

The Swiſſers *march to* Milan.

La Paliſſe *relieves it.*

The Pope refuſes a Peace.

Opening of the Council of Lateran.

All proſpect of Peace vaniſhing, the Pope excommunicated *Lewis* XII, and put *France* under an *Interdict* *. He uſed for Pretence the Captivity of his *Legate* who was kept at *Milan*, where, as much a Priſoner as he was, he performed however the Functions of the Pope's *Legate*, the Inhabitants of *Milan* refuſing to own the Authority of the *Council* held in their City. It was a terrible Mortification to *Lewis*, to ſee his *Council* contemned by his own Subjects: but this was but a ſmall Part of the Misfortunes to which he ſaw himſelf expoſed this Year. After *la Paliſſe* had quitted *la Romagna*, all the Towns ſubmitted again to

Lewis XII *is excommunicated.*

The Council is contemned at Milan.

La Romagna *returns to the Pope.*

* It is ſaid that *Lewis* cauſed certain *Medals* to be coined with this Inſcription, *Perdam Babylonem*, *I will deſtroy Babylon*. Which if true, ſhows that *Rome* was not called *Babylon* firſt by *Proteſtants*.

1512. the Pope. At the same time *Ferdinand* became Master of *Navarre*, and *Lewis* was forced to send an Army into *Bearn* to hinder the *English* and *Spaniards* from invading *Guienne*. On the other Hand, the Emperour concluded a Truce with *Venice*, and secretly promised to withdraw from the *French* Army a Body of *German* Troops, which he had lent the King for the Defence of the *Milanese*. And yet upon the Assurance of these Supplies it was that *Lewis* recalled from *Milan* part of his own Troops, not doubting but with those he left there, and the *Germans* which the Emperour had sent, he should be strong enough to withstand his Enemies. Thus the *French* finding themselves very weak in the Dutchy of *Milan*, *la Palisse* had been obliged to recall the *Cardinal* of St. *Severin*, with the Body he had left with him, and that was the Cause of the Loss of *la Romagna*.

The Emperour's Truce with the Venetians

Mean while, the *Swissers*, to the Number of sixteen Thousand Men, began their March about the End of the Month of *August*, or the Beginning of *September*. But instead of taking the direct Road to the *Milanese*, the Passes whereof they did not question were strongly guarded, they marched to *Trent*, thro' which *Maximilian* let them pass. Though this, if any, was a hostile Act, yet was he still willing to hide his Intentions, by telling the *French* Ambassador, that his Alliance with the *Swissers* would not suffer him to refuse them free Passage through his Dominions; as if that he had made with *Lewis* XII was to be less observed. The *Swissers* having passed through *Trent*, went on to *Verona*, where they joined the *Venetians*, which done, they marched together towards *Milan*. Whereupon, the *French* all in Confusion, not being above Ten Thousand strong, resolved to retire into the fortified Towns, in order to waste the Enemy's Army by Sieges, till the King should be able to send them Supplies, or the Winter, which was coming on, should stop the Progress of the Allies. But this Refuge was quickly taken from them, by the Emperour's Orders for his Troops to withdraw immediately.

The Emperour lets the Swissers *pass through* Trent.

They approach Milan.

The Emperour withdraws his Troops from the French.

ately. These Orders being punctually obeyed, *la Palisse* found himself so weak, that despairing of saving the *Milanese*, he resolved to repass the Mountains and return to *France*. The Prelates of the *Council* seeing *Milan* was going to be abandoned, suddenly removed the *Council* to *Lyons* by a Decree, and followed the *French* Troops. They would fain have carried the Cardinal *de Medicis* along with them; but they went away in such Confusion and Disorder, that his Friends found Means to run away with him. After the *French* were retired, all the Towns of the Dutchy readily surrendered to the *Swissers* and *Venetians*, except *Parma*, *Plaisence*, and *Reggio*, which submitted to the Pope. On the other Side, *Alexander Bentivoglio* not thinking himself safe any longer in *Bologna*, departed from thence with all his Family, leaving the City to the Pope's Mercy. Thus *Julius* II, who about a Month before saw himself in a most wretched Condition, was got to the Height of his Wishes by this surprising Turn, which put him in Possession of *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, all *la Romagna*, and drove the *French* out of *Italy*.

1512. *who returnHome.*

The Council removed to Lyons.

Cardinal deMedicis *makes his Escape.*

Bologna *left to the Pope's Mercy.*

There remained still four Things to do to render the Pope's Happiness complete; namely, to dispossess the Duke of *Ferrara*, to restore the *Sforza*'s to *Milan* and the *Medicis* to *Florence*; and lastly, to chace the *Germans* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*. As for the Duke of *Ferrara* he went of his own accord and put himself into the Pope's Hands upon the Faith of a *Safe-Conduct*. A piece of Imprudence which would have cost him dear, had not *Fabricius Colonna* his Friend delivered him by forcing the Guard set at the Gate of *Rome* to hinder his going out.

The Duke of Ferrara *goes to* Rome, *and escapes.*

The *French* were no sooner out of *Italy*, but the Allies began to discover the different Ends they had aimed at in acting against *France*. Upon this Occasion they judged it proper to have a meeting at *Mantua*, where they could agree but upon two Articles, namely, that *Maximilian Sforza* eldest Son of *Lodovico* the *Moor*, should be restored to *Milan*, and the House

Congress of Mantua. *between the Allies.*

1512. Florence *submits to the* Medicis.

of the *Medicis* to *Florence*. In pursuance of the last Resolve, the Army of the Allies approaching *Florence*, compelled the *Florentines* to consent to a Treaty, whereby the *Medicis* were restored to their Country as Citizens only, and not as Governours. But the Cardinal *de Medicis* having entered the City by Virtue of the Treaty, whilst the Army of the Allies was at the Gates, found Means to let in abundance of Officers and Soldiers, and to raise a Sedition which made him Master of the City. Whereupon the Government was settled upon the same Foot it was before the Family of the *Medicis* were banished.

Another Congress at Rome.

It was a great Step for the Pope to have restored the *Medicis* to *Florence*, and obtained that *Sforza* should be put in Possession of *Milan*. But this was not enough to satisfy him. The Duke of *Ferrara* was still Master of his Dutchy, and the *Council* of *Pisa* was still sitting at *Lyons*. The Allies therefore must be brought to turn their Arms against *Ferrara*, and procure a Peace between the Emperour and the *Venetians*, that the Emperour might no longer scruple to abandon his *Council*. To that Purpose the Pope got a second Meeting to be held at *Rome*, where he could do no good with respect to the first Point, because the King of *Arragon* protected the Duke of *Ferrara*. Besides, the *Venetians* could not agree to find Men and Money to make the Pope Master of that Dutchy. As to the second Point, concerning the Peace between the Emperour and *Venice*, he found still greater Difficulties, though he eagerly wished to bring about that Project for fear one or other of the two should recall the *French* into *Italy*. But the intolerable Terms the Emperour offered the *Venetians*, hindered him from succeeding. In short, the Pope seeing his Labour was in vain, and desiring at any rate to dissolve the *Council* of *Pisa*, and prevent the *French* from coming back into *Italy*, concluded with the Emperour a League *Offensive* and *Defensive* against *Venice*. By this Treaty, the Emperour engaged to become a principal Party in the League of *Rome*, and agreed that the Pope

The Pope's League with the Emperour against Venice. Guicciard. *Articles of the League.*

Pope ſhould keep *Parma*, *Plaiſence*, and *Reggio*, ſaving however the Rights of the Empire. He promiſed to renounce the *Council* of *Piſa*, and forſake the Duke of *Ferrara* and the *Bentivoglio's*. The Pope obliged himſelf on his Part, to aid the Emperour with all his Power, to thunder his *Cenſures* againſt the *Venetians*, to declare them excluded out of the League of *Rome*, and to let alone the *Colonna's* whom he was proſecuting for having helped the Duke of *Ferrara* to make his Eſcape. The Treaty being ſigned and ratified, the Biſhop of *Gurck* as the Emperour's Lieutenant, renounced in the next Seſſion of the *Council* of *Lateran*, the Aſſembly of *Piſa*, and revoked whatever the Emperour had done towards the calling and ſupporting it. 1512.

The Emperour renounces the Council of Piſa.

About the End of *December*, *Maximilian Sforza*, eldeſt Son of *Lodovico the Moor*, was put in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, purſuant to the Agreement of the Allies at *Mantua*.

Sforza *is put in Poſſeſſion of* Milan.

I have now run over the Occurrences of the Year 1512, a Year very remarkable for the ſeveral Turns which the Affairs of *Italy* underwent, and ſtill more ſo on account of the Behaviour of the Princes concerned, whereby one may ſee their different Characters. *Lewis* XII was over-ſcrupulous, which made him loſe the Opportunity of putting it out of the Pope's Power to hurt him, and which in the End proved the Cauſe of the Loſs of the *Milaneſe*. *Julius* II made Religion ſubſervient to his immoderate Ambition, by uſing the *Glory of God* and the *Good of the Church* as a Cloak to gratify his Paſſions. Having formed a League to reſtore the *Venetians* to their Dominions, to the Glory of God and Exaltation of the *Chriſtian Faith*, he made another on the ſame Pretenſe, to diſpoſſeſs them of all they had recovered. *Ferdinand* drew *Henry* VIII into a War for the Pope's Defenſe, and to procure *Guienne* for the Crown of *England*. But he ordered it ſo as to make the War ſerve to help himſelf to *Navarre*. The Emperour *Maximilian* acted with no greater Sincerity. His Behaviour

Remarks on the Year 1512.

was

1512. was the more extraordinary, as it was to *Lewis* XII alone that he was indebted for all he had conquered in *Italy*, after the League of *Cambray*. Nay, the very keeping his Conqueſt was wholly owing to the continual Supplies that Prince furniſhed him with. And yet he no ſooner ſaw him upon the Decline, but he lent his Hand to puſh him down the Precipice in the moſt ungrateful manner in the World. 'Tis ſaid that he had a Book wherein he wrote down in *red Letters*, the Injuries he received from the King of *France*. But I cannot tell in what colour *Lewis* XII ſhould have writ in his Book the Wrong *Maximilian* did him upon that Occaſion. As for *Henry* VIII he was certainly the *Dupe* both of the King of *Arragon* and of the Pope. But what is more ſtrange, after *Ferdinand* and *Julius* II, by their Artifices had ingaged that Prince in a League againſt *France*, as ſoon as Matters had taken ſuch a Turn that they ſtood no longer in need of his Aſſiſtance, they thought no more of him than if there had been no ſuch Perſon in the World. In all the Negotiations between the Allies, whether at *Mantua* or *Rome*, ſince the Retreat of the *French*, Cardinal *Banbridge* was never called to them, neither was there any mention of the King of *England*. The Pope and King of *Arragon*, ſatisfied with having chaſed away the *French*, left *Henry* in the Lurch, without troubling themſelves about his Concerns. It even appears that he had no notice of theſe Negotiations. We ſee in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 10th of *November*, he ſtill gave *full Powers* to his Ambaſſadors at ſeveral Courts, to treat about a League in Favour of the Pope, at the very Time when the Pope threw up all Care of the Intereſts of *England*. About this Time *Henry* ſigned *Letters Patents* declaring that he entered into the League concluded at *Rome* a Year before, though ſince that, *Julius* II was in poſſeſſion of *Ravenna*, all *la Romagna*, *Parma*, *Plaiſence*, *Reggio*, and though his Deſires had been accompliſhed by the Loſs *Lewis* had ſuſtained, of *Genoa* and *Milan*, and by the Emperour's

erour's renouncing the Aſſembly of *Piſa*. Thus it 1512.
evident that he was the *Dupe* of all theſe Intrigues. He lent, without knowing any Thing of the Matter, his Troops to *Ferdinand* to conquer *Navarre*. On the other Hand, the Terror of his Arms was wonderfully ſubſervient to the Pope's Deſigns, inaſmuch as it hindered *Lewis* XII from keeping in *Italy* Troops which he believed he had need of to defend his own Kingdom againſt the *Engliſh*. This was the real Aim of *Julius* and *Ferdinand*, and *Henry* was blind enough to engage without any Neceſſity, in a War with *France* for their Intereſt, imagining he was acting for his own.

Henry ſuffers himſelf to be farther impoſed upon.

Who would not have thought that *Henry*'s Experience ſhould have made him wiſer and more circumſpect? And yet he ſuffered himſelf to be farther impoſed upon by theſe very Princes, who let him know that having nothing more to fear in *Italy*, they were going to join all their Forces to invade *France*, and that if he would act likewiſe, he might eaſily recover *Guienne* and *Normandy*. *Henry* being perſwaded of their Sincerity, diſpatched out of Hand Ambaſſadors to *Bruſſels*, to conclude a League againſt *France* with the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Arragon*, *Charles* of *Auſtria* Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, and *Margaret* Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy* his Aunt, who governed his Dominions during his *Minority*. *Henry* reckoned that the Execution of the Treaty he ſhould make with them would immediately follow the Concluſion. But we ſhall ſee hereafter, that if they concluded the League, it was only to draw Money from him, and to leave him to carry on the War by himſelf. He was young and unexperienced, but withal had ſo good an Opinion of himſelf, that he thought himſelf Wiſer than his *Council*. Beſides, he had plenty of ready-Money in his Coffers. What could Perſons ſo ſubtle as *Julius*, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, deſire better than to have to do with ſuch a Prince as *Henry*? We have already ſeen this very Year 1512, how well they knew how to make a good uſe of ſo favour-

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The Parliament gives the King Money. Herbert.

During the Seſſion of the Parliament, *Henry* received a *Bull* from the Pope, who to encourage him to puſh the War vigorouſly againſt *France*, granted a *plenary Indulgence* to all his Subjects that ſhould aid him with their Perſon or Purſes. This was all the Aſſiſtance he had from the Pope towards a War, the ſole Motive whereof, as they pretended, was the Defence of the *Church*.

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1512. ſent two Ambaſſadors * to *Scotland*, under colour of ſettling ſome ſlight Differences, but in reality to ſound the King's Intentions. The Ambaſſadors having acquainted King *James* that their Maſter was ſomewhat jealous of the Armament, as if it was made in favour of *France*, *James* replied, That being equally an Ally to both Crowns, his Deſign was to keep an exact Neutrality. The Ambaſſadors prayed him to give that Anſwer in Writing; but he refuſed, on pretence it would give Umbrage to the King of *France*. Shortly after, *Henry* learnt by his Spies that a League was concluded between *France* and *Scotland*, and he even got a Copy of the Treaty *. So, plainly perceiving that a War with *Scotland* was unavoidable, he ſent the Earl of *Surry* into the northern Parts with Power to levy an Army, and act againſt *Scotland* in caſe of Neceſſity.

1513. *Views and Intereſts of the Princes.*

The Occurrences of the Year 1512 made great Alterations in the Intereſts of the Princes who had a Share in them, and conſequently in their Views and Meaſures.

Of Julius II.

Julius II, pleaſed with having chaced the *French* out of *Italy*, and with having ſo largely increaſed his Power, by the Acquiſitions of ſo many Places, was intent however upon ſubduing *Ferrara*. That done, he hoped with the help of the *Venetians* and *Florentines* to be ſtrong enough to drive the Emperour out of *Venice*, though he had lately joined in a League with him. As for the reſt, he had no manner of Thought to make Conqueſts upon *France*; his ſole Aim was to find *Lewis* XII Work enough at home, and to diſſolve entirely the Remains of the *Council of Piſa*, which however was ſcarce worth minding, ſince the falling off of the Emperour.

The

*Doctor *Nicholas Weſt* Dean of *Windſor* is only mentioned by my Lord *Herbert* and others.

*1 See the Articles in my Lord *Herbert*, p. 12. of the Coll. Hiſt.

The King of *Arragon*'s ſole View was to keep *Navarre*, which he had lately conquered. To enable him to enjoy his Conqueſt in Peace, the only way was to keep *Lewis* XII employed elſewhere, or to prevail with him to let him alone. To that Purpoſe it was neceſſary to make uſe of the Terror of the Arms of the Allies, and particularly of the King of *England*, that the King of *France* being attacked from ſeveral Quarters, might be brought of his own accord to ſue to him for Peace, and leave him in Poſſeſſion of *Navarre*. *Ferdinand* would not have much ſcrupled to abandon the Allies, provided he could obtain at that rate ſuch a Peace as he wanted. 1513. *Of* Ferdinand.

The Emperour ſought only to draw Money both from his Friends and Enemies. He was very ſenſible that with his own Forces alone, it would be a difficult Matter for him to make Conqueſts upon the *Venetians*; and that the Pope, though his Ally, did not deſire it. But he kept mightily upon the Reſerve with them, that he might procure the larger Sums by making a Peace. On the other Hand, he made it his Buſineſs to embroil Matters as much as poſſible, and to make new Leagues, becauſe in all the Treaties of that kind he had Money ſtill given him to maintain imaginary Troops, which he never ſet on foot, at leaſt not in ſo great Numbers as he was bound to do by his Engagements. *Of the Emperour.*

The *Venetians* were extremely deſirous to put an end to a deſtructive War, which quite exhauſted them. Their ſole Aim was to bring the Emperour to be ſatisfied with a round Sum of Money for the Reſtitution of their Towns, and thereby to put their *State* upon the ſame Foot that it was before the League of *Cambray*. But as the Emperour could not think of depriving himſelf of an Inlet into *Italy* by the Reſtitution of theſe Places, it was their Buſineſs to compel him to it in ſome Meaſure, by new Leagues which might make him apprehenſive of loſing them without any Benefit to himſelf. But as this was the ſole View of the *Senate*, they were always ready to break thro' *Of the* Venetians.

all

1513. all their Engagements, as soon as the Emperour would hearken to Reason.

Of the Swissers. The *Swissers* thought only how to support *Sforza* at *Milan*, that they might have always in that Dutchy a Prince who should not be able to do without their Help. And therefore it was their Interest to keep the King of *France* at a Distance, and to oppose all his Attempts to recover *Milan*.

Of the King of France. *Lewis* XII vexed to the Heart at the good Success of his Enemies in *Italy*, wanted of all things to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. To compass his Ends, he must needs have the Aid of the *Venetians*, the Emperour, or the *Swissers*. It was moreover necessary so to hasten the Conclusion of Matters with one or other of the two last, as that the Expedition against the *Milanese* might be made in the Beginning of the Spring, for fear it should be prevented by the War the King of *England* was preparing against him in *Picardy*.

Of Henry VIII. Of all *Lewis*'s Enemies *Henry* was the only one who thought of making Conquest upon *France*, preposterously imagining that his Allies would make Diversions in several Places, on purpose to pave the Way for him to his Designs. But he did not yet know them well enough. The *Venetians* had been excluded out of the League which he had lately entered into. The Pope and King of *Arragon* had no mind to attack *France*, but only to create *Lewis* Troubles which might hinder him from turning his Thoughts to *Italy*. It was purely upon this account that they feigned to be willing to second the King of *England*. As for *Maximilian*, *Henry* and his Council must needs have shut their Eyes voluntarily, to be able to flatter themselves with the Prospect of any Assistance from him.

Of the King of Scotland. *James* IV King of *Scotland*, seeing *France* just upon the Point of being attacked by the King of *England*, was getting ready to assist her, deeming his own and that Kingdom's Interests to be inseparable. He plainly perceived that *Henry* courted him only to hinder him from having any thing to do in the Quarrel, and he was willing to let him entertain hopes of succeeding in his

his Deſign. But he was determined however to break the Peace, ſooner than leave a Kingdom in danger, from which alone he could expect a ſpeedy and powerful Protection in caſe of need. It is true he had made a Peace with *Henry* VII, and renewed it with *Henry* VIII: But it was when theſe Princes had no Quarrel with *France*, his antient and conſtant Ally. In his Opinion, *Henry* by attacking *France* on ſet Purpoſe and frivolous Pretences, violated indirectly the Peace he had made with *Scotland*. At leaſt, *James* pretended that by ſigning a Peace with *England*, he was not bound to forſake *France* every time the King of *England* ſhould take it in his Head to fall upon her. 1513.

Such were the Diſpoſitions of all theſe Potentates in the Beginning of the Year 1513. We muſt ſee now by what means each tried to attain his Ends. This new *Scene* will ſet before us no leſs Variety, artful Fetches, Tricks and Artifices than the former, ſince the *Actors* and *Perſonages* will be the ſame all along.

Whilſt *Henry* was preparing in good earneſt for the War he was to carry into *France*, his pretended Allies were minding their own Affairs, without concerning themſelves about his Intereſts. Since he had entered into the League of *Rome*, one would think the Allies ſhould have done nothing without his Knowledge. And yet *Julius* II had joined in a League with *Maximilian*, and excluded the *Venetians*, without letting him know any thing of the Matter. *The Emperour offers a League to* Lewis XII. *in order to deceive him.* Guicciard.

In the Beginning of the Year 1513, the Emperour kept no longer any Meaſures with his new Allies, ſince he ſent and propoſed a freſh League to *Lewis* XII upon new Terms. He offered to aſſiſt him in recovering the *Milaneſe*, provided *Lewis* in return would aid him againſt the *Venetians*. Moreover, he demanded *Renée*, *Lewis*'s ſecond Daughter, for *Charles* of *Auſtria*, his Grandſon, and that for her Dower *Lewis* ſhould aſſign him all his Right to *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. But that the Performance of the Treaty might

1513. might not entirely depend upon the Faith of the King of *France*, he required that the Princeſs ſhould be immediately put into his Hands, and that *Cremona* and all *Gierradadda* ſhould be given up to him as ſoon as the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be recovered. Certainly, one can't but admire at the Emperour's Aſſurances in making theſe Propoſals. He had not been able hitherto to carry on the War againſt *Venice* without the Aſſiſtance of *Lewis* XII; nay, he thought he had ſtill need of his Help, and yet he made him an Offer of his Aid to recover the *Milaneſe*. But upon what Terms? Why, after *Lewis* ſhould have been at a vaſt Expence to recover that Dutchy, he ſhould give it up to the Emperour's Grandſon with his Right to *Naples*. This is called uſing People like downright Cullies. But after the Trick *Maximilian* had lately played *Lewis* XII, it is not very probable that he believed his Offers would be accepted. In all likelihood he made them purely to hinder *Lewis* from joining with the *Venetians*. At the ſame time he had a mind to raiſe their Jealouſy, and put them under Apprehenſions of his uniting with *France*, to the End their Fears might induce them to make the better Bargain with him.

Lewis *tries in vain to win the* Swiſſers.

Lewis XII hearkened to theſe Propoſals, as if he had ſome Deſign to accept them, becauſe he thereby hoped to create Suſpicions in the *Swiſſers* and *Venetians*, and bring them the ſooner to ſide with him. As for the *Venetians*, they deſired nothing better than to join in a ſtrict League with *France*, and if any thing retarded the Negotiation, it was only the Proſpect of becoming Friends with the Emperour, in which caſe they would have gladly renounced all ſorts of Leagues. As for the *Swiſſers*, it was not poſſible for *Lewis* XII to win them over to his Side, though he offered them more than they had at firſt demanded of him. Beſides the Averſion they had conceived againſt him, their Affairs were much bettered, ſince the Reſtoration of *Sforza* at *Milan*. Whilſt that Prince was in Exile, it was a pretty doubtful Caſe whether in good Policy they ought to engage in a War with *France* for his ſake.

ſake. But ſince he was in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy through their Means, their Honour and Intereſt required that they ſhould exert their utmoſt to ſupport him. But however, *Lewis*'s Negotiation with the *Swiſſers* coming to nothing, he was under a Neceſſity to join in a League either with the Emperour or with *Venice*, otherwiſe he could hardly expect to recover *Milan*. 1513.

Propoſals of the Venetians to Lewis XII

Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, the *Venetians* ſent and propoſed a League to him upon the ſame Terms with that of the Year 1498; namely, that they would aid him to recover the *Milaneſe*, provided he would give up *Cremona* and *Gierradadda*. *Lewis* readily liſtened to their Offers; but the *Venetians* themſelves were not in haſte to bring Matters to an Iſſue, by reaſon of the Circumſtances they ſaw themſelves in preſently after.

Guicciard.

The King of *Arragon* having had good Intelligence of what paſſed between *Lewis* XII and the *Venetians*, gave the Emperour notice of it, and adviſed him to offer *Verona* to the *Venetians* for a Sum of Money. This was the Subject of a pretty long though fruitleſs Negotiation.

Death of Julius II.

Whilſt the Affairs of *Italy* were in this State of Uncertainty, *Julius* II, who was preparing to lay Siege to *Ferrara* in the Beginning of the Spring, died on the 21ſt of *February*, having firſt kindled a Flame which his Death was not able to extinguiſh*. As ſoon as the News reached the Viceroy of *Naples*, who was ſtill with his Army in *Lombardy*, he approached *Plaiſence*, and entering without Oppoſition, he reſtored that Place to the Duke of *Milan*. *Parma* quickly followed the Example of *Plaiſence*, and was likewiſe delivered up to the ſame Prince. No body was in haſte to ſend Aſſiſtance to the future Pope, to keep

Parma and Plaiſence ſubmit to the Duke of Milan.

* He took the Name of *Julius* from his Inclination to War. He commanded his Army in Perſon againſt the *French*; and, 'tis ſaid, as he marched over a Bridge on the *Tiber*, he threw St. *Peter*'s Keys into the River, and called for St. *Paul*'s Sword.

1513. these Places for him. On the contrary, the Princes of *Italy* could not see without Uneasiness, that the Popes had got footing in *Lombardy*, under a Pretense which might upon Occasion be made use of against the major Part of them.

Leo X. *Pope.* Act. Pub. XIII. 349.

On the 11th of *March* Cardinal *John de Medicis*, who eleven Months before had been taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Ravenna*, was elected Pope, and took the Name of *Leo* X. He was but thirty seven Years old: He had however a great deal of Experience, having been employed in divers important Affairs in the late *Pontificate*. He was neither so fiery nor so haughty as *Julius* II his Predecessor, but he was much more artful and cunning. I shall have occasion to add to his Portraiture some Strokes which will more fully show his Genius and Character.

Truce for one Year between Lewis *and* Ferdinand Guicciard.

Before the Death of *Julius* II, *Ferdinand* was busy in contriving a Plot which exactly squared with the Reputation he had got in the World. Since the Beginning of the Year he had sent two Monks to *France* to make some Overtures to *Lewis* XII, by means of Queen *Ann*, to whom they had Access. But as *Lewis* plainly perceived it was not possible to make a Peace or even a Truce with *Ferdinand*, without leaving him in Possession of *Navarre*, he had appeared at first very backward. But at length, having considered that he could hardly expect to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, whilst the King of *Arragon* should be his Enemy, because it was he that set the King of *England* his Son-in-law to work, he determined, though not without Reluctance, to conclude with him a Truce for a Year, on Condition that the King of *England* should be included in it, and that *Italy* should be excepted out of it. He reckoned, that during this Truce, he should have leisure enough to re-conquer the Dutchy of *Milan*; which done, he should be able to defend his own Kingdom against the *English*. Nothing was farther from *Henry*'s Thoughts than such a Truce, which would have broke all his Measures, and yet *Ferdinand* doubted not to act in his Name, as if he were sure he would

Ferdinand *includes* Henry *without his Knowledge.*

give

give his Conſent. This Affair commenced in *January*, and on the 8th of *February*, *Lewis* empowered *Odet de Foix* Lord of *Lautrec*, to treat with *Ferdinand*'s Commiſſioners. In ſhort, the Treaty was concluded at *Orthez* in *Bearn* the 1ſt of *April*. The Treaty ran, that there ſhould be a Truce for a Year, out of *Italy*, between the King of *France*, the King of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Guelderland* on the one Part, and the Emperour, the King of *Arragon*, the Queen of *Caſtile*, and the King of *England* on the other. *Lewis* XII undertook to get the King of *Scotland*'s and the Duke of *Guelderland*'s Conſent, and *Ferdinand* ingaged for the King of *England*. But as *Ferdinand* knew very well that he ſhould not eaſily prevail with *Henry* to comply, he cauſed it to be inſerted in the Treaty, That it ſhould be ratified within a Month by himſelf and *Lewis* XII, but that the other Parties ſhould have two Months to do the ſame, with expreſs Declaration that with regard to the Emperour, the King of *England*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Guelderland*, the Truce ſhould take Place but from the Day of the Exchange of their Ratifications. Never perhaps was there ſeen a bolder Stroke than this of *Ferdinand*'s. He was thoroughly ſatisfied that *Henry* would never agree to the Truce, and yet he took upon him to get his Conſent, as if he had a full Power to that End. The laſt Article, relating to the Ratification, plainly ſhows his Thoughts of the Matter. But the Thing is ſtill more viſible in that he not only took no Step to perſwade *Henry* to do what he ſeemed to deſire, but moreover did all that lay in his Power to conceal the Truce from him.

1513. Act. Pub. XIII. 350.

As ſoon as the Trerty was ſigned, *Ferdinand* took care to publiſh his Complaints, that he had been very ill-uſed by the Allies of the League; that the Pope and *Venetians* had acquired a great many Places, but for his Part he had got nothing at all, and that notwithſtanding the Allies refuſed to continue the Supplies they were bound to, though the King of *France* ſtill poſſeſſed ſeveral Towns in *Italy*, and though the

Ferdinand complains of the Allies. Guicciard.

1513. *Spaniſh* Army was ſtill in the Service of the League. But this was only to prepare People to ſee with leſs Surprize and Indignation, the private Truce he had juſt made with *France*, without imparting it to the Allies.

The Eyes of all the World were fixed upon the new Pope, to ſee what Courſe he would take. But he did not leave the Politicians long in ſuſpence. Though when he was but a *Cardinal*, he did not altogether approve of *Julius* II's Conduct, he purſued his Schemes however as ſoon as he got his Place. He was doubly concerned to keep the *French* out of *Italy*: Firſt, as Pope, ſince Neighbours ſo powerful could not but be formidable to him. Secondly, as Head of the Houſe of the *Medicis*, he had Cauſe to fear that if *Lewis* XII ſhould recover the *Milaneſe*, he would undertake to reſtore the *Florentines* to their Liberty. In a Word, he wanted to put an End to the *Council* of *Piſa*, which he could not do, but by embroiling *Lewis* XII in Wars, which ſhould compel him to make his Peace with the *Church*. *Ferdinand* had likewiſe the ſame Views, that he might keep the King of *France* at a Diſtance from *Navarre*, *Rouſſillon*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. As for the Emperour, it was his Intereſt to put it out of the Power of *France* to aid the *Venetians*. But they had none of them any deſire to carry the War into *France*, but only to order Matters ſo that it might be done at another's Expence.

The Allies try to ingage Henry *in a War with* France.

To that Purpoſe they all with one Accord caſt their Eyes upon *Henry* VIII, as a Prince extremely proper to put their Deſigns in Execution. He had ready-Money, warlike Subjects, and could with eaſe tranſport Troops into ſome Part of *France* remote from the Borders of *Spain* and *Italy*. In fine, he burned with an eager Deſire to ſignalize himſelf by illuſtrious Actions, and ſcrupled not to ſhow it publickly. Every one of them therefore laboured with all his Might to confirm him in the Deſign he had formed, to wage War with *France*, by giving him Hopes that they would ſecond him with Vigour, though nothing was farther

farther from their Thoughts. *Leo* X was no ſooner in the *Papal Chair*, but under colour of notifying his Promotion, he ſent him a Letter, aſſuring him that he was fully determined to adhere to the League formed by *Julius* II his Predeceſſor, and moreover to conclude a new one with *England*. But at the ſame Time he preſſed the Emperour to make a Peace with *Venice*, and negotiated with the *Venetians* to hinder them from joining with *France*, promiſing to uſe all his Intereſt with the Emperour to get them an honourable and advantagious Peace. All theſe Practices could not be managed ſo privately but the King of *France* had ſome Intelligence of them, inſomuch that he ſoon grew exceeding jealous of the new Pope. 1513.

League concluded at Mechlin *between the Allies and* Henry.

Henry did not want much Sollicitation to carry his Arms into *France*. He had already reſolved upon a War in his Mind. So finding the Pope, Emperour, and King of *Arragon* promiſed him to proceed vigorouſly on their Parts, he did not queſtion but it would be a fair Opportunity to recover good Part of what his Predeceſſors had formerly loſt. And therefore he readily agreed to form a new League with them, not on account of the Affairs of *Italy*, which in all Appearance he was ſick of, but to attack *France* from ſeveral Quarters. But that the League might be the more ſecret, it was agreed that it ſhould be negotiated at *Mechlin*, between *Margaret* of *Auſtria* Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, authorized by the Emperour her Father, and the Ambaſſadors of *England*, and that afterwards it ſhould be approved and ratified by the Pope, the Emperour and *Ferdinand*. This was another Snare laid for *Henry*, which he perceived not till it was too late to avoid it. Though *Ferdinand* was then upon the Point of concluding the Truce with the King of *France*, he made himſelf however one of the principal Parties in this League, as repugnant as it was to the Truce. The Subſtance of the new League concluded at *Mechlin* on the 5th of *April*, about the ſame Time the Truce was ſigned at *Orthez*, was as follows. Act. Pub. XIII. 358.

1513. *The Terms of the League.*

That within thirty Days after the Date of this Treaty each of the Conſedrates ſhould proclaim War with the King of *France*, and within two Months ſhould invade him, out of *Italy*, viz. the Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphine*: The Emperour in ſome other fit Place: The King of *Arragon* in *Bearn*, *Guienne*, or *Languedoc*: The King of *England* in *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*, and that their Armies ſhould be ſtrong and well provided with all Things.

That the Emperour (if he had not yet done it) ſhould revoke all that he had done in Favour of the *Council* of *Piſa*. This plainly ſhows how little *Henry* or his *Plenipotentiaries* knew of what paſſed at *Rome*, ſince it was now three Months or above that the Emperour had abandoned that *Council*.

That the Pope ſhould thunder his *Cenſures* againſt all the Oppoſers of this League and Abettors of the oppoſite Party.

That to defray the Charge of the War the King of *England* ſhould give the Emperour a Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, at three Payments, Thirty five Thouſand preſently after the War ſhould be declared, as much more when the War ſhould be begun, and Thirty Thouſand within three Months after.

That the Emperour did not intend to enter into this League as Guardian to *Charles* his Grandſon.

That the Emperour and King of *England* ſhould ratify the Treaty within a Month, and the Pope and King of *Arragon* within two Months, with this expreſs Declaration, that in caſe the Pope and King of *Arragon* ſhould not ratify the Treaty by the Time appointed, it ſhould however be in Force between the Emperour and King of *England*.

Laſtly, the Confederates renounced all Exceptions whatever, and particularly that which might be made to another's ſtipulating for them.

Never perhaps was ſeen more Inſincerity than there was in this whole Negotiation, ſince of all the Confederates none but *Henry* alone intended to keep his Word. *Leo* X ratified not the Treaty. *Ferdinand* refuſed

refuſed to ſtand to what his Ambaſſadors had done, as we ſhall ſee preſently. As for the Emperour, he got the Money from the King without troubling himſelf about performing his Engagements. Thus *Henry* was the conſtant Cully of theſe Princes, who were a little too ſubtle for him. 1513.

The Treaty being brought to *London*, *Lewis de Carroz de Villa ragud*, *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſador, approved and ratified it by *Letters Patents* dated *April* 18th. He declared in theſe *Letters*, that although he had ſufficient Power from the King his Maſter to conclude the League with the Plenipotentiaries of the confederate Princes, yet he could not for certain weighty Reaſons be preſent at the ſigning at *Mechlin*. But that becauſe he was very ſure the Treaty contained nothing but what was agreeable to the King his Maſter, who deſired nothing more earneſtly than to ſee it executed, he approved and ratified in the ſaid King's Name, all the Articles of the Treaty. And to take away all occaſion of diſputing the Validity of his Ratification, he inſerted the Treaty Word for Word, in his *Letters* of Ratification, and concluded it anew with the Earl of *Surry* the King of *England*'s Commiſſioner, by Virtue of a full Power he had received for that Purpoſe. After that, on the 25th of the ſame Month, he ſwore to the Obſervance of the Articles upon the Souls of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Joan* Queen of *Caſtile*. It is uncertain whether the Ambaſſador was himſelf impoſed upon, or whether knowing the Matter, he freely helped to impoſe upon *Henry*. All that can be ſaid in this Caſe is, that the great Precautions he took to hinder his Sincerity from being ſuſpected, are not very common with thoſe that intend to act the fair Part.

Ferdinand's Ambaſſador at London ratifies and ſwears to the League of Mechlin. Act. Pub. XIII. 353.

One cannot doubtleſs help thinking it ſtrange, that a Pope, an Emperour, and a King of *Spain* ſhould thus join, to lay ſuch a Snare for a young Prince juſt come of Age, and who was alſo Son-in-law to one of them. And yet there is hardly any Room to queſtion but the League concluded at *Mechlin*, in the Abſence

Henry is impoſed upon.

1513. fence of the Pope's and King of *Arragon*'s Ambaſſador, was thus projected on purpoſe to entangle *Henry*, under Colour of keeping it the more ſecret. They ſucceeded ſo well, that *Henry* relying upon the Diverſions which his pretended Allies ſhould make in *Guienne*, *Bearn*, *Provence*, *Dauphiné Burgundy*, pleaſed himſelf with the Hopes that he ſhould be able, with all the eaſe in the World, to extend his Conqueſts in *Picardy*. To that End he made extraordinary Preparations by Sea and Land, which put him to a vaſt Expence. But whilſt we leave him buſy in preparing againſt the next Campain, it will be neceſſary to relate what was doing in *Italy*.

League between Lewis XII *and the* Venetians Mezerai.

The *Venetians* not having been able to procure a Peace from the Emperour, who pretended to lay upon them very unreaſonable Terms, ſollicited afreſh the Negotiation they had begun with *France*. On the other Side, *Lewis* XII, whoſe Time was precious, accepted without Heſitation the Propoſals they made him. Thus the League between that Monarch and the *Venetians* was concluded out of Hand, upon the ſame Foot as that of the Year 1498. This was tranſacted Guicciard. by *Andrew Gritti*, who being then Priſoner in *France*, was commiſſioned to conclude it in the *Senate*'s Name. Preſently after he was ſet at Liberty, as well as *Alviano*, who returning to *Venice*, was made General of the Forces of the Republick.

Lewis *ſends* Trimouille *into* Italy *with an Army.*

As ſoon as *Lewis* XII had concluded his Treaty with the *Venetians*, he ordered his Troops to march into *Italy*, where they arrived in the Month of *June*. As by the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Orthez*, *Henry* was not to ſend his pretended Ratification till within two Months, and as that Term was not yet expired, it is very probable, *Lewis* flattered himſelf that *Henry* would perform what the King of *Arragon* had promiſed for him, elſe he would not doubtleſs have ſent his beſt Troops into *Italy*. Mean while the Preparations which were carrying on in *England*, and the Hoſtilities which were already begun at Sea ſince the Month of *April*, between the *French* and *Engliſh*, ſhould have

ave convinced him that *Ferdinand* had deceived him. But however, the *French* Army commanded by *la Trimouille* being arrived upon the Borders of the *Milaneſe*, *Maximilian Sforza* quitted his Capital, and retired among the *Swiſſers*, who to the Number of Seven or Eight Thouſand Men were at *Como* and *Novarra*, where they expected Supplies from their own Countries. 1513.

Ferdinand's General goes from Milan.

Upon the Approach of the *French*, *Raymund de Cordonna*, who was ſtill in *Lombardy* with the *Spaniſh* Army, withdrew without making the leaſt Motion to aſſiſt the Duke of *Milan*, though *Italy* was not included in the Truce of *Orthez*. It is very likely that *Ferdinand* was not ſorry that the *French* made ſome Progreſs in the *Milaneſe*, that they might be employed there, whilſt *Henry* ſhould carry War into *Picardy*. At leaſt, one can hardly imagine any other Reaſon of his General's Conduct. The Duke of *Milan* having no Forces but the *Swiſſers* to oppoſe the *French* with, *Milan* and the reſt of the Towns of the Dutchy, except *Como* and *Novarra*, ſubmitted to *la Trimouille* without offering to reſiſt, whilſt the *Swiſſers*, who were not ſtrong enough to take the Field, kept within the Walls of theſe two Places. Whilſt the *French* were making theſe Conqueſts, *Alviano* took from the *Venetians*, *Peſchiera*, *Breſcia*, *Valeggio*, and at length *Cremona*, after having in vain attempted to become Maſter of *Verona*, by the Means of ſome Friends there.

Sforza *loſes all* Milan *except* Como *and* Novarra.

Genoa *is reſtored to* France.

About this time the Faction of the *Adorno*'s, who in *Genoa* ſided with *France*, found means to get the Upper-hand, and put the City again under the Dominion of the King (*a*).

La Trimouille *is repulſed by the* Swiſſers *at* Novarra.

Lewis XII was now in Poſſeſſion of the whole *Milaneſe*, except *Como* and *Novarra*. *La Trimouille* knowing that the *Swiſſers* expected a ſtrong Reinforcement from their own Country, thought it his beſt way to make haſte and beſiege *Novarra*, before the Arrival of

(*a*) About the End of *June*.

1513. of the Supplies. He marched therefore to the Town, and hoping to take it at the first Assault, stormed it furiously. But whatever Bravery the *French* showed upon this Occasion, they were beat back with a very great Loss, which obliged the General to retire to *Riotta*, a Village about two Miles from *Novarra*.

The French *Army defeated by the* Swissers.

Mean while the *Swissers* flushed with having repulsed so terrible an Assault, and beginning to despise the *French*, before whom they had not dared to appear in the Field, came to a sudden Resolution to sally out of *Novarra*, and attack the Enemy in their Camp. They put their Resolution immediately in Execution, to the great Astonishment of the *French*, who not being able to withstand this unexpected Attack, were entirely routed. But that was not the worst. Their Consternation after the Defeat was so great, that they did not think themselves out of danger till they had repassed the Mountaius and got into *France*. The News of their Flight having reached *Genoa*, the *Adorno*'s quitted the City to the *Fregosa*'s their Enemies, who chose for Doge *Octavian Fregosa* Head of their Family and Faction. Thus within the Space of about a Month *Lewis* XII got and lost *Genoa* and *Milan*, and *Maximilian Sforza*, who had been chaced out of his Dutchy, was put in Possession again. But it was the latter End of the Year first before he recovered the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, which the *French* and *Venetians* had kept.

The French *retire home.*

Genoa *is lost;*

and Sforza *is restored to* Milan.

Alviano *retires.*

The Turn which had happened to the King of *France*'s Affairs, occasioned much the same to those of the *Venetians*. *Alviano* their General was no sooner informed of the *French* Army's Misfortune, but he withdrew in haste to the Territories of *Venice*, and besieged *Verona*. But *Raimund de Cordonna*, who had affected a sort of Neutrality whilst the *French* were in the *Milanese*, knowing they were out of *Italy*, turned his Forces against *Alviano*. He not only forced him to raise the Siege of *Verono*, but pursuing him from Place to Place, he obtained over him a signal Victory, which obliged the *Venetians* to refer their Differences

He is defeated by the Spaniards.

The Venetians *made the Pope Umpire.*

to

to the Pope, though he had declared againſt them, by ſending a Supply to the Emperour's Troops. The Neceſſity of their Affairs drove them to take that Step in order to gain time. They had loſt all their Towns in the *Milaneſe*, and their own Country had been horribly ravaged by the *Spaniſh* Troops, even within ſight of *Venice*. 1513.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in *Italy*, *Henry* was preparing to paſs into *France* with a numerous Army. But before I ſpeak of the Iſſue of his firſt Campaign, it will be neceſſary to ſay a Word of what paſſed at his own Court, which will be worth the while to conſider a little. *Thomas Wolſey* had been introduced to Court by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Preſently after he was made a *Privy Counſellor*, and as ſuch had an Opportunity to make himſelf better known to the King, and to gain his Eſteem as well by his own Qualifications, as by the Intereſt of the Biſhop his Benefactor, who was always making the King admire the Strength of his Genius, and obſerve how apt he was for the greateſt Affairs. *Wolſey* omitted nothing on his part that he imagined capable of increaſing the good Opinion the King began to have of him. To an indefatigable Application, and extreme Diligence in all the Affairs he was charged with, he added a blind Condeſcenſion for all his Maſter's Paſſions. The King was well-pleaſed to ſee in his Court and Council a *Churchman*, leſs rigid and ſcrupulous than the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the old Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Wolſey* danced, ſung, laughed, and diverted himſelf with the young Courtiers who were moſt in favour; and if we may believe *Polidore Virgil*, who loved him not, neither had reaſon to do ſo, he carried his Compliance ſo far as to lend the King his Houſe for his ſecret Pleaſures. However that be, his Complaiſance joined to his Talents for Buſineſs, and a pretty extenſive Knowledge in *Divinity* which he had acquired, as well as the King, by reading the Works of *Thomas Aquinas*, ſoon got him the Preference above all the other Courtiers. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf well fixed, he made it his particular

Thomas Wolſey *becomes Prime-Miniſter.*

1513. ticular Buſineſs to ſhow the King the falſe Steps he had made ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, and how his Youth had been abuſed. By this Method he inſinuated to him by degrees that he was ill-ſerved, and had need of an able *Miniſter*, capable of eaſing him in the Adminiſtration of the moſt weighty Affairs, and of ſhowing him the Conſequences thereof. In a word, he managed it ſo, that he became himſelf that *Miniſter* which he had adviſed the King to ſeek after, and by degrees the King committed to his Care and Management his chiefeſt Concerns. This rendered him haughty, proud, inſolent, and ungrateful to his old Acquaintance. In ſhort, he was taxed with all the Failings of this Nature, which Favourites are uſually charged with, and which indeed few of them are wiſe enough to avoid. *Wolſey*, like moſt others, grew extremely odious, chiefly becauſe his Counſels were always Self-intereſted, which the Iſſue plainly ſhowed to all the World, except the King who was blind in that reſpect. The Favour and Credit he was in, made the moſt potent Princes of *Europe* ſtrive to win him over to their Intereſts, and to glory, at leaſt outwardly, in being of the Number of his Friends. The Reaſon was, becauſe during this Reign the Affairs of *Europe* were in ſuch a Poſture, that *England* was capable of making the Ballance incline to the Side ſhe was pleaſed to take part with. *Wolſey* knew how to make the moſt of this Advantage, in order to render himſelf the richeſt and moſt powerful Subject that ever was: but he laboured not with the ſame Ardour for his Maſter's Honour, as for his own Intereſt. After he was declared *Prime Miniſter*, he managed, during the Space of Seventeen Years, all the King's Affairs both Foreign and Domeſtick *.

Before

* In the preſent War the King committed to him the Direction of the Supplies and Proviſions to be made for the Army; which *Wolſey* took care not to neglect the Advantages of. The Victualling of the Army was not, without a *Sarcaſm* to his Birth, recommended to *Wolſey*, ſays my Lord *Herbert*, p. 15. He was the firſt (ſays *Polidore Virgil*) among all *Prieſts*, *Biſhops*, and *Cardinals*, that ever wore Silk for his uppermoſt Garment. Which was interpreted as a great Piece of Pride in thoſe Days.

Before the King was ready to pass into *France*, the War was already commenced at Sea. In the Month of *April* Admiral *Howard* had put to Sea with Thirty-two * Ships of War, whilst the *French* Fleet kept at *Brest*, expecting six *Gallies* which *Pregent* *¹ was to bring from *Marseilles*. The *English* Admiral having approached *Brest*, was resolved to attack the *French* Ships as they lay at Anchor. But upon notice that *Pregent* was arrived at *Conquet*, he turned that way, in order to see to take the six Gallies, and attacked them accordingly with great Bravery. But during the Fight, his Ship being grappled with the Gally *Pregent* was in, he entered it Sword in Hand, and at first caused great Disorder. As ill luck would have it, the Gally having got free, he was left in the Hands of his Enemies with a few Attendants, and, as he was not known, was knocked over-board with the Blow of a Half-Pike. The Loss of the Admiral caused such a Consternation in the *English* Fleet, that they durst not continue the Fight *². The News being carried to Court, the King bestowed the Office of Lord Admiral upon *Thomas Howard*, Brother of the deceased. Mean while, as the *French* Fleet in the Interim having received a strong Reinforcement, was become superior to the *English*, the last returned to some Port in *England*, expecting the Arrival of a new Admiral. The *French* encouraged by the Retreat of the *English*, sailed for the Coast of *England*, and even made a Descent in *Sussex*, and carried off some Booty. 1513.

Sea-fight, wherein Admiral Howard *is lost.*

In

* My Lord *Herbert* says, Forty-two, p. 13.

*¹ Called by our Historians, Prior *John*.

*² This Sir *Edward Howard* was not eldest but second Son of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surry*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, slain at *Bosworth-field*, and attainted in the Parliament of 1 *Hen.* 7. The said *Thomas* was restored (4 *Hen.* 7.) to the Title of *Earl of Surry*, and to the Lands which were his Wives Inheritance. Sir *Edward* was constituted Admiral of *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Normandy*, *Gascogne*, and *Aquitain*. 4 *Hen.* 8. *March* 8. *Dugdale*.

1511. Henry *prepares to pass into* France.

In the mean time *Henry* was preparing to carry War into *France*, though none of his pretended Allies had yet made the least Step towards performing the Treaty of *Mechlin*. *Leo* X had not ratified the Treaty, and nothing was farther from his Thoughts than the sending an Army into *Provence* or *Dauphiné*. The Emperour began to seek Excuses not to enter *Burgundy* with an Army, though he had positively promised it. As for the King of *Arragon*, he had not only concealed from *Henry* the one Year's Truce he had made with *France*, but he was trying moreover to amuse him with hopes that he was going to make a powerful Diversion in *Guienne*. He knew how to play his Part so well, that it was *June* first before *Henry* was fully informed of the Truce of *Orthez*. Full of Indignation at such a Fraud, he dispatched an Ambassador to the King his Father-in-law, to upbraid him with Breach of Faith, and to call upon him to perform the Treaty of *Mechlin*, or rather that which his Ambassador himself had signed in his Name at *London*. Whereupon *Ferdinand*, seeing he could no longer keep on the Mask, disowned his Ambassador, and said, he had gone beyond his Instructions, &c. confessed however that he had concluded a Truce for a Year with *Lewis* XII. being forced thereto by the Necessity of his Affairs. But he promised to do Wonders when the time was expired, and advised his Son-in-law to accept of the Truce, that they might afterwards join their Forces, to attack together the common Enemy. But *Henry* could rely no longer upon such Promises. Thus, by the Artifices of the Pope, the Emperour, and *Ferdinand*, he saw himself drawn in to carry War alone into the Enemy's Country, which was to have been invaded from four several Quarters. He was not satisfied of their Insincerity till it was almost too late to go back, the greatest Part of his Army having already passed the Sea, and just entering upon Action. Luckily for him *Lewis* XII, deceived by the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Orthez*,

He comes to know of Ferdinand's *one Year's Truce with* France.

Ferdinand *disowns his Ambassador.*

Henry

had ſent his beſt Troops into *Italy*, imagining that *Henry* would accept of the Truce according to the King of *Arragon*'s Promiſe. 1513.

The Emperour breaks his Word with Henry.

Shortly after *Henry* received a Letter from the Emperour, letting him know, with abundance of Excuſes, that it was impoſſible for him this Year to lead an Army into *Burgundy*, but that he would punctually perform his Engagement next Year. Mean while, to ſhow him that he intended not to forſake him, he told him, that he would come and ſerve as Volunteer in his Army. So of the four Allies who were to act all at once againſt *France*, *Henry* alone was charged with the Burden of the War. *Edward* IV his Grandfather had been formerly in much the ſame Caſe, and thought it no Diſhonour for him to make a ſpeedy Peace with *Lewis* XI, when his Allies had been worſe than their Word. If *Henry* had followed his Example, he would have terribly embarraſſed thoſe that had deceived him. But being greedy of Glory, he had a Mind to ſhow he had no Occaſion for them. He had truſted ſo much to the Sincerity of his Allies, that although the Treaty of *Mechlin* was not to have been ratified by the Pope and King of *Arragon* till the 5th of *June*, he had cauſed the beſt part of his Army to paſs over to *Calais* in the middle of *May*. It is evident that the Ratification of the Treaty of *Mechlin* had been put off ſo long on purpoſe to draw in *Henry* ſo as he ſhould not be able to go back.

Henry *reſolves upon the War alone.*

He paſſes his Army over to Calais. Herbert.

The Earl of Suffolk *beheaded.*

Before the Departure of the firſt Troops, *Henry* had ordered the Earl of *Suffolk* to be beheaded, having been Priſoner in the *Tower* ever ſince the Reign of *Henry* VII, who gave *Philip* I. King of *Caſtile* a poſitive Promiſe to ſpare the Life of that Lord. But in all Appearance, he gave the Prince his Son the ſame Orders as King *David* did formerly to *Solomon* his Succeſſor with reſpect to *Joab*. Hiſtorians have endeavoured to find out the Reaſon that induced *Henry* at ſuch a Juncture to put the Earl of *Suffolk* to Death when he was no longer in Condition to hurt him.

1513. But they have said nothing satisfactory upon that Head *.

The English *besiege* Terouenne. Act. Pub. XIII. 370. *Jun.* 11

The two Bodies of Troops which were gone to *Calais* set out from thence on the 17th of *June*, under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* *1 and the Lord *Herbert* *2, in order to march towards *Terouenne*, to which Place they laid Siege. But the King departed not from *England* till the 30th of the same Month, having constituted Queen *Catharine* Regent *3. He arrived the same Day at *Calais*, being attended by *Thomas*

* The chief Reason, as my Lord *Herbert* and others say, was for fear in Case of the King's Death in *France*, the People being well affected to the *House of York*, should take him out of the *Tower* and make him King *Edmund de la Pole* was Son of *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk* by *Elizabeth* Sister of *Edward* IV. But this Reason seems weak, since *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland* the King's Sister was the undoubted Heir of the *House of York*, in Case the King died without Issue. The *French* Writers say, *Richard* his younger Brother commanded six Thousand *French* at the Siege of *Terouenne*, which some have thought hastened his Brother's Death. *Dugdale*.

* *George Talbot High Steward* of the King's Household, accompanied with *Thomas Stanly* Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of the Order of St. *John*'s, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, and Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* Captain of the *Light-Horse*. This Body consisted of above 8000. *Herbert*.

*2 *Charles Somerset* natural Son by *Joan Hill* of *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* (who lost his Life in 3 *Edward* IV.) married *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir of *William Herbert* Earl of *Huntington*, by reason whereof he bore the Title of *Lord Herbert*, and as such had Summons to Parliament, 1 *Henry* VIII. 3 *Henry* VIII. He was Lord Chamberlain to *Henry* VII, and continued in the same Office to King *Henry* VIII. He was made after this Expedition *Earl of Worcester*. From him are descended the present *Somersets*, Dukes of *Beaufort*. He was attended by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Audley*, and *De la Ware*, the Barons *Carew* and *Curson*. He commanded six Thousand Men. The Baron of *Carow* Master of the *Ordnance*, was killed the first Night before *Terouenne* in the Lord *Herbert*'s Tent, which came so near him that the *French* writ he was slain there. *Herbert*.

*3 She was also *General* of all the Forces in *England*, and had Power with five noble Personages, to take up Money upon Loan as Occasion should require, and to give Security of the Sums for maintaining and raising of Forces, if need should require; as is more particularly set forth in the *Patent Rolls* of these Times. *Bacon*, *p.* 148.

Thomas Wolſey his *Prime Miniſter*, *Charles Brandon* another Favourite, juſt made Viſcount *l' Iſle* *, with many other Lords. Whilſt the Troops carried on the Siege of *Terouenne* he kept at *Calais* with a Body of nine Thouſand Men, ready to march upon the firſt Occaſion. At length, hearing for certain that the Duke of *Longueville* was coming to relieve the Town, he haſtened from *Calais* to the Siege, where he arrived the 2d of *Auguſt*. On the 9th the Emperour came and conferred with him between *Aire* and *Terouenne*, and three Days after went to the Camp and ſerved as Volunteer under the King, making no ſcruple to receive a Hundred Crowns a Day for his Pay. By this Mark of Eſteem, and the imaginary Honour he did the King, he deſigned to make amends for his Breach of Faith, and the hundred thouſand Crowns he had received for an Expedition which he had never intended to make. 2513.

Henry comes to the Siege.

The Emperour ſerves in the Engliſh *Army.*

Mean Time the Duke of *Longueville* who commanded the *French* Army, having approached *Terouenne*, *Henry* paſſed the *Lys* with the greateſt Part of his Troops in order to go and meet him. The two Armies came to an Engagement, but it laſted not long. Hardly was the Fight begun, when the *French*, by what Accident is unknown, ran away in Confuſion without any poſſibility of their being rallied. But the principal Officers choſe rather to be taken Priſoners than to follow ſo diſhonourable an Example. The Duke of *Longueville* was of the Number, together with *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Buſſi d' Amboiſe* and others of the greateſt Diſtinction. This Battle, if ſuch a Rout may be termed ſo, was called, *The Battle of Guinegaſte*, and by ſome, *The Battle of Spurs*, becauſe the *French* made more uſe of their Spurs than their

The Battle of Spurs. Herbert. Mezerai. *Aug.* 18*.

* *May* 15th, 1513. He was created Duke of *Suffolk* the *February* following. He had the Honour to command the Vanguard of the whole Army in this Expedition. His Uncle *William Brandon*, Standard-Bearer to *Henry* VII at *Boſworth-Field*, was ſlain by King *Richard* III himſelf. *Dugdale.*

* *Auguſt* 16th, *Herbert* and *Godwin.*

1513. Swords. Whilst the two Armies were in View, before they engaged, a Body of *French* attempted to get a Convoy of Provisions into the Town, but were repulsed by the Lord *Herbert* who was left to guard the Trenches. After the Battle, the besieged being without Prospect of Relief, surrendered the City the 22d of *August*, and the King in Company with the Emperour entered on the 24th.

Terouenne surrenders.

Henry gives the Place to the Emperour, who razes it.

One would have thought that it was *Henry*'s Fate to be always the Emperour's Cully. After the taking of *Terouenne*, *Maximilian*, who had only served at the Siege as Volunteer, found means to have the Place given to him, and he immediately ordered it to be demolished. It is hard to conceive what made *Henry* yield to this. All that can be conjectured is, that there was perhaps in the Capitulation, some Article against the razing of the Place, but that having altered his Mind, he was willing to save his Honour by delivering it up to the Emperour. But supposing that was the Case, there would be no less Reason to wonder at his Management. It is easy to perceive that it was very advantagious to *Charles* of *Austria*, Grandson of *Maximilian*, that *Terouenne* should be in the Hands neither of the *French* nor the *English*. But what Interest could *Henry* have to lose so many Men and so much Time to take a Place in order to have it razed in Favour of *Maximilian*, who had done nothing to deserve such a Condescension ? *.

Siege of Tournay.

As the Season was not yet very far advanced, *Henry* resolved before the Campain was over, to lay Siege to *Tournay*, whether he had heard that the Place was ill provided with Stores, or that his Council had been swayed again by the Emperour's Intrigues. The Truth is, the Conquest of *Tournay*, which lies at a good

* It bordered it seems upon his Territories which had been much infested by Irruptions from thence, and therefore by his Treaty it was razed, save only the *Cathedral* and *Religious Houses*. But the *French* repaired it soon after. This could not but seem strange, since it cost so much as *Guicciardine* doubts not to call it *Intolerable and infinite Expence*. Herbert.

good Diſtance from *Calais*, was not near ſo advantagious to *Henry* as to the Archduke *Charles*, to whoſe Dominions it was a ſtrong Fence; whereas *Boulogne* would have been without doubt much more convenient for the King on account of the Neighbourhood of *Calais*. Nevertheleſs the Siege of *Tournay* was reſolved upon, probably becauſe the Emperour hoped the King would give him that Place as he had done *Terouenne*. But he found thoſe againſt him who were more concerned in the Matter than the King himſelf. 1513.

Whilſt the Preparations for the Siege were carrying on, *Henry* went and paid a Viſit to *Margaret* Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, who was at *Liſle*, and ſtayed two Days with her. Then he returned to his Army which was marching towards *Tournay* *; but the Emperour left the King upon ſome Diſguſt, the Reaſon whereof is unknown. Next Day, being the 15th of *September*, the Army ſat down before *Tournay*, which held out but ſeven or eight Days *1. *Henry* entered the City on the 24th, a Month after his Entry into *Terouenne*. By the Capitulation, the Inhabitants were to have their antient Privileges, upon Condition of paying to *Henry* a ſmall annual Acknowledgment of four Thouſand *Livres Tournois*, for ten Years only *2. Henry *viſits* Margaret *of* Auſtria. Tournay *taken.* Act. Pub. XIII. 377. *Sep.* 23.

After the taking of *Tournay*, the King having called a Council of War, it was debated, whether it was proper to keep the Place, which ſeemed a difficult Thing by Reaſon of its Diſtance from *Calais*. But after a pretty long debate, it was reſolved to keep it, and to leave for Governour Sir *Edward Poynings*, with Henry *keeps* Tournay.

* The King about a Mile or two from *Liſle* loſt himſelf in a great Miſt, neither could he nor any of his Train reſolve which way to turn, till a Victualler coming by chance from his Army, both informed him where the Army lay, and conducted him thither, to the great Joy of them all. *Herbert*, *p.* 16.

*1 Though the Gates bore this Inſcription, *Thou haſt never loſt thy Virginity.*

*2 And preſent Payment of 50000 Crowns *de ſoleil.* The City ſurrendered to the King by the Name of *Roy Tres-Chretin* [*moſt Chriſtian King.*] Herbert.

1513. a ſtrong Garriſon. The Diverſity of the two Reſolves with reſpect to *Terouenne* and *Tournay* will, it may be, appear ſtrange. The firſt of theſe Places which was neareſt *Calais*, and ſecured the Road from *Calais* to *Tournay*, was demoliſhed. The ſecond, which could not without great difficulty be relieved, was deemed neceſſary to be kept. This Diverſity could ariſe from nothing but *Wolſey*'s Intereſt, who influenced the *Council* as he pleaſed. He had caſt his Eyes on the Biſhoprick of *Tournay* as a Thing very convenient for him, whereas that of *Terouenne* was nothing in compariſon. Wherefore he found Means afterwards to procure it for himſelf, under colour that the Biſhop refuſed to ſwear Fealty to the King. This is the true Reaſon why it was reſolved to keep *Tournay*, and perhaps of undertaking the Siege *.

Margaret *and* Charles *comes and ſee* Henry *at* Tournay.

Nex Day after the King's Entry into *Tournay*, the Princeſs *Margaret* Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, and the Archduke *Charles* her Nephew, came to congratulate him upon his late Conqueſt. The Fortnight they ſtayed with him, he took care to entertain them with all ſorts of Diverſions, as Juſts, Turnaments, running at the Ring, Balls, Maſquerades, and the like. Mean while, amidſt all theſe Diverſions, the *Miniſters* of the two Courts began a Treaty, which was concluded a few Days after.

Henry *returns their Viſit.*

Margaret and *Charles* being gone back to *Liſle*, *Henry* returned their Viſit, and was received with all imaginable Reſpect and Civility. Some Days after, on the 17th of *October* they ſigned a Treaty, which ran,

New Treaty at Liſle. P. 379. Oct. 15.

That although *Henry* had bound himſelf not to go over into *England* till the War ſhould be over, yet he might have liberty to return thither with his Army.

That

* *Wolſey* repreſented to the King, that it was fit *Tournay* ſhould be kept as a *Trophy* of his Victories, and the rather as *Cæſar* (in his Commentaries) acknowledges he no where met with ſo brave a Reſiſtance. However, it coſt *Wolſey* no ſmall Trouble and Oppoſition before he could obtain the Poſſeſſion of this Biſhoprick. *Herbert*, p. 17. *Strype's Mem. Eccl. Hen.* 8. p. 15.

That during the Winter the Emperour ſhould keep in *Artois* and *Hainault* a Body of Four Thouſand *Horſe* and Six Thouſand *Foot*, for the Defence as well of *Tournay* and the *Tournaiſis*, as of the Archduke's Dominions. 1513.

That for the Maintenance of theſe Troops *Henry* ſhould pay the Emperour Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns at ſeveral Payments.

That before the 1ſt of *June* next Year, *Henry* ſhould carry War into *Guienne*, *Normandy* or *Picardy*, and the Emperour into ſome other Province of *France*.

That before the 15th of *May* the Emperour, the Dutcheſs *Margaret*, the Archduke *Charles*, the King of *England*, Queen *Catharine*, the Princeſs *Mary*, ſhould meet all together at *Calais* to celebrate the Archduke's Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, purſuant to the Treaty concluded between the Emperour and the late King *Henry* VII.

Remark on this Treaty.

Whatever was to be done, *Henry* muſt always be the Perſon to find the Money. *Maximilian* had already received a Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, without performing any thing of what he was bound to by the Treaty of *Mechlin*; and he found means to get Two Hundred Thouſand more by the preſent Treaty, beſides the Advantage of razing *Terouenne*, which very much infeſted his Grandſon the Archduke's Dominions. It is moreover very likely, that the Diſguſt which made him quit the King's Army, proceeded from his having not been able to perſuade him to promiſe him *Tournay* too when it ſhould be taken. This is a clear Evidence that he looked upon *Henry* as a *Novice*, fit to be led by the Noſe as he pleaſed. Certainly one cannot excuſe *Henry* for making ſo many falſe Steps in the Beginning of his Reign, but from his little Knowledge of the Character of the Princes he had to do with.

Ferdinand propoſes a new League to Henry.

There is no queſtion but the King of *Arragon* was of the ſame Opinion with regard to *Henry* his Son-in-law. Notwithſtanding the Trick he had ſerved him laſt Year, he had the Face to ſend *Henry* an Ambaſſador

1513. at *Liſle* to propoſe a new League, as if his Word were ſooner to be taken now than ſome Months ago. But it does not appear that *Henry* was inclined then to truſt to his Promiſes.

Henry *returns to* England. Herbert.

Henry departed from *Liſle* the 17th of *October*, and on the 24th arrived at his Palace at *Richmond*, after a glorious *Campaign*. I call it *Glorious* as to the Succeſs of his Arms. But in another reſpect it was not very honourable, ſeeing he had been over-reached by the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *Arragon*, who had thrown upon his Shoulders the whole Burden of the War, which ſhould have been ſhared between the Four. It is true he had taken *Terouenne* and *Tournay*. But the firſt being given to the Emperour and razed, brought him no Benefit. As for *Tournay*, he never reaped any conſiderable Advantage from it, by reaſon of its diſtance from *Calais*. *Wolſey* was the only Gainer by it; the Biſhoprick of that City, which he obtained in the End, together with the Abby of St. *Amand*, bringing him in much more than what the King himſelf received from *Tournay* and its Territory.

The Swiſs *enter* Burgundy. Mezerai.

The bad Succeſs of the *Italian* Campaign had put *Lewis* XII's Affairs in an ill Poſture; and the Loſs of the Battle of *Guinegaſte*, with the taking of *Terouenne* and *Tournay*, had as it were quite diſordered them. But this was nothing in compariſon of the Danger *France* was in by a *Swiſs* Invaſion, after they had chaced the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*. The warlike *Swiſſers*, ſtirred up againſt *Lewis* by the Pope and Emperour, not ſatisfied with the Advantage they had got over him in *Italy*, were reſolved to attack him in his own Kingdom. The Opportunity was fair, by reaſon of the preſent Junctures juſt mentioned. To improve this Opportunity therefore, the *Swiſſers* levied Fifteen Thouſand Men, to whom the Emperour joined all the Nobility of *Franche-Comte*, and ſome *German* Horſe, under the Command of *Ubrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*. This Army having entered the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, went and encamped before *Dijon*, where *la Trimouille*, lately returned from *Italy*, had ſhut himſelf

They beſiege Dijon

ſelf up with ſome Troops: but that Place was in ſo ill a State, that there was no likelihood of being able to keep it. He held out however ſix Weeks. But at laſt, ſeeing that by the Loſs of *Dijon*, not only *Burgundy* but all the reſt of *France* would be in great Danger, he thought it his Duty to prevent it without ſtaying for the King's Orders, which might come too late. By a Capitulation with the *Swiſſers*, he bound himſelf to ſee them paid Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, of which he paid down Twenty Thouſand, and promiſed in the King's Name that he would give over all Claim to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The *Swiſſers*, pleaſed with their Expedition, retired into their own Country, carrying along with them four Hoſtages, who found means to eſcape when they knew the King refuſed to ratify the Capitulation. 1513.

La Trimouille *treats without the King's Knowledge*

Lewis XII finding himſelf attacked in ſo many Places, and not doubting but the Pope and King of *Arragon* were at the Bottom of all theſe Troubles, came to a Reſolution at length to make up Matters with the Pope. This was the more eaſy to be done, as *Leo* X had not, like *Julius* II, a perſonal Enmity againſt him. Since the *French* were out of *Italy*, he had nothing to demand of the King but the diſſolving of the *Council* of *Piſa*, without which indeed he could not agree to a Peace. This *Council* was grown ſo thin, that *Lewis* in forſaking it made no great Sacrifice to the Pope. It is true, the giving up a Point he had hitherto ſtoutly maintained, ſeemed to reflect ſome Diſhonour upon him. But as the *Council* of *Piſa* had been properly ſummoned againſt *Julius* II, he thought he might without Diſgrace give way to another Pope. However, *Lewis* perceiving that by being Friends with *Leo* X, he ſhould take from the Kings of *England* and *Arragon* the Pretence they uſed to war againſt him, was at length induced to renounce his *Council*, and acknowledge that of *Lateran*. This Renunciation was made in a ſolemn Manner in the Tenth Seſſion held about the End of *December*.

Lewis *makes a Peace with the Pope.*

Leo

1513. *The Pope exhorts* Henry *to Peace.* Act. Pub. XIII. 343. April 14. Guicciard.

Leo X, at the Beginning of his Pontificate, writ to *Henry* as well as to all the reſt of the Princes, earneſtly exhorting them to Peace. This was the Language he was to ſet out with at firſt, in order to do the Duty of the common Father of *Chriſtians*. *Henry*, who ſaw plainly, and was more fully convinced afterwards, that this was only Form and Show, returned an Anſwer, That he could not make Peace without his Allies, and that a ſeparate Peace would be directly contrary to all his Engagements. This Anſwer diſpleaſed not the Pope, who was ſeeking then to raiſe up Enemies to *France*. But the Moment he was ſure of an Accommodation with *Lewis* XII, he took Occaſion to ſend another Letter to *Henry*, aſſuring him that he had never intended to perſuade him to make a ſeparate Peace. But that, as he had taken up Arms purely for Defence of the *Church* and the *Holy See*, and had by his late Victories attained to the End he had propoſed, it was reaſonable he ſhould lay them down now, that the Prince who oppreſſed the *Church* was returned to his Obedience. This Letter was dated *December* the 17th, about the time of the Tenth Seſſion of the *Council* of *Lateran*, wherein the *French* Ambaſſadors made a ſolemn Submiſſion in their Maſter's Name.

Henry *ſees he is abuſed.*

Nothing helped more to open *Henry*'s Eyes than this ſecond Letter. He imagined that, when he proteſted he took up Arms in Defence of the *Church*, his Allies knew very well that he did not mean for all that to neglect his own Intereſt, that Language being properly only a Blind to amuſe the Publick. He had the more Grounds to believe it, as even in the Treaty of League each of the Allies had evidently propoſed to themſelves temporal Advantages. And yet, he ſaw that the Pope had no ſooner obtained what he wanted, but he took the Words of the Preamble to the Treaty in a literal Senſe, as if nothing elſe indeed had been intended but the Defence of the *Church*, and that he deſigned on that pretence to diſſolve a League which he had himſelf formed. This made him ſenſible, that the Pope, when he engaged in a War

War againſt *France*, had no other view but his own Intereſt. On the other Hand, he was no better pleaſed with the King of *Arragon*, neither had he reaſon to be ſo. As for the Emperour, he had performed nothing of what he had promiſed. All theſe Conſiderations having at length opened his Eyes, gave birth to the Peace with *France*, which was concluded the next Year. But before we cloſe this, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed during the Campain, between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*. 1513.

He reſolves to make Peace with France.

James IV ſeeing *Henry* ready to carry War into *France*, called his Parliament, and ſet before them the Indignities *Scotland* had ſuffered at the Hands of the *Engliſh*, ſince the laſt Peace. *Breton*'s Affair was not forgot on this Occaſion. But the beſt Reaſon he alledged to induce the *Scots* to a War, was, that as *France*, the antient and faithful Ally of *Scotland*, was upon the Point of being invaded by the King of *England*, he could not diſpenſe with giving her Aſſiſtance. This Reaſon, as plauſible as it was, met not however with the Approbation of all. Many thought it ſtrange that the King ſhould be pleaſed thus on purpoſe, and without an urgent Neceſſity, to break a Peace beneficial to *Scotland*, ſolemnly ſworn to, and juſt now renewed. But the King's Creatures and the Penſioners to *France*, whom *Lamothe* the *French* Ambaſſador had already engaged to ſerve the King his Maſter upon this Occaſion, carried it by a great Majority, inſomuch that War was reſolved upon.

War between England *and* Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

Henry was in *France* when *James* drew together his Army to invade *England*, purſuant to the Reſolution which had been taken. But to keep ſome ſort of Form, *James* writ him a Letter, and ſent it by a Herald, who found him at the Siege of *Terouenne*. This Letter bearing Date the 16th of *July*, contained the Grievances *James* thought he had cauſe to complain of, and a Declaration of War in caſe he gave not over the War he had commenced againſt *France*. *Henry* could not ſend his Anſwer till the 12th of *Auguſt*,

James IV *enters* England. *He ſends a Defiance to* Henry. Act. Pub. XIII. 382.

1513. Henry's *Answer.*

guſt, the Subſtance whereof was, "That he was not "at all ſurprized to ſee him break the Peace upon "frivolous Pretences, ſince in ſo doing he only trod "in the Steps of his Anceſtors and Predeceſſors. "Then he upbraided him, that whilſt he knew him "to be in *England*, he never ſhowed either by Letter "or Ambaſſador that he intended to eſpouſe the King "of *France*'s Quarrel, but had watched his Depar- "ture to execute his unjuſt Deſigns. He added, that "knowing him perfectly well, he had foreſeen his "Breach of Faith, and for that reaſon, before he "paſſed into *France*, had taken ſuch a Courſe, and "ſo well provided for the Defence of his Kingdom, "that he did not queſtion by God's Help to fruſtrate "all the Endeavours of *Schiſmaticks*, excommunicated "by the Pope and *Council* of *Lateran*. That be- "ſides, he hoped to have it very ſoon in his Power "to ſerve him in his own kind, and in the mean "time, would not fail to take the moſt effectual Me- "thods to deprive him and his Poſterity of all Proſ- "pect of ever ſucceeding to the Kingdom he was "going to invade ſo perfidiouſly. After that, he ſet "before his Eyes the Example of the King of *Na- "varre*, who for having ſided with *France*, was de- "priyed of his Kingdom, without hopes of being "ever reſtored. As for the pretended Grievances "alledged in his Letter, he ſaid, they had been ſo "often replied to, that it was needleſs to ſay any "more about them. But for the King of *Scotland*'s "calling upon him to deſiſt from the War with "*France*, he told him, that he did not acknowledge "him for Judge in his Affairs with *Lewis* XII, and "in ſpite of his Threats would continue the War. "He concluded with ſaying, that he might reſt aſ- "ſured he would let no Opportunity ſlip to be re- "venged, which he did not queſtion he ſhould be, "with the Help of God and St. *George*".

James *takes* Norham.

James never ſtayed for an Anſwer to his Letter, but took the Field. On the 22d of *Auguſt* he entered the

the County of *Northumberland*, and took ſeveral Places, particularly *Norham*-Caſtle. The *Engliſh* Writers affirm his Army was Sixty Thouſand ſtrong. Some mount the Number to a Hundred Thouſand, which is hardly credible. There is no queſtion however but it was very numerous, conſidering the Pains *Buchanan* takes to ſhow that it was much leſſened by Deſertions, and by being kept unemployed for ſome time. The Earl of *Surry* was then in *Yorkſhire*, with Twenty-ſix Thouſand Men. But upon the firſt News of the *Scots* entering *England*, he marched directly towards them, and on the 2d of *September* he came near enough to ſend and offer them Battle, by a Herald, who reported that the King of *Scotland* accepted it for the *Friday* following. *James* was then encamped upon the Side of Mount *Cheviot*, where it was a hard Matter to attack him. And therefore the Earl of *Surry*, ſeeing the *Scots* would not fight but in ſo advantagious a Poſt, reſolved to ſtay till they ſhould deſcend on the Plain. The *Engliſh* not appearing on the Day appointed, an old *Scotch* Lord took Occaſion to repreſent to the King, that he had done enough to ſave his Honour: That it was not prudent to fight the *Engliſh* in their own Country, but that the beſt way would be to retire with his Booty into *Scotland*, where it would be in his Power to come to or avoid a Battle as he pleaſed: That as he had only taken Arms to make a Diverſion in favour of *France*, he would keep the *Engliſh* Forces as much in play by not fighting as by hazarding a Battle: That upon this Occaſion he ought not to liſten to the Self-intereſted Counſels of the *French* Ambaſſador, who only wanted to run the venture of ſome great Attempt at another's Coſt, in order to free the King his Maſter from the Streights he was in: But in ſerving *France*, a Regard was likewiſe to be had to *Scotland*. This Advice ſeemed too cautious in the King's Opinion. As he was determined to give Battle, he boldly anſwered, He would fight the *Engliſh* were they a Hundred Thouſand ſtrong. Mean while, the Earl of *Surry* wanting to draw him from

1513. Herbert, &c. Hall.

The Earl of Surry *marches towards him, and offers him Battle.*

They try to divert James *from fighting.*

1513. from his Poſt, marched along a River which parted the two Armies, as if he intended to enter *Scotland* by way of *Carliſle*, towards which Place he ſhaped his Courſe. *James* having notice of it, ſet Fire to his Camp, and marched along the ſame River on the oppoſite Side. But unhappily for him, the Smoak of his own Camp hindered him from ſeeing the *Engliſh*, who forded over the River unperceived. Then *James* halting about *Floddon*, drew up his Army in Battalia. Here it was the Earl of *Surry* came and attacked him, having paſſed with Difficulty a ſort of Moraſs which was between the two Armies. The Particulars of this Battle are ſo variouſly related by the Hiſtorians of both Nations, that one cannot follow one without departing from the other. But as to the Iſſue the Thing is otherwiſe. They all agree that the *Scots* loſt the Day, after having valiantly fought till Night which parted the Combatants. The two Armies being retired, the *Engliſh* knew not that they were Victors till the Morning, when they ſaw that their Enemies had quitted the Field of Battle with all their Artillery. The *Engliſh* own they loſt five Thouſand Men in this Battle, which was fought on the 9th of *September*. But they ſay the *Scots* loſt ten Thouſand. The *Scots* pretend that there were but five Thouſand ſlain on each Side. But they confeſs their Loſs was very conſiderable by Reaſon of the great Number of Lords and Officers which fell in the Battle; whereas the *Engliſh* loſt not one Perſon of Diſtinction *. King *James* was never ſeen more after the Battle. The *Engliſh* imagined they found his Body wounded in two Places, upon a heap of Dead, and ordered it to be put into a Leaden-Coffin,

Battle of Floddon, *where* James *is defeated and ſlain.*

The Engliſh *believe they had found his Body.*

* In this Battle the Vanguard was led by the Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Edmund* the Earl of *Surry*'s Sons, the main Battle by himſelf, and the Rear by Sir *Edward Stanly*. The Lord *Dacres* with his Horſe being appointed as a Reſerve. On the *Scotch* Side there fell one *Archbiſhop*, two *Biſhops*, four *Abbots*, twelve *Earls*, and ſeventeen *Barons*, with eight or ten Thouſand common Soldiers. See a Deſcription of the Battle in my Lord *Herbert*, *p.* 18.

Coffin, without daring however to bury it, becauſe he died *Excommunicated*. But the *Scots* affirmed it was not the Body of their King. They ſaid that before the Battle he had cauſed five Men of his own Stature to wear the ſame Arms with himſelf, and that the Body which the *Engliſh* took for the King's was one *Elphinſton*'s who was very like him. But however they could not tell what was become of the King. There was one that ſaid he ſaw him ride over the *Tweed* after the Battle. But as the Fight laſted till Night, this Evidence is not much to be relied upon. It was however the Ground of the Report of his not being dead. Some ſuſpected that he was killed as he was going out of the Battle by the Lord *Alexander Humes* or his *Vaſſals*. But this was never fully proved. However it was never known for certain whether the Body the *Engliſh* found on the Field of Battle, was the King's or not. Nevertheleſs *Henry*, taking for granted that it was the very Corpſe of *James* IV, writ to the Pope for a Diſpenſation to interr it in St. *Paul*'s Church. *Leo* X. anſwered by a *Brief*, ſignifying, "That it had been ſet forth to him from the King of "*England*, that in a Treaty concluded between the "late King of *Scotland* and *Henry* VII, and renewed "by *Henry* VIII, the firſt had ſubmitted himſelf to "the Sentence of Excommunication in Caſe he acted "in Breach of it, and that notwithſtanding he had "broken the Peace: And for that Reaſon had been "pronounced Excommunicated by the Cardinal "Archbiſhop of *York*, in Virtue of full Powers "granted him by *Julius* II: That he died in the Field "of Battle, without having been abſolved; but that "in Conſideration of the Royal Dignity and his Al-"liance to him, the King of *England* had deſired "leave to bury him in conſecrated Ground. Upon "theſe Accounts the Pope was pleaſed to grant his "Requeſt, conſidering that as he was told, and as "he ought charitably to believe, *James* in his laſt Mo-"ments ſhowed ſome Signs of Contrition, ſuch as "the Circumſtances he was in would admit. That "therefore

1513.

Henry deſires the Pope's leave to bury the Corpſe.

The Pope's Anſwer. Act. Pub. XIII. 385. *Nov.* 29.

1513. " therefore he appointed the Bishop of *London*, or " any other Bishop the King should please to nomi- " nate, to inquire into the Matter; and in Case he " found that *James* had shown any Signs of Repen- " tance before his Death, he gave him Power to ab- " solve him: That however the Absolution should " serve to no other Purpose but to have him interred " in Holy Ground. Moreover he ordered the Bi- " shop to injoin the King of *England* to undergo some " Penance in the Name of the deceased King."

Remark upon this Brief.

Among the many Remarks which one might make upon this *Brief*, I shall confine myself to this one. There was no Declaration of War between *James* and *Henry* before the Letter dated the 16th of *July*, and received the 12th of *August*, nor any Hostility committed before the 22d of *August*, when *James* entered *England*. So the King of *Scotland* cannot be said to have broke the Truce till that Time. Now he died the 9th of *September* excommunicated by the Cardinal of *York*, who was then Ambassador at *Rome*. Hence I think it may be inferred that the Cardinal had Excommunicated *James* without knowing the Cause, or hearing his Reasons, and probably upon a bare Letter *Henry* had sent him, that the King of *Scotland* intended to break the Peace; I say, that he only intended to break the Peace, since there is no likelihood that from the 22d of *August*, when *James* entered *England*, to the 9th of *September*, the Day of his Death, the Cardinal, who was at *Rome*, could have had notice of an actual Rupture, and so proceed to an *Excommunication*. I say nothing of the Supposition that *James* slain on the Spot, showed any Signs of Contrition, especially as it was even uncertain whether the Body they would have interred, was the King of *Scotland*'s. I pass over likewise the Limitation set to the Absolution, that it should serve only for the burying of the dead Prince in Holy Ground, as well as the *Penance* enjoined a living Person in the Name of a dead one. Every Body will be able to reflect upon these Things as he shall think fit.

The

1514. *Interests and Views of the Princes of* Europe.

The Posture of Affairs in *Europe* being at the close of the Year 1513 such as we have seen, it is no wonder that the Designs and Interests of the Princes should be different from what they were in the beginning of the Year. It is necessary therefore before we enter upon the Recital of the Events of the Year 1514, just to mention how the chief Sovereigns stood affected.

Lewis XII.

Lewis XII burned with desire to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. But he plainly perceived that to compass his Ends the Allies must be divided, otherwise there was no Appearance of succeeding in his Undertakings. The Pope, Emperour, King of *Arragon*, and *Swissers*, were equally concerned to oppose him. And yet as they had their separate Interests too, he thought it would not be impossible to draw them off one from another, by letting them see that every one apart by himself, or at least some of them, would be as great Gainers as they could naturally expect to be by their Union. Besides, he hoped by treating with each of them in particular, he should breed Jealousies and Suspicions among them, which would induce them to make haste and treat with him for fear of being left in the Lurch. He had the greater Prospect of succeeding this way, because most of the Princes with whom he was in War, were not over-conscientious, but were very ready to sacrifice their Allies to their own private Interest. This was the Method then *Lewis* XII took to free himself from the Streights he was in. At the Beginning of the Year 1514 he took Care to renew the Negotiation he had commenced about the Marriage of the Princess *Renée* his second Daughter with *Charles* Archduke of *Austria*, well knowing that *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* were equally desirous of the Match, especially upon the Terms they themselves had proposed. He started however Difficulties capable of prolonging the Negotiation without breaking it off entirely. The Pope could not look upon this Project without Uneasiness. He was as much afraid that *Milan* should be in the Hands of a Grandson of the Emperour's and King of *Arra-*

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1514. *gon*'s as to see the *French* King restored. His Interest required that *Milan* should remain in the Family of the *Sforza*'s. The *Swissers* too heartily wished the same Thing. It would likewise have turned greatly to the Account of the *Venetians*, if another Interest had not prevailed, and that was to bring the Emperour to make Peace with them upon reasonable Terms. But this they could not hope to effect without the Assistance of *France*; and this Assistance could not be obtained without aiding *Lewis* XII to recover the *Milanese*.

Maximilian. *Maximilian* found his Account in his War with *Venice*, because it cost him little. Since the League of *Cambray*, he had all along been powerfully aided by *France*, or *Spain*, or rather he had never made War but at another's Expence. His Allies were necessarily obliged to find him Men or Money, otherwise they might be sure he would quickly change Sides. Since he had left *France*, the *Spanish* Troops had done all for him in his War with *Venice*, and the King of *Aragon*, with all his Cunning, was not able to dispense with acting in his Favour. It is no wonder then that he kept off so, when a Peace was on Foot, or that he used his Endeavours to foment the Dissentions among the Princes.

The King of Aragon. As to King *Ferdinand*, since he was become Master of *Navarre*, it was his Business to imbroil Affairs and cherish in *Italy*, the Hopes and Fears of the several Parties, to make himself necessary, and that a Peace might not be concluded without him. By this means he tried to hinder *Lewis* from thinking of *Navarre*, and hoped to bring about in the End a Treaty which should leave him in quiet Possession of his Conquest. Upon that Account, he played all sorts of Parts, in order to come at his Ends. One while he assisted the Emperour against *Venice*; another while he sollicited the Emperour in Favour of the *Venetians*. Sometimes he stirred up the Pope and *Swissers* not to suffer the King of *France* to become Master of *Milan*; and sometimes he offered to assist the same Prince to conquer

quer that Dutchy. All this was nothing but Cunning and Artifice to keep alive a Diſſention ſo advantagious to him. But after all, his Policy began to fail him. He had ſo forfeited his Reputation with reſpect to Good Faith, that no one would truſt him any more. It was only out of pure Neceſſity, or from a deſire to breed Jealouſies in their Enemies, that the reſt of the Sovereign Princes made any Treaties with him, which they were ſenſible they could not rely upon. 1514.

Henry VIII had come off glorioufly in his firſt Campain. But he ſaw plainly that he was beholden for his good Succeſs to *Lewis*'s Paſſion, who had neglected the Defenſe of his own Kingdom, by ſending his beſt Troops to recover the *Milaneſe*. The Truth is, *Henry* depending upon the Treaty of *Mechlin*, and the Diverſions which his Allies were to make in ſeveral Provinces of *France*, had led into that Kingdom not above Five and Twenty Thouſand Men; too weak an Army to give him any Proſpect of great Advantages, if he had been to deal with all the Forces of his Enemy. Forſaken as he was by the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Arragon*, how would he have got off, if *Lewis* XII could have found in his Heart to defer his *Milan*-Expedition to another Time, and reſolved to march all his Troops into *Picardy*? Thus *Henry* ought to conſider, and in effect did conſider, that he was more indebted for the Victory of *Guinegaſte*, and taking of *Terouenne* and *Tournay*, to the Circumſtances of the Time than to his Prudence or Valour. He was therefore inclined to get clear of an Affair he had indiſcreetly embarked in, without flattering himſelf any longer with the Hopes of the imaginary Aſſiſtance of his Allies. It was neceſſary however to ſet a good Face upon the Matter, and conceal his Inclinations, in order to draw from *France* advantagious Terms in a Treaty. This was the Poſture of Affairs in the Beginning of the Year 1514. But before I ſpeak of thoſe of *England* in particular, it is requiſite to ſhow what Steps were taken by the Henry VIII. *Affairs of* Italy. Guiceiard.

1514. Princes concerned in the Troubles of *Italy*, becauſe that was then the main Point, to which all other Affairs tended.

Leo X *tries to reconcile the* French *and* Swiſs.

Leo X having taken the Alarm at the Negotiation *Lewis* XII had renewed with the Emperour, about the Marriage of *Renée* his ſecond Daughter, uſed all his Endeavours to reconcile the *Swiſs* to *France*, that *Lewis* might thereby be the leſs inclined to treat with the Emperour and King of *Arragon*. But he wiſhed that *Lewis* would ratify the Capitulation of *Dijon* as to what concerned the Dutchy of *Milan*; and on the other Side, he exhorted the *Swiſs* to take up with a leſs Sum than that promiſed them by *la Trimouille*. This was the Plan he laid to make up Matters. In ſhort, Things were brought ſo far to bear, that the King of *France* had offered a Truce for three Years, without going however from his Claim to *Milan*, and many of the chief Men among the *Swiſs* were ſatisfied with it. But it was not poſſible to bring that People to abate an Inch of the Capitulation of *Dijon*. They even debated whether they ſhould make a ſecond Incurſion into *France*, in revenge of the Breach of that Treaty. Thus the Pope's Pains were fruitleſs, and the *Swiſs* ſtill continued mortal Enemies to *France*.

Ferdinand *prolongs the Truce with* Lewis XII.

Ferdinand having had Advice of what was tranſacting in *Swiſſerland*, was afraid of being deſerted, whether *Lewis* gave up his Claim to *Milan*, or whether the *Swiſs* accepted the Truce he offered them. Wherefore, without ſaying any Thing to his Allies, he diſpatched *Quintana* his Secretary in all haſte to *Paris*, who renewed for a Year the Truce with *France* upon the ſame Foot with the former. Only by a ſecret Article, *Lewis* promiſed not to invade the *Milaneſe* this Year. In publiſhing the Truce in *France*, there was no mention made of *Milan*. But *Ferdinand* had it publiſhed in *Spain* with that Article: So that the World was at a great Loſs to know what to think of the Matter. *Lewis* made no ſcruple to prolong the Truce, becauſe he could not undertake to invade *Milan* and *Navarre* before he had made a Peace with *England*.

England. Beſides he was very glad the World ſhould think that the Truce he had juſt prolonged with the King of *Arragon*, would be followed by a Peace. 1514.

The Pope ſtrives to make Peace between the Emperour and Venetians, who make him Umpire of their Differences

This was a natural Conſequence enough, and very probably it put *Henry* upon thinking in earneſt of a Peace. But on the other Hand, *Lewis* was upon the Point of receiving a great Prejudice by it, in that the Pope to break his Meaſures with reſpect to *Milan*, laboured with all his Might to procure a Peace between the Emperour and the *Venetians*. He deſired above all Things, for the Good of his *See*, of all *Italy*, and of himſelf, that the *French* ſhould never ſet Foot again in *Italy*. Whilſt the *French* were in Poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, *Italy* had never been free from Troubles, the Popes had been leſs regarded than before, and the *Florentines* had preſerved that Liberty. Theſe were ſufficient Reaſons to make the Pope wiſh that they might never come in again. Beſides, he had formed Projects for raiſing his Family, which their Neighbourhood might be an Impediment to. One great Means to attain his Ends, was to deprive *Lewis* XII of the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, which he could not fail to do, if he could poſſibly find out ſome Expedient to make their Peace with the Emperour. Laſt Year the *Venetians*, hard preſſed by the *Spaniſh* Army, had agreed to make the Pope Umpire, and the Emperour had accepted of the ſame. But the Affair had lain dormant ever ſince. Preſently after *Ferdinand*'s renewing the Truce with *Lewis* XII, the Pope fearing a Peace would be concluded between the two Monarchs, at the hazard of the Dutchy of *Milan*, ſtrove to renew the Negotiation between the Emperour and the *Venetians*. He was very ſenſible that in Caſe it came to a good Iſſue, the King of *France* would in vain expect the Aſſiſtance of the Republick to conquer *Milan*. In ſhort, with much Sollicitation, he prevailed with both Parties to bind themſelves to ſtand to his Arbitration, and to give him Power to ſettle the Terms of the Peace as he ſhould think fit. However, by a Writing under

1514. his own Hand, he promiſed not to pronounce Sentence but with both their Conſents.

Difficulties of the Peace.

It was a very hard Matter to ſettle this Peace, becauſe the War continuing all the while in the State of *Venice* and in *Friuli*, the leaſt Succeſs was enough to make the Parties riſe or fall in their Demands. When the *Venetians* found themſelves hard preſſed, they very willingly agreed that the Emperour ſhould keep *Verona*; but then *Maximilian* would have likewiſe *Vincenza*, *Padua*, and *Treviſo*. When his Affairs went ill, he was ready to give up theſe three Places to them, but then they could not think of making Peace without *Verona* too. Thus the Pope finding that the various Succeſs of the War was a perpetual Bar to the Accommodation he was projecting, paſſed a proviſional Sentence, ordering that both Parties ſhould lay down their Arms: That the Emperour ſhould depoſite in his Hands *Vincenza*, and all that the *Spaniards* held in the Territories of *Padua* and *Treviſo*: That the *Venetians* ſhould do the like with regard to *Crema*, and ſhould pay down to the Emperour Fifty Thouſand Ducats: But that this proviſional Agreement ſhould be deemed null and void, if the two Parties ſhould not think proper to ratify it; but in caſe they approved of it, he promiſed to paſs a definitive Sentence within a Year. The *Venetians* did not think fit to ratify the Sentence, being perſuaded that in their preſent Circumſtances a Truce was much more prejudicial to them than the Continuance of the War. Thus the Pope's Pains were to no purpoſe. Such was the Poſture of Affairs in *Italy* during the Year 1514. We muſt ſee now what paſſed in *England*.

The Pope's proviſional Sentence,

rejected by the Venetians.

Parliament in England. Herbert.

Henry, upon his return from his glorious Campain, thought of nothing at firſt but Mirth and Diverſions. The Parliament however met on the 3d of *January*. But there was nothing done of any great Moment with reſpect to publick Affairs. Before the Seſſion was over, the King gave the Earl of *Surry* the Title of *Duke of Norfolk*, which his Father bore, and loſt with

The Earl of Surry *created Duke of* Norfolk. Act. Pub. XIII. 389. Feb. 1.

with his Life at *Boſworth-field*, fighting for *Richard* III *. By this Change, *Thomas Howard* Son and Heir of the new Duke, became Earl of *Surry*. *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, one of the King's Favourites, was alſo created *Duke of Suffolk*; and *Charles Sommerſet*, *Earl of Worceſter*. *Margaret* of *York*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* IV, obtained likewiſe the Title of *Counteſs of Sarum*, as Heir to the Earl of *Warwick* her Brother, beheaded by *Henry* VII *. 1514.

Charles Brandon *Duke of* Suffolk.

Margaret *of* Clarence *Counteſs of* Salisbury.

Thomas Wolſey had now been ſome Months *Prime Miniſter*, without receiving any particular Marks of his Maſter's Favour. But *Wolſey* was not a Man to forget himſelf. The Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* being vacant, he ordered it ſo that the King demanded it for him of the Pope, who had engroſſed the *Collations* of all the *Sees*, by anticipated Reſervations. Shortly after, *Lewis Guillard* Biſhop of *Tournay*, having neglected to repair to his Biſhoprick, ſince the City was in the Hands of the King of *England*, the Pope readily took it for granted that he had quitted his *See*, and gave the Adminiſtration of it to *Thomas Wolſey*, both in *Temporals* and *Spirituals*. This was a great

Thomas Wolſey *is made Biſhop of* Lincoln, P. 390.

and Adminiſtrator of the See of Tournay. P. 584.

* For his memorable Victory over the *Scots* at *Flodden*, he had a ſpecial Grant from the King to himſelf and the Heirs-male of his Body, of an honourable Augmentation to his *Arms*; namely, to bear on the *Bend* thereof the upper half of a *Red Lyon*, (painted as the Arms of *Scotland* are) pierced through the Mouth with an Arrow. He was created Duke of *Norfolk*, *Feb.* 9. 15$\frac{1}{4}$. His Father derived his Deſcent (by the Heirs female of *Mowbray* and *Seagrave*) not from *Thomas Brotherton*, Son to King *Edward* I. *Dugd. Stow.*

*1 She was Wife of Sir *Richard Pole*, deſcended from an antient Stock of that Name ſomewhere in *Wales*. This Sir *Richard* was made chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to Prince *Arthur*, and Knight of the moſt noble *Order of the Garter*. He had four Sons by the Lady *Margaret*; *Henry*, afterwards Lord *Montague*; *Geffrey*, *Arthur*, and *Reginald*, the famous Cardinal *Pole* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and one of the Three that preſided at the Council of *Trent*. *Margaret* petitioned to be *Counteſs of Salisbury* from her Grandfather *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, for all whoſe *Caſtles*, *Manors* and *Lands* ſhe obtained a Grant dated *Oct.* 14. which came to the Crown by the Attainder of her Brother *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*. *Dugd.*

1514. Addition to the new Favourite's Income, on a ſudden and almoſt at the ſame time. *Leo* X, not expecting any great Matters from the Emperour or King of *Arragon*, eaſily perceived he might ſtand in need of the King of *England*. In order to gain his Protection it was that he had diſpoſed of the *Sees* of *Lincoln* and *Tournay* in favour of *Wolſey*, to win him over to his Intereſts, by Preſents which coſt him nothing. But after he had ſatisfied the Favourite, he muſt teſtify by ſome Mark of Diſtinction the Eſteem he had for the Maſter. To that purpoſe he ſent him a *Sword* and *Hat*, conſecrated on *Chriſtmas-day*, which the Popes were wont to preſent to Princes or Generals that had obtained ſome ſignal Victory over the Enemies of the *Church*.

The Pope ſends Henry *a conſecrated Sword and Cap.*

Whilſt the Pope, Emperour and King of *Arragon* were labouring to bring their reſpective Projects to bear, *Lewis* XII was not unmindful of his own Affairs. Among all his Enemies, none gave him ſo much Uneaſineſs as the King of *England*, and that chiefly for two Reaſons: Firſt, *Henry* was young, greedy of Glory, abounding in ready-Money; and withal, was always ſure of Supplies from his Parliament, eſpecially in caſe of a War with *France*. Secondly, the Diverſion he could and did make in *Picardy* by the Means of *Calais*, rendered all *Lewis*'s Projects in *Italy* abortive. He thereby kept the Forces of *France* at ſuch a Diſtance from one another, that it was next to impoſſible they ſhould be able to come to each other's Aſſiſtance in caſe of Accident. Thus it was the King of *France*'s chief Concern to remove this Thorn in his Side, otherwiſe he could not undertake to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. This therefore he ſat about in good earneſt, after the Campain was over, by the Miniſtry of *Lewis* of *Orleans* Duke of *Longueville*, who was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Guinegaſte*. It was this private Ambaſſador that, in his frequent Converſations with *Henry*, laboured by degrees to open his Eyes, by ſhowing him how little he could depend upon his Allies, and making him ſee clearly the Arti-

Lewis XII *makes an offer of Peace to* Henry. Herbert.

fices

fices they had uſed to draw him into their Snares. 1514.
Henry was convinced of it; but in all appearance he was told abundance of Things which he was ignorant of before. However that be, theſe Converſations had ſuch an Effect, that *Henry* let the Duke underſtand that he was inclined to a Peace, provided it was made upon reaſonable Terms. *Lewis* XII having notice of it, ordered the Duke of *Longueville* privately to negotiate the Affair, and try to dive into the King of *England*'s real Intentions. Very probably *Henry* inſiſted for ſome time upon his Claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*, and particularly to *Guienne* and *Normandy*, which made the Duke apprehenſive that his Negotiation would not ſucceed. Nevertheleſs, to induce *Henry* to abate ſomething of his Pretenſions, the Duke had Orders to demand the Princeſs *Mary* his Siſter for the King his Maſter, who had loſt *Ann* of *Bretagne* his Queen, in the Beginning of the Year. This private Negotiation, to which only *Thomas Wolſey* Biſhop of *Lincoln* was admitted, continued ſome time without making great Progreſs, by reaſon of *Henry*'s exceſſive Demands. At laſt, at a ſecret Conference which the King himſelf had with the Duke of *Longueville*, he deſiſted on a ſudden from the hardeſt of his Demands, and told him in plain Terms, on what Conditions the Peace ſhould be concluded, adding, that he fully reſolved not to bate any thing of them. Here is a Letter the King wrote to *Wolſey* with his own Hand, after the Conference, wherein appears what was his laſt Reſolution *.

The King's Letter to Wolſey about the Peace. Act. Pub. XIII. 403. May 5.

MY Lord of *Lynkecoln* I recommande me unto yow. And lette yow wyte that I have ſpokyne with the Duke; whyche in the begynnyngne was as yll afraid as ever he was in his Lyffe leſt no good effecte ſhulde comme to pas. Never-
" theles,

* The Tranſlator has thought fit to inſert the *Original Letter* in very Words of King *Henry*, as it is to be found in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, and intends to do the ſame by all the original Papers, which *Rapin* has tranſlated word for word, as he has done this.

1514. " theles, in farther communyng, we wente more
" rondly to oure matters; in ſo moche that I ſayde
" to hym, ſeinge that the King your Maſter hathe
" ſoght ſo gently unto Us for bothe Amyte and Ma-
" riage, I aſſure yow (oure Honour ſavyd) we colde
" be well content to gyffe herkyne therto, and yff the
" Offers wer reſonable agre upon thos ſame; but
" this be not reſonable, excepte the Amyte ſhulde no
" longer continw then the Payment off Money: And
" yett natt ſo, except ther wer a reſonable Summe
" of Money to be payd in hand by and by:

" Iff hys Maſter wyll have the Mariage, I can
" natt ſee how it can be conveniently, excepte the
" Amyte be made duryng our Lyffes and on yer
" affter, to the intente that all Suſpycyon off bothe
" Sydes may be ſett apart:

" Whyche Mariage and Amyte your Maſter may
" have under thys Maner; that is to ſay, Paynge
" erly on Hundred Thouſand Crownes and att hys re-
" queſt I natt to ſtyke for no redy Mony in hande,
" but I to ſtande contente therwith for Recompenſe
" off all thynges.

" Whyche, yff your Maſter conſidere what Hery-
" taunce he holdyth from Me, and what good my
" Amyte may do to help forth hys Mater in *Italy* I
" thinke he wyll nat grettly ſtyke at:

" Thys forther more I ſayde to the Duke, ſurly I
" can natt ſee how the Amyte made for yers can any
" longer indure than the Payment, whyche exſpyryde
" ſhulde be occaſion off new Breche and Demans,
" wherby noder He nor we ſhou'd lyff quiettly,
" whyche, yff ther fall Alyance, I wholde be lothe
" to ſee; wherfor I ſee no way to eſchwe all dangers
" and Parraylles, and to recompenſe Me for with-
" holdyng off myne Inheritance (whyche yff I wolde
" be ſlake in, my Subjectes wolde murmure at) bu
" to make thys Amyte duryng oure Lyffs and o
" yer affter, Payinge yerly as above reherſed; whych
" Amyte wons grantyd the Alyance ſhulde natt b
" ſ

" refuſyde, nor no other thyng whyche with my Honour ſavyd I might do: 1515.

" Saying forther more to hyme that, yff I myght demande with my Honour any leſſe, or take any leſſe offer (ſeying hys Maſter is ſo well mynded to the forſayd Alyance and Amyte) I wolde be glade to do that at hys requeſt, but leſs then thys hit can nott ſtonde with my Honour, nor my Subjectes wyll nat be content that I ſhulde take.

" My Lord, I ſhuyd him forthermore that, yff he thoght we myght truſt to have thys Ende, I wolde be content that yow and they ſhuld commune on all other Artycylles, concernyng the Amyte and Mariage, tyll we myght have abſolute Aſſurance in that behalfe for lyſyng of Time:

" To whyche he anſwarde, that he colde nat aſſure Me thereoff; but that he truſtyde, ſeying my Demans wer ſo reſonable, that hys Maſter wholde agre therto.

" On truſt hereon we woll that yow begyne to Penne the Reſidue off the Artycylles as ſoon as yow can;

" And thus fare yow well.

Wryttyn with the hande of your loving Maſter,

HENRY R.

Though this Letter has no date, one may by ſeveral Circumſtances conjecture it was written in the Month of *June*, 1514.

Lewis XII being informed of the King of *England*'s laſt Reſolution, entertained great hopes of a Peace. There were however two Articles which troubled him. The firſt was the paying a Hundred Thouſand Crowns every Year, as a Compenſation for *Henry*'s Claim to the Kingdom of *France:* which in a Manner was owning the Juſtice of his Title, and paying him a part of Tribute, Things he could never bring himſelf to. The other Article related to *Tournay*, which he wanted

Lewis *is not pleaſed with* Henry's *Propoſals.*

1514. wanted to have again, but whereof the King had made no mention in his Propoſals. But in this reſpect there was an Obſtacle which was not eaſily to be got over; and that was, *Wolſey* was concerned in the Matter. It was not ſufficient to gain *Henry* by Flattery, or by giving him a Sum of Money in lieu of *Tournay*; he muſt moreover make the Favourite amends for the Loſs of a *See* which brought him in a very conſiderable Income. To endeavour therefore to agree about theſe two Articles, *Lewis* ſent Ambaſſadors to *England*. He pitched upon for this purpoſe *John de Selve* firſt Preſident of *Roan*; and *Thomas Bohier*, to whom *Du Bellai* gives the Title of *General of Normandy*; and the King, in his Commiſſion, that of *Chevalier General of France*. Mean while the two Kings agreed upon a Ceſſation of Arms during the Treaty.

He ſends Ambaſſadors to England. Act. Pub. XIII. 405. July 29.

A Truce agreed upon.

It was eaſier for the *French* Ambaſſadors to get *Henry* to alter his laſt Reſolution as to the firſt Article, than to prevail with him to reſtore *Tournay*. The Reaſon is evident. In the firſt Article, the King alone was concerned; whereas in the ſecond, the *Miniſter*'s Intereſt was properly in queſtion. However, ſince *Henry* was determined to make Peace with *France*, *Tournay* could be of no farther uſe to him, and a Sum of Money would have been doubtleſs more for his Advantage than the keeping of that Place. But *Wolſey* plainly perceived that as ſoon as *Tournay* ſhould be in the Hands of the King of *France*, he would infallibly loſe the Adminiſtration of the *See*. So the Negotiation of the Ambaſſadors upon that Article was entirely fruitleſs. But it was not ſo with reſpect to the Penſion of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns *Henry* had demanded. They found means to bring him to take a Million of Crowns, in which were included the Seven Hundred Forty-five Thouſand Crowns contained in the Treaty of *Eſtaples*; but whereof, in truth, part, though a ſmall one, had been paid. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador reſiding at *London*, did all that lay in his Power to intervene in the Negotiation. But *Henry* would never ſuffer him, well-knowing he had no other

Henry *would not ſuffer the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador to have to do in the Treaty.*

Aim

Aim but to raiſe Obſtacles. The Commiſſioners of the two Kings being agreed upon all the Articles, the Treaties were ſigned the 7th of *Auguſt*. 1514.

There were three ſeparate Treaties. The firſt concerned only the renewing of the Alliance between *France* and *England*. The ſecond was about the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary* with *Lewis* XII. The third related to the Payment of the Million of Crowns. As theſe Treaties ſerved for Foundation to many others hereafter concluded, it is neceſſary to inſert the Subſtance of them, at leaſt with reſpect to the moſt material Articles. *Three ſeveral Treaties ſigned at* London.

I. TREATY

Of Peace and Amity between LEWIS XII *and* HENRY VIII, *concluded at* London, Auguſt 7. 1514.

THAT the Amity betwen the two Kings ſhould laſt till a Year after one of their Deaths. That the Succeſſor of him that died firſt ſhould give notice within the Year to the other, whether he would prolong This or make a new Treaty. Act. Pub. XIII. 413.

That all Impoſitions laid, ſince 52 Years laſt paſt, by one King on the Subjects of the other ſhould be aboliſhed.

That the Peace ſhould not be deemed violated by the Outrages which ſhould be committed on either Side.

That neither of the two Kings ſhould afford Protection or Refuge to the Rebels of the other.

By the 14th, 15th, and 16th Articles, the two Kings bound themſelves to mutual Aſſiſtance in three Caſes: 1. For Defence of one another's Dominions: 2. For Recovery of the Territories with-held by other Princes: 3. In caſe one of the two Kings ſhould be attacked on the Score of the preſent Treaty, provided he gave his Word and Honour that it was upon that

1514. that Account. In each of these Cases the Conditions were different*. But in the last Case they promised mutual Aid, though the Assailant should be *Relation*, *Friend* or Ally of one or both.

Lewis included in the Treaty, as his Allies, the Pope, the *Swiss*, and the King of *Scotland*. On *Henry*'s Part were named the Pope, *Bologna*, all the Towns of the *Patrimony* of St. *Peter*, the Archduke of *Austria* and the *Swiss*.

Scotland was not included in the Treaty, but on Condition that the *Scots* should commit no Hostilities against *England* after the 25th of *November*.

That the Treaty should be ratified and sworn to by the two Kings, and confirmed by the Parliament of *England*, and the *States*-General of *France*.

That each of the two King's should use his Endeavour to obtain of the Pope a Sentence of *Excommunication* against him of the two that should violate the Peace.

II. TREATY,

About the Marriage of LEWIS XII *with the Princess* MARY.

P. 423. THAT Matrimony should be contracted by *Proxies* and *per verba de præsenti*, within ten Days after the Date of this Treaty.

That the King of *England* should convey at his own Charge, the Princess his Sister to *Abbeville*, where within four Days after her Arrival the King of *France* should solemnly marry her.

That

* In the first Case, *Lewis* was to furnish 1000 *Lances* by Land and 5000 Men by Sea, with convenient Shipping; and *Henry* 10000 *Archers* by Land, and 5000 Men at Sea, with Shipping. In the second, *Lewis* was to lend *Henry* 600 *Lances* only, and *Henry* him but 5000 Archers, with the same Sea-Forces on both Sides as beforementioned. In the third, one was to aid the other at his Charge that was invaded.

That *Mary* ſhould have in Dower four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, two Hundred Thouſand whereof ſhould be reckoned for Jewels, *&c.* and that in Caſe of Recovery, *Lewis* ſhould be obliged to reſtore the Jewels, *&c.* which ſhould be valued at the Sum of two Hundred Thouſand Crowns. 1514.

That the other half, amounting to two Hundred Thouſand Crowns, *Henry* ſhould pay by deducting the ſaid Sum out of the Million the King of *France* was bound to Pay by a Treaty apart.

That the future Queen's Jointure ſhould be as great as that aſſigned to *Ann of Bretagne*, or any other Queen of *France*.

That in Caſe of *Lewis*'s Death, *Mary* ſhould enjoy her Dowry and Jointure during her Life, whether ſhe reſided in *France* or *England*.

III. TREATY,

For the Payment of a Million of Crowns.

BY This Treaty *Lewis* XII acknowledged, that by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, *Charles* VIII was bound to pay *Henry* VII, or his Succeſſors, the Sum of 745000 Crowns, and that himſelf was obliged to pay the Arrears of the ſaid Sum. P. 431.

Moreover, that *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* his Father, by an *Obligation* dated *March* the 7th, 1444, had owned himſelf Debter in a certain Sum to *Margaret of Somerſet* Grandmother of *Henry* VIII.

That theſe two Sums not being yet paid, *Lewis* bound himſelf to pay to the King of *England*, or his Succeſſors, a Million of Crowns, as well for the Arrears of the ſaid two Sums, as on Account of the good Affection he bore him, and to the End their Amity might be the more laſting.

That the Payment of this Million ſhould be made by *Lewis* paying to the King of *England* Twenty Thouſand

1514. Thousand *Livres Tournois* every six Months till the whole Debt was discharged.

Thus the War, which had been taken in Hand on pretense of Religion, and for the Glory of God, ended in a Treaty, wherein there is no mention either of *Religion*, or the *Pope*, or the *Church*.

The Princess Mary *protests against her Contract with* Charles *of* Austria. Act. Pub. XIII. 409. *July* 30. Herbert.

On the other Hand, though the Princess *Mary* had been solemnly affianced to *Charles* of *Austria*, *Lewis* XII and *Henry* VIII had no Scruples about this second Marriage, neither did they so much as vouchsafe to demand the Pope's Dispensation to absolve *Mary* from her first Contract. Only a few Days before the signing of the Treaty, *Mary* declared in the Presence of a *Notary Publick*, and other Witnesses, that she had been forced to plight her Faith to the Prince of *Castile*, Archduke of *Austria*. That moreover the Archduke having promised to espouse her by *Proxy* and *per verba de præsenti*, as soon as he should be fourteen Years of Age, had broken his Word. She added further, that she had it from good Hands, that the Counsellors and Confidents of the Prince of *Castile* were instilling into him, to the utmost of their Power, an Aversion for the King of *England* her Father. Upon these Allegations it was that the two Kings making themselves Judges in a Cause which fell without doubt under the Pope's Cognizance, thought fit the Marriage should be consummated.

Remark on the third Treaty.

I have another Remark to make upon the third Treaty; and that is, although *Henry* had declared to the Duke of *Longueville*, as appears in his Letter to *Wolsey*, that he could not make Peace without the King of *France* would pay him a yearly Pension of a Hundred Thousand Crowns as a Compensation for the Inheritance he with-held from him, a way was found to satisfy him with much less. The Whole was reduced to *Lewis*'s Bond to pay him a Hundred Thousand Crowns, the two Thirds whereof were due before the Treaty. Besides, that this Bond might not be deemed as a Satisfaction for the Claims the King of

of *England* had upon the Kingdom of *France*, as *Henry* had intended it, it was ſaid in the Treaty, in expreſs Words, that it was in Payment of the Reſidue of the Seven-hundred-forty-five-thouſand Crowns, due to the King of *England* by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, of another Sum due from the late Duke of *Orleans* to *Margaret* the King's Grandmother, and laſtly, for the good Affection *Lewis* had for *Henry*. By this Means the main Foundation vaniſhed, on which *Henry* had built his Demand of a Penſion of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns, a Demand which he had conſidered at firſt as the Ground-Work of the Treaty, as we have ſeen in his Letter to *Wolſey*. One may then affirm, that *Henry* was no leſs over-reached by the King of *France* in the Treaty of Peace, than he had been by the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *Arragon*, in that which had engaged him in the War. This proceeded not from his want of Underſtanding his own Intereſts, ſince it appears by his Letter, that he was very ſenſible of the Conſequence of his Demand. To what then can his Eaſineſs be aſcribed but to the Inſinuations of his *Prime Miniſter*, who certainly committed a Fault not out of Ignorance? In all likelihood, *Lewis* XII found means to make *Wolſey* his Friend. We ſhall ſee more plainly hereafter, that this *Miniſter* was much more mindful of his own than his Maſter's Intereſts, when they came in Competition, and that he loſt no Opportunity of inriching himſelf. 1514.

Whilſt *Wolſey* was buſy with the *French* Ambaſſadors in negotiating the Peace, Cardinal *Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York* died at *Rome* the 14th of *July* *. The ſame Day Cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, who was afterwards Pope by the Name of *Clement* VII, ſent the King notice of it, acquainting him withal that he had

Death of Cardinal Bambridge. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. 404.

* He was poiſoned by *Rinaldo de Modena* his Steward, an *Italian* Prieſt, to revenge a Blow his Maſter gave him, as *Rinaldo* confeſſed at his Execution. *Wood*, *p.* 104. W. S. There is a Letter from one *Pace* from *Rome*, charging *Sylveſter* (an *Italian*) Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with having a Hand in his Death. *Fid.*

1514. prevailed with the Pope, not to diſpoſe of the *See* of *York* before he knew his Pleaſure. Whereupon the King demanded the Archbiſhoprick for *Thomas Wolſey*, which was immediately granted. This *Miniſter* was then in ſo great Favour, that he had the abſolute Management of all the King's Affairs, who had for him a very great Eſteem and Affection. It may be preſumed that at this very Time he was doing *Lewis* XII ſome good Services, ſince we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Letters from that Monarch to him, beginning with theſe kind Words, *My Lord of* York, *and very good Friend.*

Wolſey *is made Archbiſhop of* York.

p. 413.

p. 439. 455.

Auguſt and *September* were ſpent in Preparations for the new Queen of *France*'s Journey, in the Celebration of the Marriage by *Proxies*, in *France* and *England*, and in ratifying the Treaties. After which *Mary* was conducted to *Abbeville* with a numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, where the Marriage was conſummated on the 9th of *October* *.

Lewis's *Marriage with* Mary *conſummated.*

Whilſt the Peace between *France* and *England* was negotiating at *London*, the Pope, Emperour, and King of *Arragon* omitted nothing that they imagined would obſtruct it. They plainly perceived that it muſt needs turn to their Prejudice, and that the Burden of the War would fall on their Shoulders. They were even afraid that *Henry* would join againſt them in a League with *France*. *Leo* X had ſent to *Henry* to perſwade him to Peace, and yet when he ſaw a Peace

Leo X *propoſes a new League to the King of* France.

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Peace was like to be concluded, he wiſhed that his Exhortations had not been regarded. Wherefore, to croſs the Negotiation at *London* as much as he could, he propoſed a new League with the King of *France*, imagining that it would be a Means to abate his Eagerneſs for a Peace with *England*. But as *Lewis* took a Fortnight to give him his Anſwer, he was afraid of being left alone, and for that Reaſon made haſte and concluded a League *Defenſive* with the King of *Arragon* for one Year only. 1514.

He makes one with Ferdinand

On the other Hand, *Ferdinand* fearing that *Lewis*, after making a Peace with *England*, would go and invade *Navarre*, offered him his Aſſiſtance to conquer *Milan*. But *Lewis* knew him too well to put any Truſt in him. In ſhort, the Emperour and *Ferdinand* deſiring at any rate to hinder him from concluding Matters with *England*, ſent him their Conſent in Form, for the Marriage of *Renée* his ſecond Daughter with *Charles* of *Auſtria* their Grandſon. At the ſame Time, *Maximilian* ratified the one Year's Truce *Ferdinand* had made with *France*. But all would not do. They had even the Mortification to hear that they were neither of them included in the Treaty of *London*, a clear Evidence how little *Henry* valued their Friendſhip. In ſpite of all this they both made as if they were extremely well-pleaſed with the Peace, though in their Hearts they were exceedingly vexed at it.

Fruitleſs Endeavours of the Emperour and Ferdinand *to hinder the Peace between* Lewis *and* Henry. Guicciard.

All the World expected that the King of *France* being freed from the War with *England*, would infallibly recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. The Pope was ſo far of that Opinion, that he ſent him a Letter exhorting him to that Expedition, though at the ſame Time he did all he could to break his Meaſures by making up Matters between the Emperour and the *Venetians*. He even diſpatched to *Venice Peter Bembo*, afterwards Cardinal, to incline the *Venetians* to Peace. But they fearing the Pope was laying a Snare for them, in order to draw off the King from their Alliance, ſent him

The Pope tries to amuſe Lewis XI

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1514. him Word of it out of Hand, and thereby made him very Jealous of his *Holineſs*.

He forms vaſt Projects for his Houſe. Sardi. Guicciard.

Leo X was forming at that Time vaſt Projects in Favour of *Julian de Medicis* his Brother. His Deſign was to become Maſter of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*, and to join theſe two States to *Parma*, *Plaiſence*, *Reggio*, and the City of *Modena*, which he had lately bought of the Emperour, in order to mould them into one *State* for this Brother of his, of whom he had a mind to make a great Prince. Nay, 'tis ſaid that he intended to add the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to that Purpoſe had joined in a League with the *Venetians*. But as he was very ſenſible it would not be long before the King of *France* invaded the *Milaneſe*, he kept fair with him, leſt he ſhould make one his Enemy, who in caſe he got Poſſeſſion of *Milan*, would have it in his Power to obſtruct his Deſigns. Mean while, *Lewis* not being pleaſed with the Pope, preſſed him to declare himſelf, reſolving to know for certain whether he was to conſider him as a Friend, or as an Enemy. *Leo*, who perceived his Drift plainly enough, drove him off with fair Words, without coming to a Reſolution, becauſe his Purpoſe was to ſquare his Conduct by the Iſſue of the War which he foreſaw. This did not hinder *Lewis* from going on briskly with the neceſſary Preparations for his Expedition to *Italy*, where he intended to go in Perſon in the Spring. But whilſt he was thinking on means to relieve the *Lanthorn-Tower* which he ſtill held at *Genoa*, and by the help whereof he hoped to become Maſter of the City, he received News that it had ſurrendered by Capitulation, and that the *Genoeſe* had immediately razed it to the Ground. However this was not capable to make him give over his Deſigns upon *Italy*.

Lewis *prepares to paſs into* Italy.

He loſes the Lanthorn *at* Genoa.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan Herbert.

Before I cloſe the Year 1514, it will not be amiſs to relate in a few Words, what paſſed in *Scotland* this Year. *James* IV had left two Sons, of whom the eldeſt, who had the ſame Name with himſelf, was not yet full two Years old. By a *Will* which he made before he took the Field, he left the Regency of the Kingdom

Kingdom after his Death to his Queen, Sister of *Henry* VIII during her Widowhood. The *States* being met in the Beginning of the Year 1514, immediately acknowledged for King, *James* V, Son and Heir to the deceased. As for the Regency, there would doubtless have been great Debates, if the Loss of the Battle of *Flodden* had not made the *Scots* apprehensive that the King of *England* would improve the Advantage he had upon them. There had never been seen in *Scotland* a *Queen-Regent*, and that would have been enough to render of no effect the *Clause* of the late King's *Will*. But it was hoped that the Queen would prevail with the King her Brother, to leave in Peace a Country whereof she had the Government. They were not disappointed in their Hopes. The Queen being declared Regent, and having writ to the King her Brother, to entreat him not to disturb the Minority of the young King his Nephew. *Henry* generously answered, That he was alike inclined to Peace or War, and left it to the *Scots* to chuse which they pleased. 1514. *The Queen Dowager is Regent.*

After this Declaration, in all appearance *Scotland* would have remained in quiet under the Regency of the Queen, if that Princess had not married again some Months after. She chose for her Consort *Archibald Dowglass* Earl of *Angus*, one of the greatest Lords in *Scotland*, and by this second Marriage filled the Kingdom with Confusion and Trouble. As by the late King's *Will* she was to be Regent only during her Widowhood, the Business was to appoint another in her Room. *Dowglass* her Husband did all he could to have her continued in the Regency. He affirmed, there was no other way to keep Peace with *England*; and besides, *Henry* would be obliged to support the Queen his Sister in case any one should pretend to disturb her. But this last Consideration had a quite contrary Effect to what the Earl expected, upon those who dreaded his rising too high. They knew very well, that being Husband to the Regent, he would always be countenanced by the King of *England*, and by his Means would be able to engross more Power *She marries and loses the Regency.*

1514. than they wiſhed him. *Alexander Humes* Governour of all the Country lying *North* of the *Frith*, was the Head of thoſe that were againſt the Queen's Regency. He was a proud and haughty Man, who could not brook a Superior. During the late King's Life, he had been Preſident of the *Marches* bordering upon *England*, where he had committed ſuch Outrages, that in ſome People's Opinion, for being called to an account, he killed or cauſed to be killed *James* IV, as he was retiring out of the Battle of *Flodden*.

The Duke of Albany *is elected Regent.*

However that be, *Humes* uſed all his Intereſt to break the *Dowglaſs*'s and the Queen's Meaſures, and ſet up *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany* for Regent. He was Son of *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother to *James* III, who to avoid the Perſecutions of the King his Brother, was forced to fly for Refuge into *France*, where he died. He left there this Son, who being married there, and adhering to the Service of *Lewis* XII (*a*), had received many Favours from that Monarch, and acquired a great Reputation. Though he had never been in *Scotland*, he was however the next of Kin to the young King, and *Humes* had Intereſt enough to get him declared Regent. Whereupon the *States* ſent Deputies to offer him the Regeney, and to pray him to come with all ſpeed and govern the Realm in the King's Name. *Lewis* XII dying whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, *Francis* I. his Succeſſor, having ſubſtantial Reaſons to keep fair with the King of *England*, would not ſuffer the Duke of *Albany* to go away till he had finiſhed his Matters with *Henry*. Upon which account the Regent arrived not in *Scotland* before *May* 1515. In the Interim, *Scotland* being without a Governour, the Diſſentions among the great Men increaſed exceedingly, every one having time to form Cabals and Factions againſt the Arrival of the Regent.

The

(*a*) *Lewis*, when Duke of *Orleans*, killed the Duke his Father at a Turnament.

1515. *Death of* Lewis XII. Francis I. *King of* France.

The firſt Day of the Year 1515 was the laſt of *Lewis* XII's Life *. But the Death of that Prince made no Alteration in the Poſture of Affairs of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Valois*, who ſucceeded him by the Name of *Francis* I. plainly diſcovered, by adding the Title of *Duke of Milan* to that of *King of France*, that he intended to purſue the Deſigns of his Predeceſſor. Mean while, he did not think fit openly to declare his Intentions upon that Head, till he had ſettled his Affairs both Abroad and at Home.

The Queen Dowager of Lewis XII *marries the Duke of* Suffolk.

By the Death of *Lewis* XII Queen *Mary* his Widow ſaw herſelf at liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf, and to follow her own Inclinations rather than the politick Views of the King her Brother. Before her Marriage, ſhe had taken a liking to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, a moſt accompliſhed Lord. 'Tis even ſaid, that the King had promiſed her to him. But *Lewis* XII coming in the way, and her Marriage with that Prince being to be the Seal of the Peace between *France* and *England*, ſhe found herſelf under a Neceſſity to ſacrifice her Love to the Good of the two Kingdoms. The Duke of *Suffolk* however waited upon her into *France*, though he was not of the Number of thoſe who were appointed to conduct her. *Mezerai* ſays, that the Duke of *Valois*, Heir-apparent to the Crown of *France*, cauſed that *Engliſh* Lord to be narrowly watched, for fear he ſhould give the King an Heir. This ſhows that the Queen's Love was no Secret. The Death of *Lewis* XII happening within three Months after his Marriage, the Queen Dowager was not willing to run a ſecond Risk, of being given to another Huſband not of her own chuſing. *Henry* ſuſpecting her Deſign, writ to her the Beginning of *February*, deſiring her not to marry again without his Knowledge. But the Queen believed it would be eaſier

* He died (ſays my Lord *Herbert*) after 80 Days Poſſeſſion rather than enjoying of his Queen, leaving behind him no Iſſue-male, though otherwiſe of that Eſteem among his Subjects for his care not to oppreſs them with Impoſitions longer than his Neceſſities required, that he was called *Father of his People*. p. 22.

1515. to obtain the King's Pardon when the Thing was done, than to get his Leave to do it. So in *March*, about two Months after the Death of *Lewis* XII, she was privately married to the Duke of *Suffolk*. Next Day she sent word of it in a Letter to the King her Brother, and taking the whole Blame upon herself, intimated to him that she had in some measure forced the Duke to this rash Action. *Henry* seemed at first very angry; but his Anger was soon over. Their Peace being made, they returned to *Henry*, and were very well received *.

Parliament in England.

The Parliament was then sitting; and as *England* was in profound Tranquillity, the *Houses* had nothing to do but to mind Home-Affairs, which are of little or no Consequence to Foreigners. There were however three *Statutes* passed this Session which deserve Notice. It was provided by the First, That unwrought *Wool* should not be exported out of the Kingdom, for the Encouragement of the Woollen Manufacture. This *Act* has been often revived by reason of its Importance, and yet even now an effectual Means is wanting to prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool. The Second *Statute* declared all the King's second *Letters Patents* to be null and void, unless mention was made of the first. This was to prevent the King from being imposed upon. The Third was no less necessary. It frequently happened that towards the latter End of a Session several Members went home, imagining that there was nothing more of Moment to be done. Then the Factious took advantage of their Absence, and brought in and passed such *Bills* as in all likelihood would have been thrown out, had the

Divers Statutes.

* He with some others were deputed to carry over *Henry*'s Letters of Condolance to the Queen, and had not been long at *Paris* before he made his Addresses to her. They arrived the 12th of *May*, and were publickly married on the 13th at *Greenwich*. The Queen (say the *French*) carried with her in Jewels, Plate and Tapestry of *Lewis* XII to the Value of 200,000 Crowns: Amongst which was a great Diamond called *le Miroir de Naples*, which *Francis* would fain have redeemed at a great Price. Mrs. *Anne Bollen* staid behind in the *French* Court. *Herbert*.

the *Houſe* been more numerous. It was enacted therefore, that the *Members* who abſented themſelves before the Seſſion was over, without the *Speaker*'s and *Commons* Leave, to be entred in the *Clerk* of the Parliament's-Book, ſhould loſe their Wages *. I muſt now interrupt for ſome time the Account of domeſtick to ſpeak of foreign Affairs, which are to ſerve for Foundation to what will be ſaid hereafter with reſpect to *England*. 1515.

The Alliance between France and England renewed.

Francis I. was too much concerned to renew the Alliance between *France* and *England*, to fail of performing the Article of the Treaty whereby the Succeſſor of him that died firſt, was to let the other know if he deſigned to prolong the Time of the Alliance. As he intended to go into *Italy* to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to make ſure of the King of *England*. To that purpoſe, about the middle of *March*, he ſent to the firſt Preſident of *Roan* his Ambaſſador at *London* a Commiſſion to renew the Alliance with *Henry*, as well as the Bond for the Payment of the Million, to which *Lewis* XII had bound himſelf. This was done by a new Treaty, ſigned the 5th of *April*, and exactly like the former. Act. Pub. XIII. 476.

Ferdinand *ſeeks Henry's Friendſhip*, p. 494.

After all the fraudulent Doings the King of *Arragon* had practiſed with reſpect to *Henry*, there was no room to hope that they could ever be perfect Friends. However, *Ferdinand*, who was not eaſily diſcouraged, ſent to the King his Son-in-law a new Ambaſſador, to propoſe the renewing of their Alliance. In all probability he did not believe *Henry* had ſo ſoon forgot the Tricks he had ſerved him: but it was for his Intereſt that the World ſhould know he had an Ambaſſador in *England*.

* Theſe Wages were levied by the *Sheriffs*, and the moſt antient *Writs* for *Knights* Wages extant are thoſe of 28, 29, 32 of *Ed.* I. The firſt Statute concerning them is, that of 12 *Richard* II; namely, *That the levying of the Expences of Knights ſhall be, as hath been uſed before this time.* The Wages in this Reign were 4 Shillings a Day for *Knights* of the *Shire*, and 2 Shillings at leaſt for *Burgeſſes*, beſides the Charges going and coming, and *Fees* for Writs, *&c.*

1515. *His Ambassador is received verycoldly.*

land. This Ambassador arrived in the Month of *May*, but he was made to dance Attendance till *October* without being dispatched: Nay, it is very likely that he would never have succeeded in his Negotiation, if *Wolsey*'s Interests had not caused the King to alter his Resolution, never to have any thing to do with the King his Father-in-law. I shall speak more fully of this Matter in another Place.

Henry *tries to make Friends with* Charles *the Archduke.*

Whilst the *Spanish* Ambassador was waiting in vain at *London*, *Henry* had two at *Brussels*, who came off no better. He had done very genteely by the young Archduke, in giving the Princess his Bride to *Lewis* XII without any Ceremony. Indeed, *Charles* had not repaired to *Calais* on the 5th of *May* last Year, as he was bound to do by the Treaty of *Lisle*; but it could not be inferred from thence that he had renounced his Marriage, at least before he had been asked whether he intended to consummate it. *Henry* was afraid therefore that the Archduke, having lately taken upon him the Government of the *Low-Countries*, and made a Treaty with *France*, would think of revenging the Affront put upon him. Wherefore, on purpose to sound him, or to prevent the Effects of his Resentment, he sent two Ambassadors with Orders to propose the renewing of the former Alliance between *Henry* VII and *Philip* I their Fathers. But these Ambassadors were suffered to wait at *Brussels* without having much regard shown them, and without receiving any Answer for a good while.

His Ambassadors are ill received. p. 496.

Francis I. *prepares to recover* Milan.

The Affairs of *Europe* were then in a Situation, which would not allow the young Archduke to side with any Party. It was necessary in order to take just Measures, to wait the Issue of the War *Francis* I. was preparing to carry into *Italy*. In all appearance that War would produce Events capable of altering the Interests and Projects of most of the Sovereigns. Since *Francis*'s Accession to the Crown, he had shown plainly enough that he designed not to let *Maximillian Sforza* remain in peaceable Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*. On the other Side, the King of *Arragon* was

was under a Concern for *Naples* and *Navarre*. *Francis* I. was a young Prince, full of Courage and Ambition, and it could not be doubted but he had formed vaſt Projects. And therefore the Eyes of all the World were upon him, to ſee in what manner he would begin his Reign. He was making Preparations which plainly diſcovered he had ſome great Deſign in his Head, and he did not take much Pains to conceal that he had *Milan* in view. Mean while, he made uſe of as a Pretence for his Armament the Invaſion *Burgundy* was threatned with by the *Swiſs*. But the League he had juſt renewed with *Venice*, and his Offer to *Ferdinand* to prolong the Truce, provided the ſecret Article concerning the *Milaneſe* was annulled, were plain Indications of his Deſigns. 1515. Guicciard

All this was not ſufficient to make *Ferdinand* perfectly eaſy. He was apprehenſive of being deceived by *Francis*, and that his Preparations were intended againſt *Navarre*. To prevent this Danger, he rejected *Francis*'s Offer, and made uſe of it at the ſame time to induce the Emperour and *Swiſs* to join in a League with him for the Defence of the *Milaneſe*, intimating to them that there was no room to queſtion but the King of *France* would turn his Arms that way. As for the Emperour, he did not want much Intreaties. He readily made one in all ſorts of Leagues, becauſe he always found means by it to do his Buſineſs at another's Expence. There was more difficulty with regard to the *Swiſs*, becauſe *Francis* had Friends among them who endeavoured to diſſuade them from the League. But his Enemies carried it in the End, and the League was concluded between the Emperour and the King of *Arragon*, the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiſs*. *Ferdinand* ſhowed his uſual Cunning upon this Occaſion. He perſuaded the *Swiſs* that to defend the *Milaneſe*, the ſhorteſt way was to attack the King of *France* at home. To that purpoſe he engaged to make a powerful Diverſion on the Side of *Fontarabia*, whilſt the *Swiſs* ſhould invade *Burgundy*, and the Emperour, by continuing the War in the State of *Venice*, ſhould hinder

Ferdinand *forms a League againſt* France.

1515. der the *Venetians* from assisting the common Enemy. His chief Aim was to defend *Navarre*, in case *Francis* I. had any Thoughts of turning his Arms that way, and then to hinder that Prince from becoming Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*. His League with the *Swiss* was equally subservient to both these Ends, For if *Francis* I. invaded *Navarre*, the *Swiss* would divert him from his Purpose, by making an inroad into *Burgundy*. But if he intended indeed to conquer *Milan*, the *Swiss*, as next Neighbours and most concerned, could not dispense with aiding that Dutchy. What *Ferdinand* had foreseen came to pass. *Francis* having ordered his Forces to file off towards the *Alps*, the *Swiss* sent their Troops into *Italy*, where they seized the two Passes, through which only it was thought possible to enter the *Milanese*. As soon as *Ferdinand* was sure that the King of *France* was marching towards *Milan*, he disbanded the Army he had levied for the Defense of *Navarre*, leaving that of the *Milanese* to the *Swiss*'s Care. The very Army *Ferdinand* had in *Italy*, under the Command of the Viceroy of *Naples*, made no Motion to join them. The Emperour lay still at *Inspruck*. *Leo* X, who had also entered into the League, gave them no manner of Assistance. Thus the whole Burden of the War fell upon the *Swiss*, and not so much as one of the Allies sent them a Penny of the Money which had been promised them. But this was no Wonder. The *Swiss* were no more exempted than the King of *England* and so many other Princes whom *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had served in the same manner.

He deceives the Swiss.

Francis *passes into* Italy.

The Swiss *are deserted by their Allies.*

Mean while *Francis* I. having found Means to get his Army through a Place which seemed impassable, the *Swiss* who guarded the Passes retired to *Milan*, and *Francis* advanced likewise towards the same City. When he came near, he offered the *Swiss* a Sum of Money to return Home. This Negotiation was now in great Forwardness, when they received a Supply of fifteen Thousand Men of their own Nation. These Succours having made them more stout, they resolv-

ed,

d, by the Inſtigations of the Cardinal of *Sion*, to go 1515.
mmediately and attack *Francis*, who lay encamped
t *Marignano* little expecting any ſuch Thing. They
were defeated, and ten Thouſand ſlain upon the Spot. Francis *gains the Battle of* Marigna-no.
After which, they retired into their own Country,
leaving *Francis* Maſter of all the *Milaneſe*. *Maximilian*
Sforza who had ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle, ſurren-
dered himſelf by Capitulation, and was ſent to *France*,
there to live as a private Perſon.

Before *Francis* I. began his Expedition, *Octavian* Genoa *is ſubjected to* France.
Fregoſa had brought the *Genoeſe* under the Dominion
of *France*, and inſtead of *Doge* had taken the Title of
Governour for the King.

Leo X had been in hopes that *Francis* would never Leo X *makes his Peace with* Francis.
be able to enter *Italy*. He had joined in the League
againſt him, but ſo privately, that *Francis* knew no-
thing of the Matter till he came to *Verceil*. During
the Time between the King's Arrival in *Italy*, and the
Battle of *Marignano*, the Pope was under a great Per-
plexity. He had ſent an Army into *Lombardy*, as it
were to ſupport the Duke of *Milan*. But when he
heard that *Francis* had ſurmounted the Difficulties of the
Paſs, he ſent Orders to *Laurentio de Medicis* who com-
manded his Army, to commit no Hoſtilities againſt
the *French*. At the ſame Time he gave the King to
underſtand, that his Army was there purely to guard
Parma and *Plaiſence*. Mean while, as the Affair of
Milan was not yet decided, he durſt not make too
many Advances towards making his Peace with the
King, for fear of diſpleaſing the Allies, who would
have it in their Power to be revenged, if the King
happened to be worſted. But after the Battle of *Ma-*
rignano he no longer heſitated to be reconciled to
him, and though he had grievouſly offended him, he
obtained however Advantages which he could ſcarce
have expected, had he taken his Part at the very firſt.
The Popes make Leagues, and undertake Wars as
Temporal Princes, and when their Affairs go ill, they
ſlip their Necks out of the Collar, as *Heads of the*
Church, and *Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt*. Though *Leo* X's
Behaviour

1515. Behaviour with regard to *Francis* was such that he deserved to have no Favour shown him by that victorious Prince, he obtained however whatever he pleased, and among other Things, the abolishing of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which the Popes his Predecessors had till then in vain demanded of the Kings of *France*.

Henry *is ingaged in new Troubles.*

Though *Henry* had not been able entirely to avoid the Snares laid by the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *Arragon*, he had however happily got off; but with a firm Resolution never more to be thus overreached. His affecting to make no mention of them in his Treaty with *France*, plainly showed he did not much value their Friendship. But he was not so fortunate as to keep to his Resolution, since it was his Fault that he engaged in a fresh War with *France*, not so much upon his own as another's Score. His altering his Mind may be ascribed to three several Causes. The first was, his Jealousy at the glorious Success of *Francis*'s Arms in *Italy*. The second, to prevent the growing Power of that Neighbour. The Third and principal, *Wolsey* his Favourite's Interest, who thinking he had Reason to complain of the King of *France*, wanted to be revenged. The two first need no farther Explanation. 'Tis well known that Princes are subject to their Passions like other Men, and that Jealousy may induce them to run counter to their Interest. 'Tis known likewise, that Policy is as it were the Hinge on which almost all their Actions turn. But upon this Occasion *Henry* was very much out in his Politicks, since nothing was more capable of securing the Peace of *England* than the King of *France*'s Acquisitions in *Italy*. The Third Cause requires a more particular Explanation.

Causes of it.

Wolsey's *great Credit.*

Thomas Wolsey Archbishop of *York*, was *Prime Minister* and chief Favourite. But this does not fully express the Thing. It must be added, that he governed the King in so absolute a Manner, that he turned him which way he pleased. But he managed it with that Address, that the King always fancied he took his

his own Courſe, when he only followed the Suggeſtions of his *Miniſter*. *Wolſey* had great Talents for a Perſon of his Birth; but he had likewiſe great Failings. He was revengful to the laſt Degree, greedy of Poſſeſſions and Honours, and intolerably Proud. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſecure of his Maſter's Favour, but he ſought Means to remove from Court all thoſe that gave him any Umbrage on the Score of the King's Eſteem for them. *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who had been neareſt the King's Heart, received ſo many Mortifications from this imperious Prelate, that at length they quitted the Court, to avoid his Inſults. *Fox* withdrew to his Dioceſe the Beginning of the Year *. The two Dukes quickly followed him, and *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* kept his Ground but till the End of the Year. Theſe old *Miniſters* being thus removed, *Wolſey* had ſtill a more abſolute Sway over the King's Mind, who had no Body to conſult but him in his moſt important Affairs. The reſt of the Privy-Council were all the Favourite's Creatures. The Hiſtorians agree, that *Wolſey*'s Intereſt was the ſole Rule and Meaſure of the Counſels he gave the King, and as his Views flowed from his reigning Paſſions, Revenge, Greedineſs, Ambition, and Pride, the Reader will not think it ſtrange when he ſees him hereafter inviting the King to make ſo many falſe Steps. 1515.

Ever ſince *Francis* I. came to the Crown, he had been thinking how to get *Tournay* out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*. There had been in the Beginning of the Year a Negotiation ſet on Foot upon that Account, but to no Purpoſe, becauſe *Henry* demanded in lieu of *Tournay*, ſome Places in the neighbourhood of Francis I. *wants to recover* Tournay.

* Upon his going away he deſired this only of the King, *That he would not ſuffer the Servant to be greater than his Maſter.* To which the King anſwered preſently, *That it ſhould be his Care, that thoſe who were his Subjects ſhould Obey, and not Command.* Herbert. *p.* 24.

1515. of *Calais*, which *Francis* did not think proper to part with. But the greateſt Difficulty came from *Wolſey*, who was far from adviſing the King his Maſter to give up *Tournay*, becauſe himſelf would have loſt the Adminiſtration of that Biſhoprick and the Abby of St. *Amand*, which brought him in a great Revenue. On the contrary, he had been very urgent with *Francis* I. to beſtow ſome good Benefice on *Lewis Guillard* Biſhop of *Tournay*, that he might let him peaceably enjoy his Adminiſtration. *Francis* had promiſed him, but without intending to keep his Word. He was ſo far from doing any Thing towards his keeping the Adminiſtration, that he perſwaded the Biſhop underhand to ſue to the Pope to be reſtored, and backed his Petition to the utmoſt of his Power. He was of Opinion, that when *Wolſey*'s Adminiſtratorſhip ſhould be at an End, the Reſtitution of *Tournay* would become much eaſier.

Wolſey is afraid of loſing his Biſhoprick.

The Pope reſtores the Biſhop of Tournay.

Whilſt *Francis* was yet in *France*, buſied in preparing for his *Italian* Expedition, the Pope, uncertain of the Iſſue of that Enterprize, did not much regard the Biſhop's Sollicitations. But when he ſaw that Prince Maſter of *Genoa*, and entered the *Milaneſe* at the Head of a powerful Army, he granted, without farther Conſideration, a *Bull* to *Guillard*, whereby he reſtored him to his Biſhoprick, and even allowed him to make uſe of the ſecular Arm to obtain Poſſeſſion. This *Bull*, which ſacrificed the King of *England*'s and his Miniſter's Intereſts to thoſe of the *French* King and Biſhop of *Tournay*, would ſeem very ſtrange if the Conſideration of the Time and preſent Circumſtances did not make the Wonder ceaſe. *Leo* X had given juſt Ground to *Francis* to complain of his Conduct, and he ſaw that Monarch ready to take Poſſeſſion again of the *Milaneſe*, and to conclude a Treaty with the *Swiſs* in order to ſend them back to their own Country. It was his Intereſt therefore to pacify him by granting a Favour which he ſo eagerly deſired. Mean while *Henry* was extremely offended at this *Bull* which reſtored to the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, a Prelate

Prelate who refuſed to ſwear Allegiance to him, and of which the King of *France* and Biſhop of *Tournay* might make a Handle to ſtir up a Sedition in the City. He gave Orders therefore to his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to expoſtulate the Matter with the Pope, and repreſent to him the Conſequences his Partiality might be attended with. *Leo* X could not help owning as much. But at that very Time *Francis* gaining the Battle of *Marignano*, and preparing to make him feel the Effects of his Reſentment, it was no proper Seaſon to provoke him any farther by revoking the *Bull*. This made *Wolſey* ſenſible that *Francis* was the real Author of the Biſhop's Reſtoration. Mean while, the Pope, being in a great Strait, choſe, upon the King of *England*'s Oppoſition, to leave the Matter undecided, by referring it to the Examination of two *Cardinals*, who in all Appearance were ordered not to be too haſty to put an End to the Affair. In the mean while *Wolſey* was uncertain whether he ſhould keep the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. This was the very Thing the King of *France* wanted, that this Uncertainty might induce the *Miniſter* to find out ſome Expedient to make himſelf amends, after which it was apparent, he would no longer be againſt the Reſtitution of *Tournay*. At the ſame Time, to preſerve his Friendſhip which was very neceſſary, by Reaſon of his Credit with the King his Maſter, he promiſed to aſſiſt him in getting a *Cardinal's Cap*. *Wolſey* wanted of all Things to be a *Cardinal*. After the Death of Cardinal *Bambridge*, he was in hopes of ſucceeding him in the Candinalate as well as in the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. He had even employed to ſollicite it in his behalf, Cardinal *Adrian de Corneto* * the Pope's *Collector* in *England*, under whom *Polydore Virgil* ſerved as Sub-Collector. But Cardinal *Adrian* inſtead of ſerving him as he had promiſed, had done him ill-Offices. *Wolſey* being informed of it, was ſo incenſed, that on ſome ſlight Pretenſe he committed *Polydore* to the Tower.

1515.

Francis promiſes to help to make Wolſey a Cardinal.

Herbert. Cardinal Adrian betrays Wolſey.

Who takes Revenge, and ſends Polydore Virgil to the Tower.

* Biſhop of *Bath*, and the King's Orator at *Rome*.

1515. the *Tower*. Then he got the King to write to the Pope with his own Hand, to deſire him to appoint another Collector in Cardinal *Adrian*'s Room. The King's Letter was writ in ſo ſtrong and paſſionate a manner, that the Pope thought fit to comply with his Requeſt. However in his *Brief* he gave him to underſtand, that he knew very well the Anger he expreſſed againſt Cardinal *Adrian* was inſtilled into him by *Wolſey*. Mean while *Polydore Virgil* continued in the *Tower*, till at length Cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, and the Pope himſelf interceeded in his Behalf, by Letters of *Auguſt* the 31ſt and *September* the 3d. As this was the very Time that *Francis* was ſolliciting a *Cardinal's Cap* for *Wolſey*, *Wolſey* did not think proper to refuſe the Pope a Thing of ſo little Conſequence. So *Polydore* came out of the *Tower*, where he had been confined about a Year. This ill Treatment was no doubt one of the Reaſons that induced him to remember all the ill Qualities of Cardinal *Wolſey*, in his Hiſtory of *England*.

Act. Pub. XIII. 515.

Wolſey *is made Cardinal.*

He perſiſts in his Deſign to be revenged upon the King of France.

Wolſey having at length obtained a *Cardinal's Cap*, was tranſported with Joy when he received the News by an Expreſs ſent on Purpoſe by the King of *France*. But although he was highly obliged to that Monarch, yet this Favour begot in his Breaſt much leſs Gratitude than the Injury he imagined he had received in the Affair of *Tournay*, had cauſed Reſentment. He reſolved therefore, in order to be revenged, to do his Endeavour to ſet the King his Maſter at Variance with *Francis*, and cauſe him to enter into a new League againſt *France*. In doing this he gratified three of his reigning Paſſions, his Pride, in letting *Europe* ſee that Sovereigns themſelves offended him not with Impunity; his Revenge, in creating *Francis* great Troubles; and his own Intereſt, in ſecuring the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. Indeed a Rupture between the two Kings was an effectual Means to hinder *Guillard* from being reſtored to his *See*. This is the Reaſon taken notice of by Hiſtorians as the chief of the Alteration we are going to behold

hold in *Henry*'s Conduct. Jealouſy and Policy may have had ſome Influence too, but not as true Cauſes ſo much as Motives made uſe of by *Wolſey* to inflame the King's Mind. In all probability, under colour that his Honour was concerned, he repreſented to him that it was neceſſary to humble the Pride of the *French* King, and inſinuated how dangerous it was for *England* that *France* ſhould become too powerful. As ſoon as he had worked up *Henry* to the Pitch he deſired, he privately ſent word to the Emperour, that it would not be impoſſible to draw off the King his Maſter from the Intereſts of *France*. One may eaſily gueſs *Maximilian* received this Overture with Joy. Beſides that, being without Aid and Allies, he ſaw himſelf little able to preſerve his Conqueſts in *Italy*, he was very ſenſible that which way ſoever they ſhould treat with him, he muſt always be furniſhed with Money. Whilſt *Wolſey* was projecting to negotiate with the Emperour, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had had a melancholly Time of it for ſome Months at *London*, was looked upon at Court with a much more favourable Eye. They even began to treat with him about renewing the Alliance between *England* and *Spain*; and this Negotiation ended the 9th of *October*, in a Treaty containing however only a Confirmation of the antient Treaties of Amity.

1515.

Wolſey *treats privately with the Emperour.* Herbert.

Henry *renews his Alliance with* Ferdinand. Act Pub. XIII. 520.

Mean while the Emperour, willing to improve the preſent Opportunity, ſent to the King a *Milaneſe* Ambaſſador, to deſire Aid in the Name of *Franciſco Sforza*, who was in *Germany*, and had taken the Title of *Duke of Milan*, ever ſince *Maximilian* his Brother had quitted his Right to the King of *France*. Though *Wolſey* had taken care to diſpoſe *Henry* to a Rupture with *France*, he was not it ſeems fully determined. *Franciſco Sforza*'s Requeſt, or rather the Emperour's, ſeemed to him of ſo great Moment, that he wanted to have, upon this Matter, the Opinions of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who were ſent for on purpoſe to Court. The *Council* being met to debate upon this Affair, Cardinal *Wolſey* ſpeaking

Ambaſſy of Francis Sforza *to* Henry. Herbert.

Henry *calls a great Council upon it.*

1515. ſpeaking firſt, made a long Speech full of Reſentment againſt *France*, labouring to demonſtrate how much it was for the Intereſt of *England* to oppoſe her growing Power *. The Biſhop of *Durham* and all the new Counſellors backed the *Cardinal*'s Speech with all their Might But the old ones endeavoured to diſſuade the King from breaking the Peace lately concluded with *France*, ſince the new King had given him no manner of Cauſe, and adviſed him rather to turn his Arms againſt *Scotland*. *Henry*, who was already prepoſſeſſed, took a middle Way, which doubtleſs had been inſinuated by his *Miniſter*: And that was, privately to aſſiſt the Emperour and *Franciſco Sforza* *1. Whereupon, he ſent Orders to *Pace* *2, his Ambaſſador to *Maximilian*, to treat with them and to forward the Matter, he returned him large Sums of Money. Thus was he drawn in by degrees, without foreſeeing that theſe Steps muſt neceſſarily end in an open War, as *Wolſey* deſired.

Henry reſolves to aid the Emperour privately.

The Duke of Milan's *Promiſe to* Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. 525.

We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* a Paper, ſhowing that the *Cardinal* did not forget himſelf in the Negotiations he was employed in. It is a Promiſe from the Duke of *Milan*'s Secretary, who by virtue of an expreſs Power from the Duke his Maſter, engaged to pay the Cardinal an yearly Penſion of Ten Thouſand Ducats, to commence from the Day of his Maſter's Reſtoration. It is true that this Paper being neither dated nor ſigned, may be conſidered only as a Draught of this Contract; but it is for all that a good Proof of

* He likewiſe alledged, that *Francis* had broken the Treaty by favouring *Richard de la Pole* a Fugitive and Traitor; in aſſiſting thoſe *Scots* which oppoſed his Siſter Queen *Margaret*. Beſides that, *Francis* with-held ſome Goods and Jewels of Queen *Mary*. Laſtly, he ſaid *France* might be hindered from growing more powerful, without Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood, only by privately aſſiſting *Maximilian*. Herbert, p. 24.

*1 My Lord *Herbert* ſays, the King, after the Debate was over, being inclined to the Cardinal, ſaid, *He would hinder the Deſigns of* Francis *without coming yet to an open Rupture*. p. 25.

*2 Late Servant to Cardinal *Bambridge*, who wrote the Letter mentioned before concerning *Silveſter*'s having a Hand in poiſoning his Maſter.

of the *Cardinal*'s ſelfiſh Temper. The Emperour was no ſooner informed that *Henry* was inclined to aſſiſt him againſt *France*, but he diſpatched to *England Matthew Skinner* Cardinal of *Sion* to treat about a League with him. This is the ſame Prelate, who, a little before, had ſtirred up the *Swiſs* to give battle to *Francis* I. 1515. *The Emperour's Embaſſy to* Henry.

The Parliament met again on the 12th of *November*. But as it was not yet time to lay before *the Houſes* the King's Reſolution with regard to *France*, there was no mention of War or any foreign Affair. The *Clergy* in a *Synod* held at the ſame time, returned an Anſwer to the Pope concerning his Demand of an extraordinary *Subſidy*, on Pretence of a certain War with the *Turks*. They alledged, that they were ſo exhauſted by the late War with *France*, undertaken at the Inſtance of *Julius* II, for the Defence of the *Church*, that they were not in Condition to grant new *Subſidies*: That beſides, by a Decree of the *Council of Conſtance*, the Pope could lay no Impoſition on the *Clergy* without the Conſent of a General *Council*. *Parliament meets.* Herbert. *The Clergy refuſe the Pope a Subſidy.*

Whilſt the *Engliſh Clergy* were thus endeavouring to ſkreen themſelves from the Oppreſſions of the Court of *Rome*, they beheld one of their own Body riſing like a new Pope, whom they foreſaw it would be more difficult to ſtand againſt than him at *Rome*, becauſe he was ſupported by the King. I mean *Wolſey*. Since that Prelate was promoted to the *Cardinalate*, he was grown more vain, proud and imperious than ever. He never ſtirred without a Prince's Retinue, always attended by a Crowd of Domeſticks; and cauſing the *Cardinal*'s *Hat* to be carried before him like a ſort of Trophy, and placed on the *Altar* when he went to the King's Chapel *. He was the firſt *Clergyman* in *England* that wore Silk in his *Veſtments*, and uſed Gold in his Horſe-Trappings. In a word, there was no De- *Cardinal* Wolſey's *Pride.* Herbert.

* He is ſaid by *Cavendiſh*, to keep 800 Servants, among whom were 9 or 10 *Lords*, 15 *Knights*, and 40 *Squires*. The *Hat* was born by ſome principal Perſon before him on a great Height. He had beſides, his Serjeant at Arms and Mace, and two Gentlemen carrying two Pillars of Silver, beſides his Croſs-bearer. *Herbert.* p. 24.

1515. vice to distinguish himself but what he invented. All the World took such Offence at his Pride, that People were never weary with talking of it with Indignation. But no body durst open his Mouth before the King, since the old Bishop of *Winchester* for only glancing at it, was so taken up by him, that shortly after he thought fit to withdraw to his *Diocese*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was no less offended than the rest, to see the Archbishop of *York* affect thus so great a Distinction. But what gave him the most Offence was, to see the *Cross* of *York* carried before the *Cardinal*, though he was in the Province of *Canterbury*. I have spoken elsewhere of this Contest between the two Archbishops, which, after having caused violent Quarrels, could be no other way decided but by the King's express Commands to the Archbishops of *York*, not to have the *Cross* carried before them in the other Province. But *Wolsey*, who looked upon himself as much above his Predecessors, prepared to revive the Contest, in Contempt of these Prohibitions. *Warham*, who was of a peaceable Temper, easily perceived, that though he should attempt to hinder him, it would be to no purpose, because *Wolsey* had an absolute Sway over the King. So, to avoid seeing continually such a disagreeable Object, he desired the King's Leave to resign the Chancellorship, and retire to his Palace. His Request was immediately granted; and the same Day the King gave the *Seals* to Cardinal *Wolsey*. In all appearance he had mortified *Warham* in this manner, on purpose to make him quit his Office, which he wanted to have himself. To support the Splendour of his Dignity with greater State than any had done before him, the King loaded him every Day with fresh Favours, *Prebends*, *Wardships*, and the like, which continually increased his Revenues. Besides the Archbishoprick of *York* and the Chancellorship, he had in Farm, upon easy Terms, the Bishopricks of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Hereford* *, held by *Italians* residing at *Rome*,

He is made Lord Chancellor Act. Pub. XIII. 529. Dec. 22.

The King loads him with Favours. p. 530.

* The Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester* and *Hereford*, the Incumbents

Rome. But this was not enough to satisfy him. I must now, before I close the Year 1515, say a word of the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Knowledge whereof is requisite for the better Understanding the Events related hereafter. 1515.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

Alexander Duke of *Albany*, who had been declared Regent 1513, arrived not in *Scotland* till the Month of *May* 1515. He found the Kingdom over-run with Factions and Divisions, which made him sensible that the Administration committed to him would prove very troublesome. But what gave him the most Uneasiness was, that the King of *England* had but too great a Hand in what passed in *Scotland*, and that he fomented these Dissentions to the utmost of his Power. Under colour that *Scotland* had been sometime without a Regent, *Henry* VIII, as Uncle to the young King, had taken the Title of *Protector of Scotland*, and by virtue thereof, his Ambassadors at *Rome* demanded of the Pope the *Ecclesiastical* Preferments of that Kingdom, which he bestowed on his Creatures. But as soon as the Duke of *Albany* was arrived, he writ to the Pope in the young King's Name, complaining in very strong Terms of the King of *England*'s Incroachments, and the Court of *Rome*'s Compliance in that Respect. He even threatned the Pope in his Letter not to apply to him for the future upon any account whatever, in case he did not speedily redress this Grievance.

Act Pub. XI I. 516. July 3.

The Duke of *Albany*, though of *Scotch* Extraction, was a Stranger to *Scotland* *, from whence the Duke his Father had withdrawn in 1483. As he was desi-

bents whereof being Strangers, who had been sent here upon *Legations*, King *Henry* VII, a frugal Prince, chose rather to reward them upon their return with Preferments that cost him nothing, than to impair his Treasure by making them Presents in Money. And now living abroad, to save the Charge of Agents, and Trouble of making Returns by them, were willing to let the Cardinal have the Revenues at easy Rates, with the Disposal of the Ecclesiastical Preferments annexed to them.

* He was born in the Time of his Father's Banishment, and such a Stranger, that he could not speak the Country Language. *Herbert, p.* 26.

1515. rous in the Beginning of his Regency, to be informed of the State of the Kingdom, he unluckily applied himſelf to *Hepburne* Biſhop of *Murray*, a hot and revengful Man, who took this occaſion to be revenged on his Enemies. The Biſhop, being Prior of St. *Andrews*, had been elected Archbiſhop of that Church in the Beginning of the preſent Reign. But he was forced to give up the Archbiſhoprick to *Forman* Biſhop of *Murray*, who was armed with the Pope's *Bull*. However *Forman* would never have ventured to make the beſt of this *Bull*, had he not been ſupported by *Alexander Humes* a potent Lord ſpoken of before. By his Credit and Authority *Forman* was inſtalled at St. *Andrews*, having reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Murray* to *Hepburne*, and bound himſelf to pay him a certain Penſion. *Hepburne* finding he had a fair Opportunity to be revenged, gave the Regent ſuch a Character of *Humes*, that upon his coming to Court he was looked upon with a very ill Eye. *Humes* being naturally very proud and high-ſpirited, was reſolved to let the Regent ſee that no Man ſhould ſlight him with Impunity, and therefore went over to the Queen Dowager, and perſwading her that the King her Son was in Danger, adviſed her to carry him into *England*. This Plot coming to the Regent's Knowledge, he went on a ſudden to *Sterling-Caſtle* and ſecured the young King's Perſon. But to hinder his Enemies from putting an ill Conſtruction on this Action, he renewed his Oath of Allegiance to the King, and committed the Care of his Education to three Perſons of great Credit.

Alexander Humes and his Brother *William* ſeeing their Plot was diſcovered, fled immediately into *England*, and were quickly followed by the Queen and her Spouſe the Earl of *Angus*. Whereupon the Regent diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to juſtify his Conduct, and at the ſame Time treated in ſuch a manner with the Fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return to *Scotland*. But the Queen being big with Child, was forced to ſtay at *Harbottle*-Caſtle in *Northumberland*,

thumberland, where ſhe was brought to Bed * of a Daughter called *Margaret*. The Sequel of this Affair ſhall be related in another Place. 1515.

The Death of King *Ferdinand* *1, which happened in the Month of *February* 1516, broke the Meaſures Cardinal *Wolſey* had began to take, to engage all *Europe* in a War with *France*. So that in ſpite of the Cardinals Projects, *Henry* was forced to ſit down in Quiet, becauſe the Intereſts of the reſt of the Princes did not ſquare with his, or rather with the Paſſions of his *Miniſter*. But though *Europe* remained in Peace for ſome Time, it will be however neceſſary to relate how Matters ſtood in the principal *States* every Year during theſe peaceable Times, in order to ſhow the Occaſion of the following Wars. 1516. Ferdinand *King of* Arragon's *Death.*

Nothing remarkable paſſed in *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1516, except the Birth of a Princeſs, whom the Queen brought into the World on the 18th of *February*, and called *Mary* *2. Cardinal *Wolſey* commonly called the *Cardinal of York*, ever mindful of what could procure him any Advantage, cauſed thoſe who had managed the King's Money, to be called to a ſtrict Account. The moſt part however were ſpared. But thoſe were ſeverely handled who had not the Addreſs to make the *Miniſter* their Friend. *Birth of* Mary Henry's *Daughter.*

After *Ferdinand*'s Deceaſe, the Kingdom of *Arragon* naturally came to *Joanna* his eldeſt Daughter, already Queen of *Caſtile*. But that Princeſs was incapable of governing her Dominions by reaſon of her Defect of Underſtanding, which had obliged the King her Father to keep her confined. So the Adminiſtration Charles *of* Auſtria *ſucceeds* Ferdinand Mayern. Mezerai. *Affairs of* Spain.

* *October* 7.

*1 In the 63d Year of his Age. He left the Stile of *Catholick* to his Succeſſors. Though he had vaſt Poſſeſſions, was much inriched from the *Indies*, proſperous in almoſt all his Attempts, and of a frugal Diſpoſition, yet there was hardly found in his Coffers Money enough to diſcharge his Interring, though not very Sumptuous. *Herbert*, p. 26.

*2 She was born at *Greenwich* on the 11th of *February* 151½.

1516. tion of theſe two Kingdoms with all their Appurtenances could not be diſputed with *Charles* of *Auſtria* *Joanna*'s eldeſt Son and Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*. But as that Prince kept in *Flanders*, *Ferdinand* had left by his *Will* the Regency of *Arragon* to *Alphonſo* his natural Son Biſhop of *Saragoſſa*, and that of *Caſtile* to Cardinal *Ximenes*, till *Charles* ſhould come himſelf and aſſume the Government. Mean while, when *Ximenes* would have taken Poſſeſſion of the Regency of *Caſtile*, *Adrian Florentio*, Doctor in *Divinity*, who managed the Prince of *Auſtria*'s Affairs in *Spain*, produced *Letters Patents* from his Maſter, conſtituting him Regent of that Kingdom. But *Ximenes* refuſed to acknowledge him as ſuch, pretending that *Charles* had not Power to appoint a Regent before he was received for Governour. The Conteſt was however adjuſted by this Expedient, that the *Orders* ſhould be ſigned by both. But the Cardinal left the Doctor the bare Name of Regent only, and did all the Buſineſs himſelf. Mean while *Charles* took the Title of *King of Caſtile*, with the Conſent of the States of that Realm. But the *Arragonians*, more jealous of their Privileges than the *Caſtilians*, refuſed to give him the Title of *King of Arragon*, whilſt his Mother *Joanna* was alive. Nay, there was a Party in the Kingdom who maintained, that *Joanna* herſelf could not pretend to the Crown of *Arragon*, becauſe Females were excluded by the Laws of the Realm, and therefore *Charles* could not derive from his Mother a Right ſhe never had. But others affirmed, that the Excluſion of the Females reached not to their Heirs-Male. This was much the ſame Caſe as happened formerly in *France*, in the Diſpute between *Edward* III and *Philip* of *Valois*. I ſhall enter no farther into the Affairs of *Spain*. What I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhow the Neceſſity *Charles* was under, of going thither, and how dangerous it would have been for him, to engage in a War againſt *France*, in the Beginning of a Reign ſo unſettled as yet. Wherefore he omitted nothing to renew the Treaties of Peace and

and Alliance as well with *France* as *England*, but with Liberty to take other Meaſures when his Affairs ſhould be in a better Situation. Juſt before the King of *Arragon*'s Death, he had, as Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, renewed the Alliance with *England*, by a new Treaty concluded at *Bruſſels* on the 24th of *February* this Year. About a Month after, *Henry* who was contriving to form a League againſt *France*, ordered his Ambaſſador to treat with *Charles* upon that Head. But *Ferdinand*'s Death made ſuch an Alteration in Affairs, that *Henry* was forced to be ſatisfied with a bare *Defenſive* League, which I ſhall ſpeak of preſently, having firſt related the Iſſue of an Expedition the Emperour made in *Italy*. 1516.

The Emperour's Expedition againſt Milan. Guicciard. Mezerai.

It was not without Reaſon that *Maximilian* had readily embraced the Opportunity offered him by Cardinal *Wolſey*, of making War upon *France*. There was no longer any likelihood of his being able to keep his Conqueſts in the State of *Venice*, ſince *Francis* I. was become Maſter of the *Milaneſe*, and had joined Forces with the *Venetians*. Beſides, he could expect no farther Aſſiſtance from the Pope, who had lately agreed with *Francis*. As for the *Spaniſh* Army which was retired to *Naples*, it was no eaſy Matter to get them back, ſeeing they muſt neceſſarily march through the *Eccleſiaſtical* State. On the other Hand, King *Ferdinand*'s Death had changed the Poſture of Affairs, and quite cut off all the Emperour's Hopes. So far was the new King of *Caſtile* from having any Thoughts of a War with *France*, that it highly concerned him to keep Peace with that Kingdom, that he might have leiſure to ſettle his Affairs in *Spain*. Thus the Emperour, contrary to his uſual Method, ſaw himſelf forced to act alone, during this Year, in hopes of embroiling Matters in ſuch a manner, that other Potentates ſhould at length be conſtrained to join in a League with him. He had already fingered ſome of the King of *England*'s Money, and Cardinal *Wolſey* put him in hopes of larger Sums. With the help of this Money he drew together an Army of a-

bout

1516. bout Twenty Thousand Men, *Germans* and *Swiss*, and in *March* entered the State of *Venice*, whilst the *Venetians*, aided by a Body of *French* Troops commanded by *Lautree*, were besieging *Brescia*. Upon his Approach the *French* and *Venetians* raised the Siege, and after they had made as if they intended to oppose his passing the Rivers, they retired to *Milan* to avoid a Battle. Thus the Emperour approached *Milan* without much Difficulty.

The *French* were under so great Consternation that they were just upon the Point of abandoning both the City and Dutchy and retiring to *France*. If the Emperour had made that speed he could have done, he would have doubtless constrained them to put their Resolution in Practice. But having loitered two or three Days to no Purpose, he came not before *Milan* till the *French* received News that ten Thousand *Swiss* of the *Cantons* in Alliance with *France* were coming to their Aid, and were within a Day's March.

The Arrival of the Ten Thousand *Swiss* at *Milan*, put both Sides under an equal Consternation. The *French*, who considered these Troops as a certain Aid, were struck with Astonishment when they heard that they would by no means fight with the *Swiss* who were in the Emperour's Army. These last for their Part, demanded their Pay in so bold a manner, that *Maximilian* was afraid it was a Pretense not to join Battle with their Countrymen newly arrived at *Milan*. He had no Money for them, and was apprehensive that the *French* had but too much to bribe them. So all of a sudden, when it was least expected, he resolved to retire; which done, having no Money to pay his Men, the Army disbanded of themselves.

The Emperour makes as if he would resign the Empire to Henry.

Having thus missed his Aim, the Emperour was forced upon new Tryals to engage the Pope, the King of *England*, the young King of *Castile* his Grandson, in a League against *France*. But this Project was not to be easily brought about. The Pope had his private Views, which suffered him not to break openly with *Francis*. *Charles*'s Council were better advised than

than to agree that their Maſter ſhould gratify the Humour of his Grandfather at a Time when he muſt neceſſarily go to *Spain*, in order to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms. Thus the Emperour's whole Refuge lay in the Aſſiſtance he could expect from the King of *England*. But as there was no likelihood that *Henry* would undertake a War of which he was to bear the whole Charge, *Maximilian* bethought himſelf of a Device to keep him in the good Temper he was in towards him, or at leaſt to get ſome Money out of him, and that was, to declare to *Robert Wingfield* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at his Court, that he was tired with the Burden of the Empire, and having a particular Eſteem for the King his Maſter, intended to reſign it to him. To that Purpoſe he charged him to write to the King, that if he would pleaſe to come to *Triers*, he would call a *Diet* and ſettle that grand Affair; after which he offered to wait upon him to *Rome* to ſee him receive the Imperial Crown. Moreover he put him in Hopes, that he would make over to him his Right to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and help him to conquer it. *Henry* was at no great Loſs to perceive *Maximilian*'s Drift in making him ſuch an Offer, and therefore writ to his Ambaſſador to thank the Emperour for his good Intention, deſiring him to put off the Execution of this Project to a more convenient Seaſon, when the *French* ſhould be chaſed out of *Italy*. Mean while, to make him amends for his Good-Will, he ſent him ſome Money, blaming the Negligence of a *Genoeſe* Banker, that he had not returned all he had promiſed *. 1516.

Whilſt the Emperour was endeavouring to imbroil *Francis*'s Affairs. *Francis* was forming new Projects. He had good reaſon to be pleaſed with his glorious Campain, which in a ſhort Time regained him the Dutchy of *Milan*. Mean while, *Ferdinand*'s Death having given him freſh Hopes, he formed the Deſign of Mezerai. Francis I. *forms the Project of invading* Naples, *but does not do it.*

* The Empire was then ſo bare of Money, that *Maximilian* was nick-named *Pochi Denari*, i. e. *Few-Pence*. Herbert, *p.* 25.

1516. of becoming Master of the Kingdom of *Naples*, imagining that the new King of *Spain* would scarce be able to defend it, before he was thoroughly settled in his Kingdoms. Besides, he fancied he had tied the Pope so fast to his Interests, by the Treaty of *Bologna*, that he did not question but he should find in him all the Assistance necessary to his Undertaking, looking upon him as his best Friend. But he did not know *Leo* X. That Pontiff did by no means desire that the *French* should become more Powerful in *Italy*, and if he declared to the King that he was in his Interests, it was only to hinder him from being against the Projects he himself had formed in Favour of his own *House*. The Emperour's invading the *Milanese* this Year, prevented *Francis* from pursuing his Design upon *Naples*, and what followed afterwards caused him to lay aside all Thoughts of it. However his Desire to conquer that Kingdom was the occasion of a *Defensive* League concluded against him towards the End of the Year, as we shall see presently, after I have said a Word of the Affairs of *Italy*.

The Pope dispossesses the Duke of Urbino. Cimarelli. Guicciard.

Leo X was no sooner Friends with *Francis* I. but he deprived the Duke of *Urbino* of his Dutchy upon a frivolous Pretense, and invested *Laurentio de Medicis*, who assumed from thenceforward the Title of *Duke of Urbino*, and the old Duke went and took Refuge in *Mantua*.

He endeavours to drive the French *out of* Italy.

It was in order to accomplish this Design that the Pope had soothed *Francis* with the Hopes that he would join with him to conquer *Naples*. But after he was become Master of *Urbino* by that Monarch's Connivance, instead of thanking him for it, he thought only how to chase away the *French* out of the Dutchy of *Milan*. To that End, he held secret Intelligence with the Emperour, the King of *England*, and the new King of *Spain*, and used his utmost Endeavour, by the help of his Emissaries, to perswade the *Swiss* to break their Alliance with *France*. Though he acted with all possible Precaution, he could not however treat so privately but that his underhand Practices

Practices came to the King's Knowledge, who made as if he were ignorant of the Matter. On the contrary, he did all that lay in his Power to gain the Pope in good earneſt to his Side, otherwiſe he was ſenſible that his Attempt upon *Naples* would never ſucceed. *Leo* X deſired nothing better than to amuſe him, whilſt he was ſecretly acting againſt him. But at length *Francis* perceiving more and more his Inſincerity, dropped all Thoughts of the Conqueſt of *Naples*, and reſolved to treat with the King of *Spain*, who in the preſent Poſture of his Affairs, could not but wiſh to live in Friendſhip with him. Thus the two Kings being alike inclined to Peace, ſent their Plenipotentiaries to *Noyon* to conclude it. The Treaty was ſigned the 26th of *Auguſt*, the Subſtance whereof was, That *Charles* ſhould eſpouſe *Louiſa*, *Francis*'s Daughter, then about a Year old. That he ſhould have with her the King of *Francis* Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and till the Marriage could be conſummated he ſhould give for the young Princeſſes's Maintenance, a Hundred Thouſand Crowns a Year. That within ſix Months he ſhould reſign the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d' Albret* Son of *John d' Albret* and *Catharine* King and Queen of *Navarre*, who had been diſpoſſeſſed by *Ferdinand*; and in Caſe *Charles* ſhould not perform this Article, *Francis* ſhould be allowed to aid the King of *Navarre*. Laſtly, That the Emperour ſhould reſtore *Verona* to the *Venetians*, who in return ſhould pay him down Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and give him a full Diſcharge for the Sum of Three Hundred Thouſand Crowns lent him by King *Lewis* XII, to maintain the War againſt *Venice*. It is very viſible that in a Treaty ſo advantagious to *France*, *Charles* meant only to gain Time, by granting every Thing he could deſire, for fear of being hindered from going to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms. Wherefore this Treaty was very ill kept afterwards.

1516.

Francis *tries in vain to gain him.*

Treaty of Noyon *between* Francis *and* Charles. Mezerai. Herbert.

The

1516. *Interest of the Princes.*

The Peace of *Noyon* was directly opposite to the Designs of the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *England*. The Pope was extremely desirous that the *French* should be drove out of *Italy*. *Maximilian* was wholly intent upon raising Enemies to *Francis*, that he might hinder him from assisting the *Venetians*. He plainly saw he must resolve either to ratify the Treaty of *Noyon*, and consequently restore *Verona*, or defend his Conquest without the Help of any Ally. To avoid both these Extremes, he tried all ways possible to embroil Affairs, in order to cause a new War which might occasion a League against *France*. He hoped by that to be able to reject without Danger the Treaty of *Noyon*, which he believed to be very prejudicial to his Interests. It is true, the Restitution of *Verona* would be worth to him Five Hundred Thousand Crowns. But then, out of that Sum were to be deducted the Three Hundred Thousand, which he owed the King of *France*, but never designed to pay him. So for the Sum of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, they obliged him to give up *Verona*, that is to say, they shut him out from his Inlet into *Italy*, which was the only Thing he made himself valued for in the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*. *Henry* VIII for his Part, was no less desirous of a War with *France*, being prompted thereto by Cardinal *Wolsey*, or by his Jealousy of *Francis*. But the Case was different as to the Archduke, to whom a Peace for some time would be of great Advantage.

Negotiations against France,

This was the Subject of the several Negotiations which were set on foot from the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Noyon* to the End of *October*. The chief Aim of the Pope, the Emperour, and King of *England*, was to draw off the Eight *Swiss Cantons* in Alliance with *France*, from the Interests of that Crown, that their Troops might serve to invade the *Milanese*. Mean while, they were labouring to form a League, into which of all things they wanted to get the new King of *Spain* to enter. But all they could obtain of him was his Consent to a defensive League, in case *Francis*

which end only in a defensive League. Act. Pub. XIII. 556.

Francis ſhould attack any of the Confederates. *Leo* X, according to his uſual Cuſtom, would not openly declare himſelf. But he intimated, that he would willingly join in the League when it was concluded, provided a Place was left for him. As to the *Swiſs*, it was reſolved they ſhould be included, though they deſired it not, upon the Proſpect of drawing them in by the help of ſome of their Nation, who had been gained. 1516.

This League then was concluded at *London* on the 29th of *October*, about two Months after the Treaty of *Noyon*. The Subſtance was, That the Emperour, the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, engaged to defend one another againſt any Prince that ſhould attack one of the Three, and the Number of Troops, each was to find was ſettled: That all Princes, Potentates, Republicks and States, that had a mind to enter into the League, ſhould be admitted: That as the Confederates had reaſon to hope that the Pope would be willing to be admitted, they declared him Head of the League. Finally, That all the *Swiſs Cantons* ſhould be deemed included in the League, provided they ratified it, and to that end the Penſions, which ſhould be agreed upon with them, ſhould be aſſigned them. By a private Article which was not ſigned till two Days after, it was agreed what each of the Allies was to pay towards the Penſions which ſhould be diſtributed to the *Swiſs*, *as well to the State as to private Perſons*, (which are the very words) to induce them to come into the League. This ſhows they were not ſure of gaining them, and that they depended chiefly upon the underhand Practices of ſome private Perſons of their Nation.

To this League, ſo inconſiderable in itſelf, tended all the Motions of the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *England*, during the Courſe of this Year. The Emperour had been in hopes of ſomething more; and though by the Treaty the Allies were in ſome meaſure bound to aſſiſt him, if the King of *France* continued to aid the *Venetians*, he ſoon grew ſick

The Emperour makes Peace with Venice.

1516. of a League which helped him to no Money. Before the Year was expired, he accepted and ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*. At the same time, he concluded with the *Venetians* a Truce for some Months, and with one consent they put the rest of their Differences to Arbitration. The Emperour's Resolution entirely changed the Face of Affairs, as we shall see next Year.

Act. Pub. XIII. 570. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that presently after the League was signed, *Henry* sent *Richard Pace* to the *Swiss*, to persuade them to come into the League; but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, the Emperor having resolved to make Peace with the *Venetians*, agreed that the Five *Cantons* who had refused to join with *France* should come into the Treaty which the other Eight had made with that Crown.

Affairs of Scotland. Before I make an end of the Occurrences of the Year 1516, it will be necessary just to mention what passed in *Scotland*. *Henry* having formed vast Projects against *France*, and knowing how much the Duke of *Albany* had at Heart the Good of that Kingdom, had taken it in his Head to compel the *Scots* to remove him from the Regency. To that purpose he had desired them to send Ambassadors, that he might impart to them certain Matters advantagious to both Kingdoms.

Henry *tries to have the Duke of* Albany *removed.* This Negotiation drove at nothing but to press the great Men of *Scotland* to chase away the Duke of *Albany*. He even writ to the *Scotch* Parliament, that the best Way to keep up a good Understanding between the two Nations, was to send back the Regent to *France*, under colour that it was dangerous to trust the Heir-apparent to the Crown with the Guardianship of the young King; intimating withal, that in case of refusal, he should be oblig'd to take care himself in a proper Way of the Safety of the King his Nephew. He also gave to understand, that he claimed the Regency as Uncle to the young King. But the Parliament returned such an Answer as fully convinc'd him, the *Scots* were by no means inclined to comply with his Will.

Act. Pub. XIII. 500.

Whether

Whether *Humes* had any hand in the King of *England*'s Proceedings, or was only ſuſpected, the Parliament ſummoned him to come and anſwer to the Accuſations entered againſt him. *Humes* not thinking fit to appear, was condemned for Contumacy. He looked upon this Sentence as unjuſt, and to be revenged, committed Hoſtilities upon ſome of his Enemies. Whereupon the Parliament granted to the Viceroy a Levy of Ten Thouſand Men to chaſtiſe the Rebel. But his Friends having adviſed him to ſubmit, he caſt himſelf upon the Mercy of the Viceroy, who ſent him to *Edinburgh*, and committed him to the Cuſtody of *James Hamilton* his Brother-in-law. Shortly after, *Humes* perſuaded the Lord *Hamilton* to make his eſcape with him, and lay claim to the Regency, as Son of *James the Third*'s Siſter*, and conſequently as nearly related to the King as the Duke of *Albany*. He ſaid, if the Duke could alledge that he was deſcended of the Male-line, it might be objected that he was Son of a Fugitive, born out of the Kingdom, and hardly able to ſpeak the Country Language. The Regent hearing of their Flight and Contrivance, marched againſt *Hamilton*-Caſtle and took it in a few Days. Then *Humes* perceiving it was time to throw off the Maſk, raiſed Troops, and taking *Dunbar*, utterly deſtroyed the Town. 1516. Humes's *Rebellion.*

Mean while, the Ambaſſadors the Regent had ſent to *England* in *May*, had concluded a Truce the 1ſt of *June*. But as *Henry* had granted the Truce purely to pave the Way to his Deſigns, he appeared little inclined to keep it, after he had received the Anſwer afore-mentioned. But to ſtave off a War which muſt needs have been fatal to *Scotland*, the Regent ſent to him by the Hands of *Francis de la Fayette*, certain Articles, to which he deſired him to give his Approbation, and then he offered to come in Perſon *Truce between* England *and* Scotland,

* His Mother was *Mary* Daughter of *James* II, Wife firſt of *Thomas Boyd* Earl of *Arran*, but divorced from him, and married next to *James Hamilton*, a Favourite, from whom the Dukes of *Hamilton* are deſcended.

1516. and pay him his Respects. At this time the Affairs of the rest of *Europe* having taking a new Turn as we have seen, *Henry* agreed to prolong the Truce to the End of the Year 1517.

prolong'd, p. 564.

These are the most considerable Matters which passed in the several States of *Europe* during the Year 1516. I shall only add a Word concerning the *Council of Lateran*, which continued to sit all this while without having much to do. As the *Fathers* of this *Council* meddled not either with the Reformation of the *Church*, though they seemed to be called for that very purpose, nor with the Extirpation of *Heresy*, they resolved, in order to keep themselves employed, upon reforming the *Calendar*, which was become exceeding faulty. To that end, the Pope having caused Memorandums to be drawn upon that Head, took upon him to write to all *Christian* Princes, inviting them to send their best *Astronomers* to *Rome*, or at least to cause them to examine the several Proposals which had been made upon that Matter. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, the *Brief* addressed to *Henry* VIII, wherein the Pope says he had put off the next *Session* to the Month of *December*, to give the *Mathematicians* time to send in their Opinions.

The Council of Lateran *sets about reforming the Calendar.*

P. 552. July 10.

1517. The Emperour having ratified the Treaty of *Noyon* as far as it concerned him, restored *Verona* to the *Venetians*, on the 15th of *January* 1517, having first received Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, and an Acquittance in full of what he owed the King of *France*. Moreover, that the Arbitrators might have time to adjust the Differences he still had with *Venice*, he agreed that the Truce should be prolonged for five Years. But it was on Condition that during the Truce the *Venetians* should pay him yearly Twenty Thousand Crowns. It was next to impossible to make a Treaty with him, and he not get Money by it. Thus ended at length a War which may be deemed only as a Consequence of the League of *Cambray*. The *Venetians* were engaged in it from the Beginning to the End, and got not clear of it till it had cost them above

The Emperour restores Verona *to the* Venetians, *and prolongs the Truce for five Years.*

Guicciard.

above five Millions of *Ducats* of the publick Treaſure, beſides the infinite Damages ſuſtained by the Subjects. 1517.

Maximilian having thus given over his Deſigns upon *Italy*, went into *the Low-Countries* to ſee his Grandſon *Charles* before he ſat out for *Spain*. During his Stay there, he concluded with him and the King of *France* a League againſt the *Turks*, wherein they reſerved a Place for the King of *England*. The Pope and Council of *Lateran* earneſtly preſſed all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* to join in this League, on the Score of the Progreſs the *Turks* were making in *Egypt* againſt the *Mamalucks* *, pretending that after that, their Deſign was to come and attack the *Chriſtians*. But what followed was a clear Evidence that the Pope's ſole View was to heap up Money on that Pretence, for his own uſe, and to inrich his Family.

He concludes with Francis *and* Charles *a League againſt the* Turks. Herbert. Leo X *excites the Chriſtian Princes to war upon the* Turks. Act. Pub. XIII. 578. Jan.

Mean while *Charles*, the new King of *Spain*, thought of nothing but of ſpeedily going to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms. He had juſt made with *Francis* I. a Peace ſo advantagious to *France*, that he had no Apprehenſions *Francis* would break it, becauſe it would be no way for his Intereſt to do ſo. Wherefore, when the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador preſſed him to ratify the *London*-League, he deferred it ſome time on divers Pretences, becauſe deeming it needleſs, he was afraid of offending the King of *France*. He ratified it however after ſome Alterations, and at length ſat out for

Charles *ratifies the League of* London.

* The Word *Mamaluck* ſignifies in *Syriack* a *hired Soldier*. *Jovius* ſays, they were *Circaſſian* Slaves ſold by the *Tartars* and *Podolians* to the Merchants, and being trained up at *Cairo* in military Exerciſes, were picked out for the *Soldan*'s Guard, and preferred to the higheſt Poſts, who in 1255 reſolved to obtain the Kingdom of *Egypt* for themſelves. Their Government was Elective, and the Son could claim no Inheritance but his Father's perſonal Eſtate. Every *Mamaluck* had a Vote in the Election, and required a Gold Ducat of the Soldan as ſoon as choſen. There were in all of this Race Sixteen Kings from the Year before-mentioned to the preſent Year 1517, when *Tonombeius* II, their laſt King, was conquered in the 1ſt Year of his Reign by *Selimus* I. Thus *Egypt* became a Province of the *Turkiſh* Empire, as it ſtill continues. *Heylin*, &c.

1517. *He arrives in* Spain *and diſmiſſes* Ximenes.

Spain where his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary. Upon his Arrival he diſmiſſed Cardinal *Ximenes*, who died with Grief. After which he gave himſelf over in ſuch a manner to the *Flemings* he had brought along with him, that the *Spaniards* grew ſo jealous, that they were carried in the End to ſad Extremities.

The Pope and Francis *diſſemble their Thoughts of one another.*

I have obſerved that the Pope continually amuſed *Francis* with the Hopes that he would join in a ſtrict Alliance with him, at the very Time he was raiſing him Enemies on all Sides. *Francis* was partly informed of his Proceedings, but he did not know all. And therefore in Expectation of firmly attaching him in the End to his Intereſts, he omitted nothing he thought capable of gaining him, even feigning to look upon him as his beſt Friend, when he moſt ſuſpected him. But as the Pope knew in his Conſcience, he had not deſerved *Francis*'s Friendſhip, he could not believe that his Advances were ſincere. Mean while, it was for his Intereſt that *Francis* ſhould publickly appear to be his Friend, and therefore he kept very fair with him, and not without Cauſe. Ever ſince the Beginning of the Year 1517, *Franciſco Maria della Rovere*, who had been diſpoſſeſſed of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, prepared to recover his Dominions. As ſoon as by the Truce concluded between the Emperour and the *Venetians*, the *Spaniſh* Troops which were in the State of *Venice* were become uſeleſs, *la Rovere* found Means to win them and employ them in his Service. With theſe Supplies he took *Urbino*, and carried Terrour into *Tuſcany* and the *Eccleſiaſtical State*. *Lorenzo de Medicis* new Duke of *Urbino*, or rather the Pope his Uncle, being then little able to recover that Dutchy, there was a Neceſſity of having recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of the *Chriſtian* Princes, under Colour that the *Church* was grievouſly oppreſſed, the Intereſts of the *Houſe* of the *Medici*, being then the ſame with the *Church's*. *Francis* I. who had the gaining the Pope always in View, made uſe of this Opportunity to do him a ſingal Service, by ſending him a good Body of Troops, under the Command of *Leſcun* Brother

LaRovere *gets Poſſeſſion of* Urbino. Guicciard.

Francis I. *aids the Pope.* Mezerai.

ther to *Lautree*. This War however laſted ſeven or eight Months, during which the Pope never ceaſed to preſs all the *Chriſtian* Princes to contribute towards the Charges of a War, wherein according to him all the World ſhould be concerned. *Henry* VIII being ſollicited as well as the reſt, refuſed to meddle or make. But the Pope found the Way to hook in his Subjects, by levying a *Tenth* upon the *Clergy*, of which Cardinal *Wolſey* was made Collector. The War of *Urbino* ended in a Way *la Rovere* did not expect. The Pope bribed the *Spaniards* in his Service, who came to an Agreement for him, which he could not help accepting. Thus being once more conſtrained to relinquiſh his Dominions, he went and took refuge at *Mantua*. 1517.

The Pope levies a Tenth *upon the* Clergy. Act. Pub. XIII. 592. *Jun.* 10. *p.* 596. 598.

LaRovere *is driven from* Urbino.

Whilſt the War of *Urbino* kept the Pope employed, he diſcovered a Plot againſt his Perſon, contrived by the Cardinal of *Sienna*, who had bribed a Surgeon to poiſon him. The Cardinal being abſent from *Rome* when the Diſcovery was made, the Pope who wanted of all Things to have him in his Power, ſcrupled not to make uſe of Fraud to compaſs his Ends. He ſent him a *Safe-Conduct*, and moreover gave the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador his Word that he would do him no hurt. The Cardinal being ſo weak as to come to *Rome* upon the Faith of the *Safe-Conduct*, was immediately ſhut up in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and afterwards ſtrangled in Priſon. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador would have complained of this Breach of Faith; but the Pope told him that a *Safe-Conduct* was never reckoned to extend to the Caſe of High-Treaſon, unleſs expreſsly mentioned. Some other Cardinals accuſed or ſuſpected of having a Hand in the Plot, were depoſed, impriſoned, or fined ſeverely.

Conſpiracy againſt the Pope. *p.* 589. Guicciard.

Francis I. never ceaſed courting the Pope to gain his Friendſhip, being under an Apprehenſion that by his ſecret Practices he would kindle the War afreſh, in order to deprive him of *Milan*. He imagined he had hit at laſt upon an infallible Means to attach him to his Intereſts, by helping *Lorenzo de Medicis* to a

Marriage of Lorenzo de Medicis *with the Heireſs of* Boulogne.

1517. very advantagious Match, with *Catharine* Heiress of the *House* of *Boulogne*. This Proposal was gladly accepted, and *Lorenzo* being come to *Paris* for that Purpose, stood Godfather in the Pope's Name, to the *French* Dauphin, born the beginning of this Year. In return for the Favour the King had done *Lorenzo*, the Pope granted him *Tenths* upon the *Clergy*, under Colour of the War which was to be waged with the *Turks*. But he took Care to assign fifty Thousand *Livres* for the Charges of the Wedding, which was to be solemnzed at *Paris*.

Sale of Indulgences *on pretense of the War with the* Turks.

The pretended War Christendom was to undertake against the *Turks*, seemed to the Pope to be a fair Opportunity to inrich himself by the Contributions of the *Christians*. To that End, he granted *plenary Indulgences* to all those that would contribute, and caused them to be publickly sold at so low a rate, that a Man must needs have been very careless of the Salvation of his Soul not to purchase them. But it was this that made the Pope expect he should be an immense Gainer by them, seeing in all probability there would not be one Christian but what would be desirous to have a share in them. Mean while, that the Money which should arise from the Sale, might be regularly collected, all *Christendom* was parted into so many Divisions, and in each were appointed *Collectors* to receive the Money, and *Preachers* to cry up the Benefit of *Indulgences* *. But it fell out by an Accident which

* It had been taught and believed for a good while, that the Pope, out of the inexhaustible Treasure of the *Church*, arising from the *Merits* of Christ and *Works of Supererogation* of the *Saints*, had a Power of distributing *Indulgences* on certain Conditions prescribed by him, to the greatest and most profligate Sinners for a plenary Remission of Sin, (as it is practised at this Day in *Portugal*, &c.) These *Indulgences* are supposed at first to reach only to Relaxation of *Penances* or *Ecclesiastical Discipline*. *Urban* II, in the Beginning of the XIth *Century*, was the first that granted a full Remission of all Sins to those who should take up Arms for the Recovery of the *Holy Land* from the *Infidels*. Which Custom was kept up by his Successors, some of whom extended the Benefit of their *Indulgences* to such Persons who being unwilling or unable to go,

which at firſt ſeemed of no Conſequence, that the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who was commiſſioned to appoint the Preachers in *Germany*, aſſigned *Saxony* to the *Jacobins*, whereas in the former *Cruſadoes*, the *Auguſtines* had been employed in that Office. The Injury done to theſe laſt, rouzed their Jealouſy. They cloſely examined the Behaviour of the *Preachers* as well as *Collectors*, bantered and jeſted upon them, and after that publickly complained of them. At length, *Martin Luther* an *Auguſtine Fryar* and Profeſſor in *Divinity* in the new Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, publiſhed ſome Writings againſt them, not without ſatyrical Remarks upon the *Indulgences* themſelves. This Boldneſs drew upon him Enemies, who by oppoſing him, obliged him by degrees to inquire more carefully into the Grounds on which thoſe *Indulgences* were built. In ſhort, he was convinced himſelf that they had no manner of Foundation in the *Holy Scriptures*. From thenceforward he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to ſet the World right as to the Notion they had conceived of the *Papal* Power. Hence ſprung the *Reformation* which ſpread it ſelf afterwards through *Germany* and ſeveral other *States* of *Europe*.

1517.

Martin Luther *begins to appear.*

The Pope did not much mind *Luther*'s Repreſentations at firſt. He never imagined that a ſingle *Fryar* would be able to ſhake the *Papal* Power which ſeemed to ſtand upon unmoveable Foundations. Wherefore deſpiſing this inconſiderable Oppoſition, he continued without ceaſing to ſell his *Indulgences*. He

The Pope continues to ſollicite a Cruſado.

go, maintained a Soldier in their Room. At length theſe Spiritual Favours were diſtributed to thoſe who took the Field againſt the Enemies of *Holy Church* or *Hereticks*. Great Sums were raiſed by this Means, but ſeldom applied to the Ends for which they were intended. *Leo* X reſolving to follow ſo good Precedents, opened a *General Mart* for Indulgences, the Benefit whereof was to extend even to the Dead, whoſe Souls upon payment of ſo much Money, were immediately redeemed out of *Purgatory*. People had likewiſe the Liberty of eating *Eggs* and *White-Meats* on *Faſt-Days*, and of chooſing their *Confeſſor*, and the like. *Guicciardine* ſays, That the Powers for releaſing Souls out of *Purgatory* were openly played for in Taverns. *B.* 13.

1517. He gave out and had it publiſhed every where that a powerful Attempt was going to be made upon the *Infidels*, and exhorted all *Chriſtians* to contribute according to their Abilities, towards ſo neceſſary a War, which would procure them over and above *Temporal* Advantages, Deliverance from the Pains of *Purgatory*, provided they would qualify themſelves for the *Indulgences*. There was however one Thing which very much cooled the Zeal of many Chriſtians for the *Cruſado*. It was diſcovered that the Pope had beforehand diſpoſed, for his Temporal Concerns, of the Money which was to ariſe from the Sale of his *Indulgences*. For Inſtance, he had aſſigned to *Magdalen de Medicis* his Siſter, Wife to *Franciſco Cibo*, natural Son to *Innocent* VIII, Part of the Money which was to be raiſed in *Germany*. Mean while, he continued his Sollicitations to all the *States* of *Europe*. He forgot not to write to *Henry* VIII, exhorting him to join his Forces with thoſe of the other *Chriſtian* Princes, and exciting him to this good Work, by great Commendations of the Zeal he had always ſhown for the Defence of the *Holy See*, and Exaltation of the *Faith*. All theſe Praiſes ended in demanding two Hundred Thouſand Ducats for the pretended War againſt the *Infidels*. But it does not appear that the King complied with his Requeſt. The *Turks* were then employed in *Egypt* and *Perſia*, and the *Cruſado* was grounded only upon the bare Preſumption that after having ended theſe Wars, they would come and invade *Chriſtendom*. One muſt have wilfully ſhut his Eyes, not to ſee that it was nothing elſe but a Pretenſe to fill the Pope's Coffers. Beſides, in the preſent Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*, *Henry* had no great Occaſion for the Pope.

Act. Pub. XIII. 592. *He demands Money of* Henry, *who denies him.*

In the mean Time, Cardinal *Wolſey* perceiving that the League of *London* would come to nothing, becauſe *Francis* had no Mind to commence a new War with any of the Confederates, was afraid he would make uſe of this Time of Peace to move the Affair of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. On the other Side, he

Wolſey *is uneaſy about the Biſhoprick of* Tournay

he plainly ſaw by the Time which had paſſed ſince that Buſineſs had been put into the Hands of the Commiſſioners, that great regard was had for him, as having an abſolute Sway over the King his Maſter. The Truth is, nothing could be expected from the King but through his Means, and for that Reaſon all the Princes ſtrove to make their Court to him, in order to make him their Friend. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Charles* King of *Spain* aſſigned him this Year an annual Penſion of three Thouſand *Livres*, though he had yet received no good Offices from him: And therefore it was for thoſe he hoped to receive for the Time to come. Mean while *Wolſey* was uneaſy on the account of *Tournay*. As the Pope and King of *France* regarded him only for the ſake of what he could do for them, he was in danger of loſing the Reſpect they ſhowed for him, in Caſe they ſhould ever come to ſtand no longer in need of him. He began therefore to intimate to *Francis* I. underhand, that it would not be impoſſible to perſwade *Henry* to give up *Tournay* for a Sum which ſhould be agreed upon, provided he himſelf had amends made him with regard to the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick. I ſhall relate next Year the Iſſue of this Negotiation. 1517.

He begins to treat with Francis *about reſtoring that Place*

Henry enjoying this Year great Tranquillity, reſolved to ſee what the Emperour had in his Head, with reſpect to the Reſignation of the Empire which he had cauſed to be mentioned to him. *Maximilian* being in *Flanders* to ſee the King of *Caſtile* his Grandſon, *Henry* ſent the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to him, with Doctor *Cuthbert Tonſtal*, to renew the Negotiation with him, acquainting him withal, that if he would pleaſe to appoint a convenient Place, he would come and confer with him in Perſon. The Emperour, who had never intended to reſign the Empire to him, and much leſs at that Time, very civily anſwered, that to ſave the King the Trouble of croſſing the Sea, he would come himſelf and confer with him in *England*. But when the Ambaſſadors preſſed him upon the Buſineſs

Negotiation of Henry *with the Emperour about the Ceſſion of the Empire comes to nothing.* Herbert.

1517. ſineſs they were charged with, they found he ſought only to evade the Offer he had made. One while he ſaid, he would reſign the Empire to *Henry*, but firſt he would try to obtain of the *Diet*, that himſelf might keep the Title of *King of the Romans* and his Poſterity after him. Another while he talked of making *Charles* his Grandſon Emperour, *Henry*, King of the *Romans*, *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles*, King of *Auſtria*, and himſelf only *Marſhal* of the Empire. Theſe Alterations made the Ambaſſadors perceive nothing was to be expected from the Negotiation, and acquainting the King withal, he was ſatisfied that *Maximilian* had no other Deſign but to draw Money from him.

Inſurrection at London. There was an Inſurrection of the *London*-Apprentices this Year againſt Foreign Tradeſmen, wherein ſome Perſons loſt their Lives. But it was appeaſed by the Puniſhment of ſome of the Seditious, who were hanged on Gibbets erected in the principal Streets of the City.

The Sweating Sickneſs. This Year the *Sweating Sickneſs* carried off multitudes of People in the Kingdom, and eſpecially at *London*. Moſt of thoſe that were ſeiz'd with it died within three Hours, and no cure cou'd be found for it. As this Diſtemper was peculiar to *England*, it was call'd *Sudor Anglicus* or the *Engliſh Sweat* *.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan. Herbert. The Affairs of *Scotland* were ſtill in great Diſorder, by Reaſon of the Factions in the Kingdom. *Alexander Humes* and his Brother *William*, having been pardon'd ſeveral Times, were at laſt beheaded *1. After the Death of the two Brothers, the Duke of *Albany*, hoping that *Scotland* would be in perfect Tranquillity, reſolved to take a Turn to *France*, promiſing to come back in a few Months. But having been detained

* Many Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers in the King's Court died thereof, as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey of Wilton*, and of the common Sort of People ſo many, as in ſome Towns it ſwept away Half, in others a Third of the Inhabitants. *Herbert*, *p.* 28.

*1 On the 16th of *October*, 1516. *Herbert*, *p.* 27.

detain'd there longer than he expected, by Accidents which will be mention'd hereafter, the Affairs of *Scotland* fell into very great Confusion, by the Dissentions of the Great Men, which were kept alive by those who design'd to take Advantage of them. 1517.

Mean while the Pope earnestly push'd the Business of the pretended War, contriving with the Ambassadors residing at his Court, Projects which wou'd have requir'd more Zeal than Princes usually have, and greater Union among them. To have been able to execute his Designs, there would have been need of amassing vast Sums of Money, and that was the secret Drift of the League the Pope propos'd, of which he was to be the Head and Director. With this view he exhausted, if I may so say, the *Church*'s Treasures, to incourage *the Faithful* to exchange their perishing Riches for everlasting Benefits. This Affair was carried so far, that he sent *Legates* to all the Courts, to stir up the Sovereigns to join their Forces together, for the Destruction of the *Infidels*. There was not one but what outwardly show'd an extreme Desire to have a hand in that Holy Work, provided he could be sure that his Neighbours would not disturb him. But that was the thing which rendered the Execution of the Project exceeding difficult, because they had no Confidence one in another. They placed no more Trust in the Pope himself, who, since the Beginning of his *Pontificate*, had but too visibly made appear that the Concerns of the *Church* were not what affected him the most. And therefore, seeing him act with that Zeal, they could not help suspecting that the Desire of inriching himself by the voluntary Contributions of *Christians*, the Sale of the *Indulgences*, the *Tenths* of the *Clergy*, and the Bounty of the Sovereigns, was what set his Zeal the most on Fire. Nevertheless not one of them show'd any backwardness in the Matter, lest he should be taxed with not having the *Church* enough at Heart. But they gave only good Words, whereas the Pope wanted Deeds. Hence the Pope's Project of an universal League

1518. Leo X. *sends Legates to sollicite the* Crusado.

1518. League had not the Succeſs he expected, as will be ſeen hereafter. However, the Project, as chimerical as it was, ſerv'd for Colour and Blind to many other Deſigns. The Emperor, wanting to have one of his Grandſons choſen *King of the Romans*, us'd the pretenſe of the imaginary War which the *Turks* threatned Chriſtendom with, to ſhow the Neceſſity of continuing the Imperial Dignity in *the Houſe of Auſtria*, there being no other in *Germany*, able by its own Strength to withſtand their Arms. *Charles* King of *Spain* made uſe of the ſame Pretenſe to the ſame Purpoſe. Beſides that, as he had Occaſion for ſome Years of Peace, he ſtoutly inſiſted upon the Project of a general Truce, that the *Chriſtian* Princes might be free to unite their Forces againſt the *Turks*. *Francis* I. perceived well enough by the *Defenſive* League made againſt him, that they only wanted a pretenſe to invade him and take away the Dutchy of *Milan*. So that a General Truce could not but be advantagious to him in his preſent Circumſtances. Beſides he had the Recovery of *Tournay* in view, which could not be brought about but during a Peace. *Henry* VIII, knowing that the Pope, the Emperour, and Kings of *France* and *Spain* had join'd in a League againſt the *Turks*, was apprehenſive that the League was a Cloak to ſome Deſign againſt him. For that Reaſon, he would not refuſe to join with them for fear of giving them a Handle againſt him. Thus the chief Potentates of *Europe* being concerned to make the beſt of the *Cruſado*, or at leaſt, not to reject it, the leſſer ones were oblig'd to follow the Torrent too. This gave the Pope great hopes that he ſhould compaſs his Deſigns. But as in Truth, not one of the Princes juſt mentioned, thought the Thing feaſible, the Project was ſtill far enough from being put in Practice.

The Project of the Cruſado *is of uſe to the* Houſe of Auſtria. Mezerai.

Negotiation about Tournay. Herbert.

Whilſt *Leo* X. fed himſelf with Hopes, *Francis* was thinking more earneſtly of Means to recover *Tournay* than of the Buſineſs of the *Cruſado*. On the other hand, *Cardinal Wolſey* was afraid of loſing the Admini-

Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick, becauſe he ſaw no likelihood of ſowing Diſcord between *France* and *England* at a time when all the Princes of *Europe* ſhow'd a Deſire to live in Peace. He could not therefore keep the Adminiſtration, if *Guillard*, the true Biſhop, would take the Oath to the King, which he ſeemed determin'd to do. This made him lend an Ear to the ſecret Offers of *Francis* to make him ample amends, if he could induce the King his Maſter to reſtore that Place to *France*. *Francis* was very ſenſible that before all Things the Cardinal was to be ſatisfied, not only in order to recover *Tournay*, but to get it as cheap as poſſible. This was the Subject of a private Negotiation between them, before *Henry* was informed of the Matter. To bring it to a good Iſſue, *Francis* ſpared neither Flattery, nor Promiſes, nor Preſents. If *Polydore Virgil* may be credited, theſe Preſents were very conſiderable. But however, it was agreed between them, that the Cardinal ſhould be recompenſed for the Loſs of the Adminiſtration with an annual Penſion. That the King of *France* ſhould give *Henry* Six Hundred Thouſand Crowns for *Tournay*. But as that Sum was a little too Large, an Expedient, which I ſhall ſpeak of preſently, was found out to reduce it to a much Leſs. Upon theſe two Conditions, the Cardinal took upon him to get his Maſter's Conſent to whatever the King of *France* deſired. One of leſs Aſſurance than the Cardinal, and who was not ſo ſecure of the King's Confidence, would doubtleſs have been at a very great Loſs, ſince the Buſineſs was to convince the King of the contrary to what hitherto he had been endeavouring to perſwade him, namely, that *Tournay* was no longer neceſſary. When *Francis* I. would have treated about the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, *Wolſey* had repreſented to the King, that both for his own and *England*'s Intereſt, it was of very great Conſequence to keep that Place, being moreover a perpetual Monument of his Victories, whilſt it ſhould be in his Hands. Now altering his Tone, he takes upon him 1518.

to

1518. to perſwade, and indeed does perſwade him, that the Place is of no uſe, and that the Charge of maintaining the Garriſon outweighs vaſtly all the Advantages he can reap from thence. That it was better to give it up to the King of *France*, who earneſtly ſued for it, and to obtain his Suit ſcrupled not to ſtoop ſo low as to ſend Preſents to a *Miniſter*. That nothing could be more honourable for the King, than to ſee that Monarch make the firſt Advances towards a Reconciliation, and to render their Friendſhip perpetual by the Marriage of the *Dauphin* with the Princeſs *Mary*, of which alſo he made an Overture. That therefore the preſent Opportunity ſhould be embraced of getting a good Sum of Money in lieu of *Tournay*, which by Reaſon of its too great Diſtance from *Calais*, would infallibly be loſt upon the firſt Rupture which ſhould happen between the two Crowns. That this would oblige the King of *France* to be a powerful Friend, and their Union would render them Umpires of *Europe*. That this Union was the more neceſſary, as it was time to have an Eye to the growing Power of the *Houſe of Auſtria*, who poſſeſſing the Empire, *Spain*, the *Low-Countries*, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, were going moſt infallibly to become very Formidable to all the Reſt of the Sovereigns. The Force of theſe Reaſons was too manifeſt for *Henry* to ſtand againſt them. All he could think ſtrange was, that the Cardinal had not propoſed them ſooner, and that he had till then made uſe of Arguments directly contrary in order to hinder the Reſtitution of *Tournay*. But, as it has been remarked, *Wolſey* had ſuch an Aſcendent over him, that he could perſwade him to be *For* or *Againſt* as he pleaſed *.

Henry

* *Polidore Virgil* obſerves how artfully the Cardinal managed this Affair: He began with making the King a Preſent of ſome Part of what *Francis* had given him, that he might thereby incline the King to accept of the friendly Overtures of the *French* King. Having thus prepared the way, he uſed the Arguments above-mentioned for the Reſtitution of *Tournay*. Whereupon the King ſaid, He ſaw plainly now *Wolſey* would govern both himſelf and the King of *France*. Pol. Virg.

Henry having agreed to what the Cardinal propoſed, there was nothing more to be done but to treat about the Matter. As ſoon as *Francis* I. had Notice of it, he ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſy to *England*, conſiſting of Admiral *Bonnivet*, *Stephen Poncher* Biſhop of *Paris*, and M. *de Villeroy Secretary* of *State* *. For Form's ſake, ſome time muſt be ſpent in this Negotiation, though the King of *France* and the *Cardinal* had already agreed upon the chief Articles, by the Mediation of *Villeroy*, who had been in *London* ever ſince the beginning of *July*, whereas his fellow-Ambaſſadors came not till two Months after. The *French* Ambaſſadors had *full Powers* to treat about the renewing of Friendſhip between the two Kings: about a League with the Pope and all *Chriſtian* Princes who deſired to be included in it, for the Defenſe of *Religion* and the *Church*: about a Match between the *Dauphin* and the Princeſs *Mary* Daughter to *Henry*: about the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, St. *Amand*, and *Mortagne*; and about an Interview of the two Kings. Moreover, they brought *Francis*'s *Letters Patents*, whereby he promiſed to pay to *his Good Friend* the Cardinal of *York* an annual Penſion of twelve Thouſand *Livres*, in conſideration of his relinquiſhing the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. As the Treaties made upon theſe Articles were not ready till the beginning of *October*, I ſhall ſay a word of another Affair which was tranſacted about the ſame Time. 1518. *Embaſſy of* France *to* Henry. Herbert.

The Pope had his Thoughts always intent upon the Buſineſs of the *Cruſado*, from whence he hoped to draw vaſt Sums. He had writ laſt Year, to all *Chriſtian* Princes to notify to them the Victory of *Selim* Emperor of the *Turks* over the *Mamulucks* of *Egypt*, whoſe Empire he had utterly deſtroyed. The beginning of this Year, he had ſent a Letter to *Henry* by *the College* of *Cardinals*, repreſenting to him, the Danger Chriſtendom was in, after the Victory which

* With no leſs than 1200 Perſons in their Train. *Sept.* 30. *Herb.*

1518. the *Ottoman* Emperour had gained over the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who was slain in the Battle, according to the best Advices from thence. The Cardinals exhorted the King to undertake the Defense of Religion jointly with all the other *Christian* Sovereigns, with the Pope and *sacred College*, who were ready to sacrifice to that End their own as well as the *Church*'s Treasure. The plain meaning of all this was, that the King ought to contribute largely towards the *Crusado*, his Country being too remote from *Turky* to send Troops thither.

Campejus *is sent as* Legate a Latere *to* England. Herbert.

Some time after the Pope sent *Legates a Latere* to several Courts, with Orders to exhort the Sovereigns to accept and keep a Five-years-Truce, which he had enjoined by his *Apostolick* Power. They were likewise to use their Endeavours to perswade them to unite all their Forces and make War upon the *Turk*. Cardinal *Laurentius Campejus* was appointed for *England*, and already departed from *Rome* in the beginning of *May* to go and execute his Commission. But *Wolsey* deemed it a very great Affront, that the Pope had not thought of him for *Legate*. Wherefore, whilst *Campejus* was on the Road, he sent a trusty Messenger to *Rome* to represent to the Pope, that by showing so little regard for a *Cardinal* who was actually in *England* and *Prime Minister* to the King, he put it out of his Power to do him any Service: That whatever he should say to support what the Pope required, would be of no weight, since he should be looked upon as one whom the Court of *Rome* durst not venture to trust with the Legateship: That it was rather the Pope's Interest to make use of him to obtain what he wanted, considering the Confidence the King was pleased to put in him, and that without his Help, the present Affair would be in danger of miscarrying. *Leo* X. soon perceived by this Representation that *Wolsey* must be pleased. So by a *Bull* of the 17th of *May* he joined him with *Campejus* in the same Commission, giving them both an equal Authority, *knowing*, (says he in the *Bull* directed to *Wolsey*) *your great Credit*

Wolsey *gets himself joined in the Legateship.*

Act. Pub. XIII. 606. May 31.

Credit with the King, and how eaſily you can perſuade or diſſuade him. Mean while, *Campejus* being come to *Boulogne*, *Wolſey* found means to ſtay him there till he had received the Pope's Anſwer. For which reaſon it was the 29th of *July* before the *Italian Legate* made his Entry into *London*. As he had but a very poor Train, *Wolſey* ſent him Twelve Mules with Coffers richly covered. But ſome of theſe Coffers happening to fall, during the Proceſſion, and being overturned and broken, were found to be empty, to the great Sport and Laughter of the People, who derided this external Pageantry. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* a *Bull* of *Leo*'s, with extraordinary Powers to the two *Legates*, authorizing them to grant a *Plenary Indulgence* to *the Faithful* of both Sexes, who ſhould be preſent at *the Maſs* which either of the *Legates* ſhould celebrate in the Preſence of the King and Queen, or at leaſt at the *Benediction*, provided they *confeſſed* their Sins, or deſired to do ſo and were penitent. 1418. Campejus's *Entry into* London.

The Legates Commiſſion conſiſted of two Points. The firſt was, to try to obtain of the *Clergy* an Aid of Money for the War againſt the *Turk*. But the *Clergy* ſtood their ground againſt all their Attempts. The ſecond was, to perſuade *Henry* to join in the projected League with all the *Chriſtian* Princes for the Defence of *Religion* and the *Church*. The Pope's Deſign was not to undertake a War againſt the *Turk*, but only to heap up Money on that Pretence. Thus the League he was meditating, was purely to make the World believe he really intended to war upon the Infidels. After which, he had a very plauſible Pretext to lay Impoſitions upon all the *Clergy*, and draw Money from the Sovereigns, and their Subjects, to bear the Charges of this pretended War. The League then was the firſt Thing to begin with, and about that the *Legates* were commiſſioned to treat with the King, who ſeemed inclined to agree to it, though he might eaſily foreſee the League would come to nothing. *The Legates Commiſſion.*

1518. *Cardinal Adrian deposed.*

As Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Credit increased in *England*, it got ground also at the Court of *Rome*. I observed before, that he had caused Cardinal *Adrian de Cornetto* to be removed from the Office of the Pope's Collector in *England*. But this slight Punishment not being sufficient to satisfy his Revenge, he had ordered it so that the King writ to the Pope, desiring him to deprive *Adrian* of the *Cardinalate*, and of the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, which had been conferred on him. *Leo* X could not help thinking it strange that the King should request such a Thing without alledging any Reason. However, without giving him a positive Denial, he contented himself with saying, that he would give him Satisfaction at a more proper Season. In 1517 there was a Conspiracy against the Pope, wherein Cardinal *Adrian* was concerned, and thereupon committed to Prison. *Guicciardine* affirms, that he was never more heard of, and that it is not known what became of him*. But we find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter of Cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, dated the 5th of *July* 1518, notifying to the King, that in a *Consistory* held that Day, Cardinal *Adrian* was deposed and stript of all his Preferments, intimating withal to the King, that it was done purely on his account. But it is more probable that he was punished for his Crime against the Pope. However that be, a few Days after, the Pope gave Cardinal *Wolsey* the Administration of the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, supposing he wanted it to maintain the Dignity of *Cardinal*.

Act. Pub. XIII. 607.

Leo X wishes to make an offensive League against the Turk. p. 621.

The Negotiation of the two Cardinals went on but slowly, since it was not enough to incline *Henry* to the League, the rest of the Sovereigns were also to be brought to give their Consent to it. Wherefore the Pope sollicited to the utmost of his Power all the Potentates, magnifying the Danger which the *Christian* Religion was going to be infallibly exposed to. In short,

* Monsieur *Bayle* says, *Adrian* bequeathed a Palace to the King of *England* his Patron, which was called the *English* Palace, and is now possessed by the Family of *Colonna*.

ſhort, every Prince returning him the ſame Anſwer, namely, that it was neceſſary all the Sovereigns ſhould go Hand in Hand in this Affair, he ſent a *Bull* to his Legates in *England*, impowering them to conclude between the Emperour and the Kings of *France* and *Spain* a League againſt the *Turk*. His Aim was that the League ſhould be *Offenſive*, elſe it would be of no Advantage to him, unleſs the *Turk* really intended to invade *Chriſtendom*, which was hitherto thought to be very uncertain. But *Leo* was too well known for the Princes to be taken in a Snare which tended only to make the Pope Maſter of their own and their People's Money. So, pretending to enter with Zeal into his Project, they contented themſelves with concluding together a *Defenſive* League for the Protection of the Pope, the *Holy See*, and their reſpective Dominions, againſt all that ſhould attempt to diſturb them, and eſpecially againſt the Emperour of the *Turks* *. The Pope was declared *Head* of the League, provided he ratified it within ſuch a Time. As to the reſt, the Treaty made no mention of what each of the Allies was to find. All which ſhows that the League, according to the Intentions of the Parties, was only to caſt a Miſt before People's Eyes, to give the Pope ſome Satisfaction, and it may be to frighten the *Turks*. 1518.

The Pope ratifies the League.

This was not what the Pope wanted. He could have wiſhed that all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* had joined together in an *Offenſive* League againſt the *Turk*, and engaged to ſend their Forces to *Conſtantinople*, to attack the *Ottoman* Emperour in his very Metropolis. In that caſe he knew that the moſt Remote would have been eaſily brought to furniſh their Quota in Money. Since the *Frentick* Zeal for *Cruſadoes* was over, the Popes had omitted no occaſion to

* Lord *Herbert* ſays, this Treaty is ſingular in its kind, and an excellent Precedent for Peace to future Ages; and therefore recites it more at large, becauſe (as he ſays) it ſeems to have been the Rule by which *Henry* framed his Actions many Years after. See P. 31. of the *Comp. Hiſt.* Vol. II.

1518. kindle afreſh the ſame Zeal which had formerly been ſo beneficial to their Predeceſſors. But the People as well as the Princes were entirely diſheartned, becauſe it was but too viſible that the *Cruſadoes* had turned to no account but the Pope's. So, for this once, the *Chriſtian* Princes were contented with making a *Defenſive* League, to ſhow only that they were ready to defend *Chriſtendom* againſt the Attacks of the Infidels, deferring to take other Meaſures till they ſhould be obliged. *Leo* X ſeeing he could obtain no more, approved and ratified the League the 31ſt of *December*, after which there was nothing more ſaid of it. All the terrible Preparations the Emperour of the *Turks* was making to fall upon the *Chriſtians*, as was affirmed, vaniſhed entirely, as ſoon as the Pope found that his Artifices could not produce the Effect he expected.

P. 621.

Several Treaties between France *and* England.

Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, Cardinal *Wolſey* jointly with the *French* Ambaſſadors were employed in getting the Treaties which they had agreed upon ready to be ſigned.

I. *Treaty of Marriage between the* Dauphin *and* Mary. 624--641.

The firſt related to the Marriage between the Princeſs *Mary* and the *Dauphin*, which was to be ſolemnized as ſoon as the young Prince ſhould be full fourteen Years old, each of the two Kings binding himſelf to pay Five Hundred Thouſand Crowns, in caſe it was his Fault that the Marriage was not compleated. *Mary*'s Dowry was to be 333000 Crowns of Gold, one half to be paid down on the Day of Marriage, and the other within a Year after. The Jointure was to be as great as had ever been aſſigned to any Queen of *France*, and particularly to *Ann* of *Bretagne*, and *Mary* of *England*, Wives to *Lewis* XII.

II. *Treaty about* Tournay. p. 611.

The ſecond Treaty was about the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, for which *Francis* I. bound himſelf to pay *Henry* Six Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Thirty-five *Sols Tournois* each, beſides Fifty Thouſand *Livres Tournois* due to him from the Inhabitants. But out of theſe two Sums *Francis* was to keep back the Princeſs

Mary's

Mary's Dower. As to the Payments, he obliged himſelf to pay down Fifty Thouſand *Livres* upon taking Poſſeſſion of the Place, and then Twenty-five Thouſand *Livres* every ſix Months till the whole Sum was paid. 1518.

The third Treaty concerned the Outrages which might be committed for the future againſt the Peace, by the Subjects of both Kings, and contained certain Regulations how they might be ſpeedily repaired. III. *Treaty about Outrages.*

By the fourth, the two Monarchs agreed upon an Interview in the Village of *Sandinfelt*, between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*. IV. *Treaty about an Interview.*

Theſe Treaties being ſigned the 14th of *October*, the *French* Ambaſſadors gave Cardinal *Wolſey* their Maſter's *Letters Patents*, whereby he bound himſelf to pay him an annual Penſion of Twelve Thouſand *Livres Tournois*, to make him amends for the Loſs of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. *Cardinal* Wolſey *is made amends.* p. 611.

As ſoon as the two Kings had ratified the Treaties, and ſolemnly ſwore to the Peace at *London* and *Paris*, the King and Queen of *France*, in the Name of the *Dauphin* their Son, promiſed Marriage to the Princeſs *Mary*, repreſented by the Earl of *Somerſet* * her Proxy. This Ceremony was performed at *Paris* the 16th of *December*. *Eſpouſals of the* Dauphin *with* Mary.

Europe enjoyed then a profound Tranquillity. But upon the Death of the Emperour *Maximilian* *1, which happened on the 12th of *January* 1519, new Troubles enſued. By his Death *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *England*, *Scotland*, *the Low-Countries*, were engaged in Wars no leſs fatal to them than the for- 1519. *Death of the Emperour.* Guicciard.

* Of *Worceſter*.

*1 He was King of the *Romans*, and called *Emperour*, though never crowned by that Title. Some ſay, the Reaſon was becauſe he delined the Charge and Hazard of going into *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown at the Pope's Hands. He ſpent his leiſure Hours in *Poetry*, writing the Hiſtory of his Life in *Dutch* Verſe. As *Knight of the Garter*, his Obſequy was ſolemnly kept in St. *Paul*'s, by our King and the *Knights* of that *Order*. *Herbert*. p. 34.

1519 Francis *and* Charles *aſpire to the Empire.* Mezerai.

mer. As ſoon as *Maximilian* was in his Grave, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* openly declared themſelves Candidates for the Empire, and began to cabal among the *Electors* to obtain what they wanted. This threw the *Electors* into no ſmall Perplexity. On which ſide ſoever they turned, they ſaw for themſelves, for *Germany*, for all *Europe*, Advantages and Inconveniencies which deſerved their whole Attention. It would have been the Intereſt of *Germany* to keep the Ballance even between the two Competitors, for the Imperial Dignity, and to reject both. But by chuſing one of them, ſuch Superiority would be given him as could not but be fatal to all *Europe*, and particularly to *Germany*. I ſhall not inſiſt upon the Reaſons which the *Electors* had to chuſe either or reject both. It is well known, that on theſe Occaſions the publick Good is not always made the Rule and Meaſure to determine Matters of this Nature by. *Leo* X wiſhed that the *Electors* would agree to chuſe ſome one of themſelves, as it was his real Intereſt they ſhould do. *Charles* being poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and *Francis* of the Dutchy of *Milan*, the electing of one of theſe two Monarchs muſt needs diſturb one Day the Peace of *Italy*, and prove deſtructive to the *Papal* Power. Wherefore the Pope uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to perſwade the *Electors* to take that Courſe. But however, he was forced to manage Matters privately for fear of making the two Candidates his Enemies, by openly declaring againſt them.

The Pope's Intereſts.

Death of Lorenzo de Medicis Guicciard.

Whilſt the Reſolution of the *Electors* was impatiently expected, *Lorenzo de Medicis* the Pope's Nephew, was ſeized with a Diſtemper that laid him in his Grave. By this unexpected Accident, that Branch of the Family of *Medicis* was reduced to the Perſon of the Pope, ſole lawful Deſcendent of *Coſmo the Great*, who firſt acquired the Sovereignty of *Florence*. Some Endeavours were uſed to perſwade the Pope to reſtore his Country to Liberty; but he did not love the *Florentines* well enough to let them enjoy ſo valuable a Bleſſing which he had taken ſo much

The Pope keeps Florence, *and governs it by a Legate.*

Pains

Pains to rob them of. Reſolving therefore to keep that *State*, he ſent Cardinal *Julius de Medicis* natural Son of *Julian* his Uncle, to govern in his Name. Shortly after he re-annexed the Dutchy of *Urbino* to the *Church*, and cauſed the Walls of the Capital to be razed, for fear *la Rovere* ſhould take it in his Head to get Poſſeſſion again. 1519.

He annexes the Dutchy of Urbino *to the Church.*

The *Electors* being met in order to proceed to the Election of an Emperour, *Francis* and *Charles* ſent Ambaſſadors to the Aſſembly to manage their Concerns. The Pope would have a Nuntio there too, who had Orders to endeavour privately to get them both rejected; but however, to adapt himſelf outwardly to what he ſhould find the *Electors* inclined to. *Henry* VIII perceiving the Difficulties which would occur in the choice of either of the Candidates, ſent *Richard Pace* to the *Diet* to try whether there was any Room to put in. But as it came into his Head too late, his Ambaſſador found Matters in ſuch Forwardneſs, that he did not think fit to expoſe the King's Honour. He wrote back therefore, that indeed ſome of the *Electors* * ſhowed an Inclination to favour him; that the Pope would likewiſe have ſupported him to the utmoſt of his Power, had he declared his Mind ſooner; but that Matters were ſo ordered, that the Election would infallibly be over before proper Meaſures could be taken to compaſs his Ends. And indeed a few Days after, on the 28th of *June*, *Charles* King of *Spain* was declared *Emperour*, by the Name of *Charles* Vth, or rather of *Charles Quint*, as he was then, and ſtill is called to this Day.

The Electors meet to chuſe an Emperour.

Henry *aſpires to the Empire.* Herbert.

The Election of *Charles* was a terrible Mortification to *Francis* I. All the World immediately thought that the Jealouſy between theſe two potent Princes would infallibly give Birth to cruel Wars; and this Notion was but too well confirmed by Experience.

Charles *King of* Spain *is elected.* Guicciard.

Beſides

* The Electors of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and *Triers*, ſtood ſo affected, that *Pace* thought if our King had put in ſooner he would have carried it. *Herbert*, *p.* 33.

1519. *Jealousy of* Francis I.

Besides the King of *France*'s Jealousy, which was doubtless one of the chief Causes of the Rupture which ensued presently after, there were Differences between them of very great Importance, and extremely difficult to be made up. *Francis* I. had a Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*. Moreover by the Treaty of *Noyon*, *Charles* was bound to restore *Navarre* to *Henry d' Albret*, within four Months after signing the Treaty, and this Article was yet unperformed. On the other Side, *Charles*, as Heir to the *House* of *Burgundy*, believed he had a lawful Title to the Dutchy of that Name. He pretended that after the Death of the last Duke his Great-Grandfather, *Lewis* XI had unjustly seized it, upon a bare Allegation that it was a *Male Fee*, though the contrary was evident. He had suffered his Title to lye dormant during his *Minority*. But after he came of Age he had Thoughts of renewing his Pretensions, and the Imperial Dignity he had just obtained, helped very much to confirm him in his Resolution. The Dutchy of *Milan* was another Ground of Dispute, which would naturally beget a War between these two Monarchs. It could not be denied but that it was a *Fief* of the Empire, and yet *Lewis* XII had seized it, and *Francis* I. re-conquered it, and was now possessed of it, without either's being invested by the Emperour *Maximilan*, or so much as demanding any such Thing. *Charles* therefore could alledge that it was his Business to maintain the Rights of the Empire, and endeavour to dispossess the King of *France* of that Dutchy. The Duke of *Gueldres* afforded another Occasion of Quarrel between these two Monarchs. He was a professed Enemy to the Emperour, and *France* protected him openly. Finally, the Treaty of *Noyon* gave *Charles* another Cause of Complaint. He pretended that *Francis* had extorted from him so disadvantagious a Treaty, by threatening War at a Time when his Affairs necessarily required his Presence in *Spain*, to take Possession of his Kingdoms: That therefore the Resignation of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the Pen-

Several Occasions of Quarrel between Charles *and* Francis.

sion

ſion of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns, which he had been drawn in to pay, under the ſpecious Pretenſe of a Maintainance for the Princeſs his future Spouſe, were nothing elſe but the Price he was made to purchaſe the Peace at. 1519.

Intereſts of the Princes of Europe.

But although theſe two Monarchs looked upon one another with a jealous and envious Eye, and wanted not Pretenſes to go to War, neither of them durſt however begin before he had ſeen how the reſt of the Princes ſtood affected. Which it will be likewiſe proper to know, in order to underſtand the better what will be ſaid hereafter, the Intereſts of Princes affording to Hiſtory a Clearneſs which cannot otherwiſe be had.

Of Leo X.

Leo X was equally afraid of the two Monarchs, being very ſenſible that to which Side ſoever the Balance inclined, *Italy* muſt be in Danger. If he could have ſet them at Variance without making *Italy* the Seat of the War, he would have done it willingly. But that was not poſſible. Much leſs was it in his Power to reſolve to ſtand Neuter. The Reaſon was becauſe he could not hinder the Quarrels about *Naples* and *Milan* from being decided by Arms, and therefore could not help interpoſing in a Diſpute which would ſo nearly concern him. He took therefore the Courſe which agreed beſt with his Temper, and that was to be upon the Reſerve and keep fair with both the Monarchs, till he ſhould find it his Intereſt to declare himſelf. But however he could not forbear ſhowing ſome Partiality to the Emperour, by granting him a Diſpenſation to hold the Empire with the Kingdom of *Naples*, though that was directly contrary to the Terms on which he had given him the Inveſtiture of that Kingdom. *Francis* complained of it; but the Pope excuſed himſelf by ſaying he had granted nothing but what was not in his Power to refuſe, without involving himſelf in Troubles which he ſhould not eaſily have got clear of. Mezerai.

As

1519. *Of* Henry VIII.

As for *Henry* VIII, the Posture of Affairs between *Charles* and *Francis* might have rendered his Reign exceeding glorious, had he not entirely given himself up to the Self-interested Counsels of Cardinal *Wolsey*. He had it in his Power to preserve the Peace of *Europe*, by keeping the Balance even between the two Rivals, without suffering it to incline too much to either Side. This it highly concerned him to do, as well for his own as his Kingdom's good, and this is what he had resolved to do. Hence it was that he frequently ingaged in one or other Side, but not always as the Interest of *Europe*, the Welfare of his Realm, and his own Glory required. Thus whilst he thought to follow the Maxims of sound Politicks, he helped without knowing it, to gratify the Passions of his *Minister*, as we shall see hereafter.

Both Monarchs try to gain Henry *by means of* Wolsey. Herbert.

Charles and *Francis* were so fully convinced of the Benefit they should reap from the King of *England*'s Friendship, that they omitted nothing which they thought would procure it. The best or rather the only way to do this was to gain Cardinal *Wolsey* to their Side. To that End, they spared neither Flatteries, nor Promises, nor Presents, to make him their Friend. They took Occasion sometimes to write to him, on purpose to stile him *Their Friend*, *Their Father*. In their Letters they affected to extol his Virtue, his Prudence, his Capacity, in such far-fetch'd Terms, that he must have been blind not to see that they had some farther Views than just to express their Esteem for him. *Wolsey* made good use of these Testimonies of their Friendship, to let his Master see how formidable he was to these two Monarchs, since they did not disdain to stoop to caress his *Minister* in such a manner. But withal it served him to insinuate how far his own Merit was above that of other *Ministers*, since it was universally known. All this produced the Effect he expected. *Henry* deemed himself the Umpire of *Europe*, and remained so thoroughly perswaded of his Favourite's Capacity, that he no longer

Their Caresses increase Wolsey's *Credit.*

longer ſaw any Thing but with his Eyes, or did any Thing but by his Advice. 1519.

Thus *Wolſey* was then on the Top of the Wheel. He was Favourite, Prime Miniſter, Lord Chancellor, Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, Archbiſhop of *York*, ſole Legate *a Latere*, *Campejus* his Collegue being recalled. He had a Penſion from the Emperour, and the King of *France*, and made a vaſt Advantage of his *Chancellorſhip*, by the Privileges the King had annexed to it. Beſides this, the King never ceaſed to make him Preſents, and give him Occaſions of increaſing continually his Incomes. On the other Hand, the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *France*, and the Republick of *Venice*, ſtrove in Emulation of one another to gain his Good-Will, and ſeemed, as I may ſay, to boaſt of their Dependence upon him. In the Beginning of the Year, *Francis* I. ſent him *Letters Patents*, whereby he conſented that he ſhould regulate alone the Ceremonies of his Interview with *Henry*, giving him by that an authentick Teſtimony of his Confidence in his Probity, in a Point which Kings are commonly very jealous of. Mean while the Advances which ſuch great Princes made the Cardinal, did not argue ſo much their Eſteem for him as their Fear of loſing the Friendſhip of the King his Maſter. *Francis* I. being willing to give *Henry* a freſh Mark of his Reſpect, deſired him to ſtand *Godfather* to his ſecond Son, who was afterwards King of *France* by the Name of *Henry* II. All this ſhows what a happy State *Henry* was in, and how glorious his Reign might have been, had he been wiſe enough to improve theſe Advantages. But unfortunately for him, inſtead of acting for himſelf, and his own Glory, he laboured in Effect to promote his Favourite's Intereſts.

The Cardinal's Preferments.

Henry *is Godfather to* Francis's *ſecond Son,* Herbert.

It would have been a hard Matter to conceive to what height the Cardinal's Pride was carried, if all the Hiſtorians had not taken Care to deſcribe it, and all in the ſame Colours. The Legateſhip of *Campejus* ſetting that Cardinal upon a Level with him, he could not

Cardinal Wolſey's *extreme Pride.*

1519. not long bear that Equality. By his Credit at *Rome* he had cauſed him to be recalled, and was become ſole *Legate*, with Power to viſit Monaſteries, and all the reſt of the Clergy *. To obtain this Commiſſion he had taken Care to defame to the Pope all the *Clergy* of the Kingdom, intimating thereby how neceſſary it was to commit the reforming of them to his Care *1. But this was only to increaſe his Authority, and ſubject the whole Church of *England* to his Orders. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf inveſted alone with the Dignity of *Legate*, he let looſe, if I may ſo ſay, the Reins to his Vanity. He ſaid *Maſs* after the manner of the Pope himſelf, not only Biſhops ſerving him therein, but Earls and Dukes giving him *Water* and the *Towel*. When he walked into the City he had two *Croſſes* carried before him by two of the *talleſt* Prieſts that could be found, mounted on the higheſt Horſes. One of theſe *Croſſes* was that of *Legate*, and the other that of *York*. At firſt theſe Things ſerved only for Paſtime to the People, who drolled and played upon this external Pomp *2. But preſently after they felt much more grievous Effects of the Power the *Legate* aſſumed. A new Court of Juſtice was erected, called the *Legate's Court*, the Juriſdiction whereof extended to all Actions relating to Conſcience; that is, properly ſpeaking,

He oppoſes the Clergy and People.

The Legate's Court erected.

* By Virtue of his *Legantine* Commiſſion, he might ſummon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhops within the King's Dominions, to aſſemble at his *Convocation*. He might ſuperintend and correct what he thought irregular within their Juriſdictions; appoint all Officers in the *Spiritual Courts*, and preſent to all *Eccleſiaſtical* Benefices; conſtitute Maſters of Faculties and Maſters of Ceremonies to advance his Dignity, and exerciſe a viſitatorial Power over *Monaſteries* and *Colleges*, and all the *Clergy*, Exempt and not Exempt. *Fid.* Life of *Wolſey*, p. 100.

*1 The *Clergy* were ſo defamed by the Cardinal's Information, that they were termed, *Dati in reprobum ſenſum, given up to a reprobate Senſe*, and the like, in the Original *Bull* among our Records, which Lord *Herbert* ſays, he ſhould have inſerted at large, but that it is too long and infamous to the *Hierarchy* and all Religious Perſons. *P.* 32, *Camb. Hiſt.*

*2 Inſomuch that *Polydore Virgil* ſays, it grew to a Jeſt, as if one *Croſs* did not ſuffice for the Expiation of his Sins.

ſpeaking, to all the Actions of Life, ſince there is ſcarce one wherein Conſcience may not be ſome way concerned. One *John Allen* being made Judge of this new Court, committed numberleſs Rapines and Extortions, under Colour of reforming the Manners of the People, though himſelf was a Perſon that had loſt his Reputation *. Strict Inquiry was made into the Life and Manners of every Body, which gave occaſion to the new Judge to oppreſs all thoſe that were ſo ſtubborn as not to compound with him. Particularly, he pretended that his Juriſdiction reached to all Suits ariſing from *Wills* or *Marriage-Contracts*, and drew to his Court abundance of *Cauſes*, without the King's Judges daring to ſay any Thing againſt it. On the other Hand, the *Legate* treated the *Clergy* with inconceivable Rigour, and conferred all the *Benefices* of the Kingdom on his Creatures, without troubling himſelf about the Rights of the Churches, the Monaſteries, or the Patrons. This is what had all along occaſioned fierce Diſputes between the King's of *England* and the Court of *Rome*, and given Birth to the famous *Statute of Præmunire*, which the *Legate* daily violated, the King bearing with Things in him which he would not have allowed in the Pope himſelf, and being informed of Matters but juſt ſo far as the Cardinal pleaſed. At laſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſeeing ſo many Oppreſſions, thought it his Duty to acquaint the King withal, who ſeemed ſurprized, and charged the Archbiſhop to tell the Cardinal, that it was his Pleaſure he ſhould correct whatever had been done amiſs *1. The Iſſue of this Remonſtrance was, that the Cardinal owed the Archbiſhop the greater Spite, having already a Spleen againſt him for ſubſcribing himſelf in one of his Letters, *Your Brother of Canter-* 1519.

* He was thought to be guilty of Perjury. *Herbert*, *p.* 33.

*1 *Polydore Virgil* ſays, the King replied to the Archbiſhop, *That he ſhould not have heard of theſe Things but by him*; adding, that *no Man is ſo blind any where as in his own Houſe; therefore I pray you* (ſays he) *Father, go to* Wolſey, *and tell him, if any Thing be amiſs that he amend it.* Herbert, p. 33.

1519. *Canterbury* *. But shortly after a poor Priest of *London* *1 having had the Courage to accuse the Judge of the *Legate's Court*, it was not possible to hinder the Matter from coming to the King's Knowledge. As the Judge was convicted of numberless Misdemeanours, the King reprimanded the *Cardinal* so sharply, that from thenceforward he became, if not better, yet more wary at least.

Cardinal Wolsey *aspires to the Popedom by means of the Emperour.* Herbert.

The Grandeur, Riches, Power, and Authority *Wolsey* enjoyed in *England* were not capable of satisfying his Ambition, whilst there was one Step higher which a *Churchman* might ascend. He had began some Time since to take Measures to become Pope, when the *See* should be vacant, and the King of *France* had already offered him the Votes of fourteen *Cardinals*. But since *Charles* was chosen Emperour, *Wolsey* thought him best able to help him to the *Papacy*, and in all appearance kept up a private Negotiation with him on that Score. With this View it was that he gradually drew off the King his Master from the Interests of *France*, to turn him to the Emperour's Side. Mean while, he believed he could not, without laying himself too open, hinder the Interview of *Francis* and *Henry*, which had been put off till the Year 1520 *2. But he knew very well how to prevent the ill Effects which this Interview might produce against the Emperour his new Friend. Besides, he could not think of debarring himself of the Pleasure of appearing before the Court of *France* with a Magnificence little inferiour to that of a King, and of seeing himself in the Presence of the *English* honoured and caressed by the King of *France* and his whole Court, as he would probably be. This was an Opportunity

* When the Bearer of the Letter informed the Archbishop what Offence the *Cardinal* had taken at his Subscription, he said, with some shew of Resentment, *Peace, knowest thou not that the Man is become inebriated with Prosperity.*

*1 It was one *John London* a Priest. *Herbert.*

*2 Both Kings in the mean while agreeing not to out off their Beards till they saw one another. *Herbert, p.* 34.

portunity which a Perſon ſo fond of ſhow and Oſtentation could not neglect. 1519.

Affairs of Spain.

The Emperour had good Reaſon to careſs Cardinal *Wolſey*. He had met in *Spain* with Rubs he little expected. The *Caſtilians* and *Arragonians* were bent to preſerve their Privileges, which the *Flemiſh* Counſellors whom the Emperour had brought along with him, were continually ſtriking at. On the other Hand, the Emperour, on pretenſe of the *Cruſado* publiſhed by the Pope, having demanded a *Tenth* of the *Clergy*, it had raiſed throughout *Spain* Troubles which threw that Prince into great Straits. There had been alſo an Inſurrection in *Auſtria* which was not appeaſed without Difficulty. In ſhort, the King of *France* was privately labouring to find the Emperour Work in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre*, and to withdraw his Allies from him. All this made *Henry*'s Friendſhip ſo neceſſary to him, that it is no wonder he ſhould do his utmoſt to win the Cardinal to his Side, ſince there was no other way to gain the Maſter, but by the Miniſter's Intereſt. The King of *France* uſed the ſame Method, and it was this that exceedingly increaſed the *Cardinal*'s Pride; who ſeeing himſelf courted by theſe two Monarchs, had it in his Power, if I may ſo ſay, to ſet what Price he pleaſed upon his Services.

The Emperour and King of France *equally court* Wolſey's *Friendſhip.*

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan.

Whilſt all the World was impatiently expecting what would be the Iſſue of the Jealouſy between the Emperour and King of *France*, the Affairs of *Scotland* remained in the ſame Situation, that is to ſay, in extreme Diſorder by Reaſon of the Regent's Abſence. When he went from *Scotland* he hoped to be back in a few Months; but he was not ſuffered to follow his own Inclination. *Francis* I. foreſeeing that he might ſtand in need of *England*, had made a private Treaty with *Henry*, whereby he had engaged to detain the Duke of *Albany* in *France*. Thus *Henry* obtained by another way, what the Parliament of *Scotland* had flatly refuſed him. It was no hard Matter to conceive why he was againſt the Duke of *Albany*'s Return.

Francis *ingages to detain the Duke of* Albany *in* France.

1519. His Deſign was to throw *Scotland* into Trouble and Confuſion, that he might have a Handle to interpoſe in the Affairs of that Kingdom, under Colour of ſupporting the Intereſts of the young King his Nephew. He could not therefore put his Deſign in Practice better than by fomenting Diſcord among the Nobility, which the Regent's Preſence would have remedied. But the War which broke out afterwards between *Charles* and *Francis*, and wherein he was but too much concerned, prevented him from carrying his Deſigns any farther againſt *Scotland*. It was probably this that ſaved the Kingdom, which otherwiſe was in great Danger of being conquered by the *Engliſh*.

Diſcovery of Mexico *and* New-Spain.

Before I cloſe the Year 1519, I muſt not forget to remark that this Year the Emperour received the News of the Diſcovery, and begun the Conqueſt of *Mexico* and *New-Spain*. The mention of this Particular is the more neceſſary, though it ſeems Foreign to our Hiſtory, as it was the *Gold* and *Silver* which the new World furniſhed *Spain* with, that contributed the moſt to put *Charles* Vth into the Condition we ſhall ſee him in hereafter. Beſide, *Money* becoming more plenty, by the Trade which other Countries drove with *Spain*, a Man muſt not be ſurprized to find hereafter more numerous Armies, greater Magnificence in Prince's Courts, and the *Dowries* of Princeſſes much larger than had been known before. But *Spain* had the Benefit firſt of the Gold and Silver of the new World, and by that was enabled, in the Reigns of *Charles* Vth, and *Philip* IId. to aſpire to Univerſal Monarchy *.

The

* *Hernando Cortes*, Undertaker of the Expedition to *America*, going with about four Hundred *Foot*, and fifteen *Horſe*, and ſeven little Field Pieces, into many populous but diverſly affected Kingdoms, did ſo dexterouſly behave himſelf, that playing the Part ſometimes of an Ambaſſador, and ſometimes of a Soldier, he prevailed himſelf of all. And in Concluſion, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of his Countrymen and Enemies, laid a Foundation of a greater Dominion than any Man before him did. *Herbert*, *p.* 34.

The Confidence *Francis* I. had repoſed in Cardinal *Wolſey* in giving him Power to regulate every thing relating to the Interview he was to have with *Henry*, would have redounded very much to that *Miniſter*'s Honour, if on the other ſide, this Proceeding had not ſhown that he had but little Eſteem for him, in that he believed him to be liable to Corruption. Be that as it will, *Wolſey*, by Virtue of *Powers* he had received from the two Kings, made the 12th of *March* 1520, a Regulation, importing among other things, that the Interview ſhould be on the 4th of *June* between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*; That the King of *England* ſhould go towards *Ardres*, as far as conveniently he could, without paſſing however the *Engliſh* Pale, and that the King of *France* ſhould meet him at the Place where he ſhould ſtay. By that means, he ordered it ſo that *Francis* paid the firſt viſit to *Henry*. But he aſſigned a Reaſon for it, namely, that the King his Maſter having croſſed the Sea on purpoſe to ſee his Friend, it was very reaſonable, that *Francis* ſhould in ſome meaſure make him amends by advancing in order to receive him, a little beyond the Limits of his own Territories in ſome open Place appointed by Deputies on either Side. The reſt of the Regulation concerned the Safety of the two Monarchs, their Queens, the Queen Dowager of *France* Siſter to *Henry*, *Louïſa* of *Savoy* Dutcheſs of *Angoulême*, Mother to *Francis* I. the Trains of the Princes and Princeſſes who were to be Preſent at the Interview, the Place where the two Kings were to meet and confer together, and laſtly, the Diverſions which the two Courts were to take.

1520. *The Regulation of the Interview between the two Kings by* Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. 705. Mar. 12.

During the time between the Regulation and the Interview, *Francis* cauſed the Cardinal to be ſounded, in order to know whether, by his means he could not prevail with *Henry* to give up *Calais* for a Sum of Money. This Propoſal was doubtleſs attended with ſecret Promiſes to the *Cardinal*, anſwerable to ſo great a Piece of Service, ſince he did not think fit to reject it. He durſt not however ſpeak of it directly to

Francis *gains* Wolſey *to get* Calais *given up.* Herbert. *But he dares not propoſe it to the King.*

1520. to the King: but tried to manage it ſo that others ſhould put it into his Head, that in caſe the King adviſed with him about it, he might give his Opinion the more freely. To that Purpoſe, in his ordinary Converſation he would frequently turn the Diſcourſe upon *Calais*, and ſay as it were accidentally, *what have we to do with this* Calais, *that* [*lies on the Continent and* *] *coſts us ſo much? It were to be wiſhed we were well rid of it!* This Artifice failing, he never ventured to make the King ſo extraordinary a Propoſal, eſpecially as he did not now care ſo much to oblige the King of *France*, being almoſt determined to ſide with the Emperour.

* Herbert.

Henry *ſets out for the Interview. The Emperor arrives at* Dover.

The time of the Interview approaching, *Henry* came to *Canterbury* on the 25th of *May*, in order to ſpend his *Whitſuntide* there, and then to go on to *Calais*. But next day News was brought him that the Emperor was landed at *Dover*. This was a Surpriſe to the whole Court, and perhaps to the King himſelf. But the Cardinal had no Reaſon to be ſurpriſed, ſeeing the Emperour, ever ſince the 29th of *March* laſt, had promiſed by *Letters Patents* dated at *Compoſtella*, to give or cauſe to be given him by the Pope, the Biſhoprick of *Badajos* *, within two Months after he ſhould confer in Perſon with the King of *England*, as appears by *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. Hence it is plain that the Emperour's Journey to *England* had been reſolved upon ever ſince *March*, at leaſt between the Emperour and the *Cardinal*. But it is uncertain whether the King knew any thing of it. However the *Cardinal* was commiſſioned to go and welcome the Emperour at *Dover*, where the King came alſo on the Morrow. Then the two Monarchs went together to *Canterbury*, where *Henry* ſent for his Queen, who was extremely glad to ſee her Nephew the Emperour, having never ſeen him before

Act. Pub. XIII. 714.

* In *Eſtremadura*. It is deemed one of the Bulwarks of *Spain*. The Earl of *Galloway* who commanded the *Britiſh* Troops in thoſe Parts, had his Right-hand ſhot off Here.

before *. The Emperour's Aim in this Viſit was to diſſwade the King from the Interview he was going to have with *Francis*; but he could not prevail, *Henry* having made him ſenſible that he could not go back with Honour. But it is very likely he had in view likewiſe the making ſure of Cardinal *Wolſey* that he might, by his Means, gain the King to his Side. It is the common Opinion that his Journey was not in vain; but that he could not obtain the Cardinal's Intereſt by any thing leſs than promiſing to uſe all his Endeavours to raiſe him to the *Papacy* in caſe *Leo* X. died before him. Though the Emperour had not got all he deſired, he departed however very well ſatisfied with his Viſit, *Henry* having promiſed he would not enter into any Ingagement with the King of *France* to his Prejudice. On the 30th of *May*, *Charles* ſet out for *Flanders* and *Henry* for *Calais*. 1520.

He promiſes the Pontificate to Wolſey.

I ſhall not ſtay here to deſcribe the Interview of the two Monarchs which was performed between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, after the manner preſcribed by the Cardinal. All the while it laſted, there was nothing but Banquets, Turnaments, Balls, Maſquerades, and other Diverſions, wherein the two Courts mixed together to their mutual Satisfaction. Every thing on both Sides was ſo Magnificent, that the Aſſembly was called *the Camp of the Cloth of Gold* *. But amidſt all

The Interview of Francis *and* Henry. Herbert.

* The Emperour ſaw likewiſe the Queen *Dowager* of *France*, *Henry*'s Siſter (once propoſed for his Wife) at the Sight of whom (ſays *Polydore*) he was ſo ſad, (ſhe being a celebrated Beauty) that he could not be perſwaded to dance. *Herbert*, *p.* 36.

*1 The King cauſed a Building 328 Foot Square to be erected, from which a private Gallery reached to the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*. The Parts of this great Building were artificially framed in *England*, and afterwards taken aſunder and brought home. The Model whereof Lord *Herbert* ſays, was at *Greenwich* in his Time. The two Kings met on the 7th of *June*, in the Vale of *Andren*, and alighting walked hand in hand to a Tent of Cloth of Gold. On the 9th they came and viewed the Camp or Place of Exerciſe, 300 Yards long, and 106 broad, with Scaffolds on the Side for the Beholders. There were alſo ſet up two *Artificial* Trees, with the Arms of the two Kings and their Aſſiſtants, on which were affixed the Articles of the *Juſts*, &c. *June* 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th.

1520. *Treaty between them.* Act. Pub. XIII. 719. *Jun.* 6.

the Pleasures which the two Courts took together, Business however was not neglected. The following Articles were agreed upon by the two Kings at their Conferences: That after *Francis* should have done paying the Million of Crowns, according to the late Treaty, he should give *Henry* an annual Pension, for life, of a Hundred Thousand *Livres Tournois*; That in case the Dauphin should become King of *England* by his Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, the Pension should be continued to *Mary* and her Heirs for Ever; That the Differences between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, should be referred to the Arbitration of *Louïsa* of *Savoy* the King of *France*'s Mother, and the Cardinal of *York*. The two Kings parted not till the 24th of *June*, after passing about three Weeks together, in continual Diversions.

Henry *goes to see the Emperor to* Gravel-ing.

Henry being come back to *Calais* was pleased before he went to *England* to return the Visit the Emperor had made him at *Canterbury*. To that end, he came to *Graveling* on the 10th of *July*, and returned the same Day to *Calais*. On the Morrow, the Emperor with the Lady *Margaret* his Aunt, Governess of *the Low-Countries*, went to see *Henry* at *Calais* and stayed three Days with him. These mutual Visits made *Francis* extremely Jealous, and not without Reason. In all likelihood, it was then that the first Foundations of the Alliance were laid which was concluded afterwards

The Emperor returns his Visit.

15th, the two Kings, with 7 Assistants each, encounter'd all Comers, and came off with Applause. *June* 16th was spent in feasting and dancing with the Queens and other Ladies. *June* 17th being *Sunday*, and the 18th being foul Weather, they reposed. The 19th they continued their Courses. On the 20th the *Tourney* began, where our King particularly got that Honour that a brave *French* Nobleman with whom he fought, presented him with his Horse as a Gage of his being overcome. On the 21st the Sport was so rough, that 4 of the Assistants were hurt. On the 22d the *Barriers* began. The 23d our King with his Sister Queen *Mary*, went in masquing Habits to see the *French* Queen at *Ardres*, *Francis* likewise going to the *English* Queen. On the 24th, after many Compliments, Embraces and rich Presents, they took leave of one another. *Herbert*, p. 37. See *Hall*, who seems to have been an Eye-witness.

afterwards between the Emperour and *Henry*. In a few Days after *Henry* returned to *England*. 1520.

The greateſt Princes had very good reaſon to court Cardinal *Wolſey*. He had an abſolute Sway over his Maſter, who, as his Affairs then ſtood, could make the Ballance incline to which Side he pleaſed. The *Senate* of *Venice* foreſeeing that it would not be long before a War was kindled in *Italy*, endeavoured beforehand to make *Wolſey* their Friend, by ſhowing their great Eſteem for him. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter from the *Doge* to the Cardinal, to congratulate him upon the Interview of the two Kings as a Work of his conſummate Wiſdom *. *Letter of the Doge of* Venice *to the Cardinal.* Act Pub. XIII. 724. July 6.

But this was only Words; whereas the Pope, who found he ſhould ſoon ſtand in need of the Cardinal, thought he muſt gain him by ſomething more ſubſtantial. He granted him, as appears by *the Collection*, on the 29th of *July*, a Penſion of Two Thouſand Ducats upon the Biſhoprick of *Palencia* in *Spain*, and conſtituted him perpetual Adminiſtrator of the *See* of *Badajos*, the Benefices he had or ſhould have for the future remaining entire. There is no doubt but this was done with the Emperour's Conſent, who endeavoured by degrees to gain ſo powerful a *Miniſter*, whoſe Credit was very neceſſary in the preſent Situation of his Affairs. He had left *Spain* full of Troubles, occaſioned by the Greedineſs of the *Flemings*, who inriched themſelves at the Expence of the *Spaniards*. This had even obliged him to go from thence with ſome Precipitation, for fear of being embroiled in Troubles which might have prevented his going to receive the Imperial Crown. He had left for Governours in *Spain*, *Adrian Florentias* Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, and the Conſtable of *Caſtile*. But he was no ſooner gone, but ſeveral Lords and ſome Cities of *Caſtile* joined in a League for the Defence of their Liberties, *The Pope grants the Cardinal Penſions upon* Spaniſh *Sees.* *Troubles in* Spain.

* In this Letter the *Doge* gives him the Title of *Majeſty*, as is done in ſeveral Letters to him from the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*. *Fiddes*. p. 167.

1520. and to chase away the *Flemings*. This League was followed by an open Rebellion, which very much embarrassed the two Governours. Mean while, having drawn together a Body of Troops, consisting partly of the Garrisons that had been left in *Navarre*, they formed a good Army, and at length defeated and reduced the Male-Contents to Obedience.

The Emperour is crowned.

Whilst these Things passed in *Spain*, the Emperour was busy in preparing for his Coronation, which was solemnized on the 21st of *October* *.

The Pope follicites the Elector of Saxony *against* Luther.

He excommunicates him, who appeals to a Council.

Luther's Defection made then a great Noise in *Germany*. *Leo* X endeavoured to stir up all the Princes of the Empire against this *Doctor*, who had been so bold as to appeal to a *General Council* in spite of Pope *Pius the Second*'s *Bull*. In short, after having tried in vain to win him by Promises or to frighten him by Threats, he published a *Bull* of *Excommunication* against him and his Followers. But *Luther*, without being frightned at these *Thunders*, renewed his Appeal to a *Council* in very harsh Terms. The Pope exasperated that a poor Monk should dare to brave him thus, desired the Elector of *Saxony* to put him to Death, or send him to *Rome*. The Elector refusing to do either, the Pope's *Nuncio* ordered *Luther*'s Books to be publickly burnt at *Cologn*, and *Luther*, in revenge, caused the [Pope's *Bull* and the] *Decretals* to be burnt openly at *Wittemburg*, and published a *Manifesto* in Defence of his Proceedings. He found himself supported by the Elector his Sovereign, who earnestly desired to see a Reformation in the *Church*.

The Duke of Wittemberg *loses his Dominions.*

In the mean while the Duke of *Wittembergh*, who at the Instances of *Francis* I, had left the League of *Swabia*, was driven out of his Dominions, and the Emperour purchased them. As the King of *France* was not then in Condition to protect him, he was forced to yield to the Terms the Emperour was pleased to impose

* At *Aix*, the same Day that *Solyman* was crowned at *Constantinople*, and it is observable that as *Charles* was the XIth from *Albertus*, in whose time the House of the *Ottomans* began, so *Solyman* was the XIth Prince of his Race.

poſe upon him, without any Proſpect of being reſtored. 1520.

The Troubles continued all this while among the *Scots*, who were divided in two Factions, whereof *Andrew Hamilton*, and *George Dowglaſs* Earl of *Arran* were the Heads. During the Year 1520, the *Hamiltonians* found means to conſtrain *Alexander Dowglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, one of thoſe whom the Regent had left to govern in his Abſence, to quit his Poſt. After which they would have taken away his Life. But with fourſcore Men he beat in the Streets of *Edinburgh* above a Thouſand of his Enemies, and drove them out of the City. All this ſerved only to exaſperate more and more the Factions againſt one another, inſomuch that at laſt the Earl of *Arran* took to his Party all the Friends of the two *Humes*'s, whom the Regent had beheaded, that with their Help he might be able to withſtand his Enemies. Theſe were the ſad Effects cauſed by the Regent's Abſence, whom the King of *England* hindered from returning to *Scotland*. Mean while, the Truce between the two Kingdoms were farther prolonged to the Month of *April* next Year, by the King of *France*'s Mediation, and the Council of *Scotland* poſitively promiſed to ſend an honourable Embaſſy to the King of *England* to ſue for Peace.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchan.

Act. Pub. XIII. 727.

The Poſture of Affairs in the Beginning of the Year 1521, afforded no Proſpect that the Peace of *Europe* could be long preſerved. Four Sovereigns enjoyed almoſt the Whole, and had a great Influence over that Part they were not poſſeſſed of. They were all Four young, able and ambitious enough to form vaſt Projects, which could not be executed without putting all *Europe* in a Combuſtion. 1521.

Characters and Tempers of the principal Sovereigns of Europe.

Francis I. racked with a ſecret Jealouſy againſt *Charles* V, ſought only an Occaſion to ſhow the Vexation he was under to ſee him on the Imperial Throne, and was thinking to make uſe of the Pretence of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples* for himſelf, and *Navarre* for *Henry d'Albret*. But his Deſign of waging War with the Emperour were founded upon another and

Of Francis I.

1521. and more powerful Motive, and that was *Policy*, which required that he ſhould uſe all poſſible Endeavours to humble this formidable Rival, otherwiſe *France* might be in great Danger. To execute this grand Project, it was requiſite that he ſhould be wholly intent upon his Affairs, and much more ſparing of his Money, that he might be able to be at the Charge he was going to engage himſelf in. But unluckily for him, he was too much addicted to his Pleaſures, and very often put to other Uſes the Money he had deſigned for the War. Moreover, he ſuffered himſelf too eaſily to be ruled by his *Miniſters*, and ſtill more by the Dutcheſs of *Angoulême* his Mother, whoſe Intereſts were often contrary to his. However, he fancied his Affairs were in ſuch a Poſture, as he had reaſon to hope his Undertakings would be attended with Succeſs. *Spain* was diſaffected and agitated with inteſtine Broils, which probably would create the Emperour much Trouble. Beſides, the *Turks* threatned *Hungary*, which the Emperour could not abandon without endangering his *Auſtrian* Dominions. In the next Place, *Francis* flattered himſelf with having in the King of *England* a faithful Friend that would not forſake him, and who ſeemed to be almoſt as much concerned as himſelf, to prevent the too great Power of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. In a word, he imagined he had room to hope that the Pope, with whom he was in Treaty about the Conqueſt of *Naples*, inſtead of helping to increaſe the Emperour's Power, would do his utmoſt to humble a Neighbour who muſt needs be a Terror to him. All this was backed with the Alliances *Francis* had made with the *Venetians* and *Swiſs*, who joining with the Pope and King of *England*, would naturally render him ſuperior to his Enemy, whoſe Kingdoms lying at a Diſtance from each other, were not ſo capable of giving one another mutual Aſſiſtance. Thus *Francis*, led on by theſe outward Appearances, formed extraordinary Projects ſuitable to his Ambition and Age, being then but Twenty-ſeven Years old.

As

As for *Charles* V, he had done nothing yet that might afford a very advantagious Idea of him. His Youth had been ſpent under the Guardianſhip of the Emperour *Maximilian* his Grandfather, and *Margaret* of *Auſtria* his Aunt, and ſince he had aſſumed the Adminiſtration of *the Low-Countries*, his Governour *Chievres* did every thing in the Name of the Prince. His firſt Proceedings, after the Death of King *Ferdinand*, begot no great Opinion of him, ſeeing he had ſcarce ſet his Foot in *Spain*, before the Country was all in Commotion. His Promotion to the Empire was owing, it may be, to the little Eſteem the World had for him. However, he was the moſt potent Prince then in *Europe*. Beſides the Imperial Dignity he poſſeſſed all *Spain*, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, *the Low-Countries*, the Archdutchy of *Auſtria*, and many other Provinces and Lordſhips in *Germany*. So that with his own Forces only, he was able to ſtand againſt *Francis* I. aſſiſted by all his Allies. *Henry* VIII was the only Sovereign that had at firſt embarraſſed him, by reaſon of his Union with *France*. But he had been ſo wiſe as to draw that Thorn out of his Side, by means of Cardinal *Wolſey*. With this he began, as I may ſay, to diſcover his Ability, which till then had been as it were concealed. After that, he applied himſelf heartily to gain the Pope, and ſucceeded to his Wiſh. Thus at the Time I am now ſpeaking of, he was become very formidable not only on the Score of his Forces, but alſo by the Proofs he had given of his Capacity. As ſoon as he was raiſed to the Empire, he rightly judged that he ſhould find in *Francis* I. an Enemy that would ſpare no Pains to make him feel the Effect of his Jealouſy. For that reaſon he thought betimes of means to ſcreen himſelf from his Attempts, not only by ſtanding upon his juſt Defence, but by attacking him firſt. He had two plauſible Reaſons: One was, that the Crown of *France* kept from him the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, ever ſince the Death of his Great Grandfather *Charles* the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*. The other related to the Dutchy

1521. *Of* Charles V.

1512. Dutchy of *Milan*, whereof *Francis* ought to have received the Inveſtiture from the Emperour, ſince it was a *Fief* of the Empire, and yet he had never vouchſafed to aſk it. He believed he had farther Ground of Complaint for *Francis*'s extorting from him the Treaty of *Noyon* as was ſaid.

In vain therefore do the Hiſtorians of both Sides ſtrive to caſt the Blame of the Rupture upon one or other of the two Monarchs. It is certain that both thought at the ſame time of making War, and took Meaſures beforehand for the executing of their Deſigns, though each of them privately endeavoured to engage his Rival in ſomething that ſhould make him be deemed the Aggreſſor. Wherefore, as one muſt not judge of the Beginning of a Rupture by the firſt Act of Hoſtility, but rather by what occaſioned it, one can hardly be miſtaken in affirming that *Charles* V and *Francis* I. were both alike Authors of a War which ſet all *Europe* in a Flame. *Charles* was not above One and Twenty Years of Age, but of a very different Character from that of his Enemy. *Francis* was too much addicted to his Pleaſures, whereas *Charles* was too intent upon his Affairs, having been uſed to it from his Youth. *Francis* was of a free and open Temper; but *Charles* was much more reſerved. He conſidered fully of what he had to ſay or do, and readily made uſe of Artifice and By-ways to come at his Ends, framing his Conduct by that of *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* his Grandfathers.

of Leo X. Guicciard. *Leo* X had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his Lot, could he have brought himſelf to live in quiet. He was abſolute Maſter of the whole *Eccleſiaſtical State*, to which he had lately added all *la Romagna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and the Dutchy of *Urbino*. His own, the *Church*'s and all *Italy*'s grand Intereſt was therefore to endeavour by all ſorts of Means to keep the Ballance even between the Emperour and King of *France*, and to manage it ſo, that neither of theſe two Monarchs ſhould become too powerful in *Italy*. This he could eaſily do, ſince his Dominions being ſituated between

thoſe of theſe two Princes in *Italy*, they neceſſarily ſtood in need of him in order to invade *Naples* or *Milan*. Wherefore, by keeping a ſtrict Neutrality, he would have probably freed *Italy* from a War, and ſo have preſerved the *Papal* Power in its full Luſtre. But he was of a too active Spirit to ſit ſtill. As he had a great Opinion of his own Ability, he ventured to engage in all ſorts of Affairs, how difficult ſoever they appeared, becauſe, let what would happen, he hoped to get off by ſome Artifice. Beſides, he had this in common with all the Popes his Predeceſſors, that the Reſpect the World had for his *Character* ſet him above the Fear of being put to a Non-plus, in caſe his Undertakings were not crowned with Succeſs. As to the reſt, he was wholly addicted to his Pleaſures, ſpending moſt of his Time with *Muſicians* and *Buffoons*, and in ſome leſs innocent Diverſions. This added to his liberal Temper, made him live at ſuch an extravagant Rate, that he was poor amidſt his vaſt Incomes, and always buſy in contriving Means to procure Money. Hence his extraordinary Zeal to form a League againſt the *Turks*, becauſe it afforded him a Handle to levy *Tenths* upon the *Clergy*, and to ſell his *Indulgences* to the great Scandal of all *Chriſtendom* *. 1521.

Had this Pope been of a more narrow Genius, he would have doubtleſs maintained the Tranquillity of *Italy*. But as he found himſelf capable of forming and executing great Deſigns, he had a mind to render his *Pontificate* illuſtrious by ſome ſignal Actions. Unluckily for him and his Succeſſors, he took it in his Head to drive the *French*, *Spaniards* and *Germans* out of *Italy*, a Project which may well be deemed extravagant. To bring it about, it was neceſſary to make uſe of one to ruin the others, and by thus making the Ballance incline all to one Side, he muſt of courſe leave himſelf and all *Italy* to the Mercy of another, Guicciard.

* This is the Pope of whom *Bembo* his Secretary reports this Saying: *It has been long and well known how beneficial this Fable of Jeſus Chriſt has been to us and our Predeceſſors.*

1521. ther, which he would have avoided by ſtanding Neuter. But what chiefly engaged him in this Project, was his Deſire to ſeize the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and recover *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, of which there was no Proſpect, whilſt the *French* ſhould be Maſters of the Dutchy of *Milan*. On the other Hand, he was ſomething uneaſy with reſpect to *Florence*. He could not help fearing that *Francis* would think of reſtoring the *Florentines* to their antient Liberties. He reſolved therefore to begin with the *French*. But he took care not to diſcover his Deſigns. On the contrary, he continued private Negotiations with the King of *France* as well as with the Emperour, and put both equally in hopes of his Friendſhip. Mean while, as his Deſign was not always to keep this Medium, he ordered Six Thouſand Men to be levied in *Swiſſerland*, and ſent for them into the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, having firſt demanded a Paſſage through the *Milaneſe*. He did this under colour of providing for the Defence of his Towns.

Of Henry VIII. *Henry* VIII was then in the moſt advantagious Situation that any King of *England* had ever been in before him. He was at Peace with all *Europe* except *Scotland*, which would have been glad to be left in quiet. Though he had now conſumed all the Money he found in the King his Father's Coffers, he was ſure however of being always ſupplied, ſince he was in a good Underſtanding with his Parliament, and had the Art of managing the *Two Houſes* in a very ſingular Manner. Thus being in a Condition to raiſe numerous Forces, and at liberty to turn them which way he pleaſed, it was doubtleſs in his Power to render himſelf Umpire of *Europe*. For that reaſon *Charles* and *Francis* were equally forward to court his Friendſhip, being ſenſible that he could lay inſuperable Obſtacles in the way of their Deſigns, and cauſe the Ballance to lean to the Side he was pleaſed to eſpouſe. It was his Buſineſs to keep always in this Situation, till obliged to interpoſe in their Differences, in order to hinder the one from riſing to the Prejudice of the other.

other. That in effect was his Aim and Intention. But unfortunately for him, his Weakneſs for his *Prime Miniſter* the Cardinal was beyond all Imagination. This Favourite had ſuch an Aſcendent over him, that he bent him which way he pleaſed, always under the ſpecious Colour of carrying his Glory to a greater Height, though in reality he had only his own Intereſts in view. We have ſeen already ſad Proofs of the great Sway he had over his Maſter, in what paſſed during and ſince the late War with *France*. He had perſuaded him to yield to the Emperour *Maximilian* the City of *Terouenne*, which might have been of great Service to him, and to keep *Tournay*, which was of little or no Benefit. After that, when he was in Poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, he had the Addreſs to make him believe that the keeping of that Place would be an everlaſting Monument of his Glory. But when he ſaw that he was like to loſe the Biſhoprick, and had ample amends offered him, he found other Reaſons to convince him that he would do well to get rid of a Place which was of no Benefit to him. We ſhall ſee preſently that he perſuaded him to make a very falſe Step in cauſing him to take the Emperour's Part againſt *France*, whereas his true Intereſt was to hold the Scales even between thoſe two Potentates. All this was done purely for the ſake of Cardinal *Wolſey*, whoſe Ambition aſpiring to the Popedom, he thought he ſhould not be able to ſucceed but by the Emperour's Means. The Penſion *Charles* had helped him to upon the Biſhoprick of *Palencia* in *Caſtile*, and the Adminiſtration of the *See* of *Badajos*, at a time when he had not yet received any publick Service from him, are inconteſtable Proofs that the *Cardinal* had ſided with him, as being ſure of governing his Maſter as he pleaſed. Theſe Things afford no very advantagious Idea of *Henry*'s Penetration. 1520.

Such were the Characters, Intereſts, and Deſigns of the four principal Sovereigns who were concerned in the new War I am going to ſpeak of. The King of *Scotland* was yet too young to be reckoned in the Number

1521. number of the Directors of the Affairs of *Europe*. The *Venetians* ſought only to live in Peace, being as I may ſay, exhauſted by the former War. However they could not avoid having a Hand in this. As for the *Swiſſers*, they were ſatisfied with the Penſion they received from *France*, and generally inclined to keep the Articles of their Alliance with that Crown. But they were not wholly ſheltered from the ſecret Practices which the Pope's and the Emperour's Agents carried on with ſome of their Magiſtrates, to try to perſwade them to ſide with *France*.

Francis I. *invades* Navarre. Bellay. Mezerai.

Francis I. having formed a Deſign to make War upon the Emperour, without incurring the Blame of the Rupture, reſolved to begin with what could not be imputed to him as a premeditated Deſign to pick a Quarrel. By the Treaty of *Noyon*, *Charles* was bound to yield up *Navarre* to *Henry d' Albret* within four Months, in default whereof, *Francis* was free to aſſiſt *Henry* to recover his Kingdom. The Affairs of *Spain* being in extreme Diſorder ſince the Emperour had quitted that Country. *Francis* believed he had a fair Opportunity to invade *Navarre*. He was the more incited to this Undertaking, as the two *Regents* of *Spain* had been forced to draw Troops from *Pampelona* and other Places of that Kingdom, to reinforce the Army which was to act againſt the League afore-mentioned. He ſent therefore into *Navarre*, in the beginning of *March*, an Army under the Command of *Leſparre* of the *Houſe* of *Foix*, elder Brother to *Lautree* and *Leſcun*. This General finding the Kingdom without Troops and almoſt deſerted, became Maſter of it in a Fortnight's Time. Had he ſtopped there, perhaps *Navarre* would have been at this Day annexed in Deed, as it is in Name only, to the Crown of *France*, ſince the *Spaniards* were in no Condition to expel thence *Henry d' Albret*, of whom the Kings of *France* of the *Houſe* of *Bourbon* are deſcended. But the Deſire of acquiring Reputation, or procuring the King's Advantage, ſpurred on *Leſparre* to enter the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, and lay Siege to *Logrogno*.

Leſparre *becomes Maſter of that Kingdom.*

He enters Spain.

Logrogno. The Regents of *Spain* had no thoughts at all of recovering *Navarre.* But when they ſaw the *French* invading *Spain* it ſelf, they drew together their Forces in order to ſtop their Progreſs. The Male-Contents themſelves who had been juſt vanquiſhed, having accepted of a General Pardon, led all their Troops to the Regents. *Leſparre* ſeeing an Army much ſtronger than his coming againſt him, would have retired; but he was puſhed ſo cloſely that he was forced to come to a Battle, wherein he was defeated and taken Priſoner. The Loſs of this Battle occaſioned the Loſs of *Navarre*, which the *Spaniards* recovered in leſs Time than the *French* conquered it. Thus the King of *France* had the Vexation to ſee his Army deſtroyed to no Purpoſe, and to let the Emperour know how he ſtood affected towards him. 1521.

Is beaten and taken Priſoner.

The ſame Time that he invaded *Navarre*, he raiſed *Charles* an Enemy from another Quarter, *viz. Robert de la Mark*-Prince of *Sedan* and Sovereign of *Bouillon*, who believing he had cauſe to complain of the Emperour, on account of being denied Juſtice to the young Princes of *Chimay*, whoſe Guardian he was, implored the King of *France*'s Protection. It is very probable that *Francis* had offered it before it was demanded. But however, *Robert de la Mark*, ſeeing he was ſupported by the King, was ſo bold as to ſend a written Defiance to the Emperour, who was then at the *Diet* of *Worms*. Shortly after the Earl of *Fleuranges*, eldeſt Son of *la Mark*, put himſelf at the Head of four or five Thouſand Men he had levied in *France*, and beſieged *Vireton* a Place in *Luxemburg* belonging to the Emperour.

Francis' *ſtirs up* Robert de la Mark *againſt the Emperour.* Bellay.

Then it was that *Charles*, who had with Reluctance agreed to the League of *London*, thought proper however to make uſe of it in calling upon the King of *England* to aſſiſt him, as he was bound by the Treaty, ſince it was evident that the King of *France* had raiſed him this Enemy. *Henry* prepoſſeſſed by the *Cardinal*, was glad of the Opportunity to caſt the blame of the Rupture upon the *French* King. Mean while,

The Emperour calls upon the King of England *to aid him againſt* France.

1521. Henry *ſends an Ambaſſador to* Francis: Bellay. Mezerai.

while, to proceed according to the Articles of the League, be ſent an Ambaſſador to require him to forbear all Hoſtilities againſt the Emperour, not only in *Luxemburg* but in *Navarre* too. *Francis* replied, that he was not Author of the War between *Robert de la Mark* and the Emperour, and that all he could do was to forbid his Subjects to ſerve or aid *la Mark*. As to *Navarre*, it would have been needleſs to anſwer, ſince it was now out of his Power to re-enter it. He performed his Promiſe as to the War of *Luxemburg*, and *Fleuranges* diſbanded his Army. *Francis* took Care how he openly ſupported the Duke of *Bouillon* for fear of affording *Henry*, who had offered his Mediation, a Handle to declare for the Emperour. I ſhall purſue this Buſineſs, having firſt ſpoken of the Affairs of *Italy*, which are of no leſs Importance.

Who cauſes la Mark *to lay down his Arms.* March 22.

Leo X *joins with* France *for the Conqueſt of* Naples. Guicciard. Mezerai.

In the Beginning of this, or it may be, before the End of the laſt Year, *Leo* X concluded with the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding at *Rome*, a Treaty whereby he joined in a League with *Francis* for the Conqueſt of *Naples*. The Treaty ran, that all that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, lying between the *Eccleſiaſtical State* and *Gariglian* ſhould be the Pope's: And the reſt ſhould be for *Henry* the King's ſecond Son; but during his Minority, the Kingdom ſhould be governed by the Pope's *Legate*, who ſhould reſide at the City of *Naples*. Whatever the Pope's Intention was in making this Treaty, one may venture to affirm, he acted with Inſincerity, becauſe it muſt needs have been very diſadvantagious to him that the ſame Prince who held the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be Maſter of *Naples* too. He was too cunning and too much uſed to By-ways, for one to imagine that he went fairly and honeſtly to work upon this Occaſion. What may moſt probably be conjectured is, that his Intention was to deal by *Francis* I. juſt as *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* had done by *Lewis* XII, when he made much the ſame Partition with that Prince. At leaſt *Francis*, who had frequently experienced what Lengths the Pope was capable of going, could never believe

Francis *puts off the Ratification of it.*

that

that he really intended to aſſiſt him in that Conqueſt. Wherefore he put off the Ratification of the Treaty, that he might have Time to conſider ſeriouſly of the Matter. 1521.

Leo X finding that the Time for ratifying the Treaty was expired, ſuſpected the King of projecting with the Emperour ſomething prejudicial to the *Holy See*. Thoſe that deal not ſincerely, are ready to think all the World like themſelves. However, the King of *France*'s affected Delays were a Motive or Pretenſe to the Pope to conclude another Treaty with the Emperour to drive the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, and to reſtore the *Sforza's*. As he continued at the ſame Time ſecret Negotiations with the Emperour and King of *France*, it would be ſomething difficult to know his real Deſign, if one did not ſee a notable Difference between the two Treaties juſt mentioned. That with the *French* Ambaſſador was about a Chimerical Project, the Execution whereof was almoſt impracticable at the preſent Juncture of Affairs, and what is more, really contrary to his true Intereſt; whereas the other was to his Advantage, and ſuitable to the Projects he had formed. So in all Probability, the firſt was made ſolely with a View to get the better Terms from the Emperour. Beſides, he had been ever wont to have as they ſay, two Strings to his Bow, which he looked upon as the Grand *Myſtery* of *Politicks*. The Treaty he concluded with the Emperour was no leſs beneficial to him, than that he would have made with the King of *France*. The chief Articles were theſe.

The Pope leagues with the Emperour. Mezerai.

That the Pope and Emperour ſhould join their Forces to expel the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, and to reſtore *Franciſco Sforza*. That Prince was then at *Trent*, having retired thither a little before his Brother *Maximilian* had been diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions.

Articles of the Treaty of League. Guicciard.

That *Parma* and *Plaiſance* ſhould be reſtored to the *Church*.

1521. That the Inhabitants of the *Milaneſe* ſhould provide themſelves with Salt only at *Cervia*, a Town in *the Eccleſiaſtical State.*

That the Emperour ſhould aid the Pope to conquer *Ferrara.*

That the Sum the Emperour gave the Pope for the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould be augmented.

That the Emperour ſhould protect the Family of *Medicis.*

That he ſhould grant to the Cardinal *de Medicis* a Penſion of ten Thouſand Ducats, upon the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo.*

That *Alexander de Medicis*, natural Son to *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*, ſhould have in the Kingdom of *Naples*, Lands to the Value of ten Thouſand Ducats a Year.

They prepare for War.

This Treaty was kept ſo ſecret that it came not to *Francis*'s Knowledge, till juſt as the two Allies were going to invade the *Milaneſe.* Mean while they concerted proper Meaſures to compaſs their Ends. The Pope who had already ſix Thouſand *Swiſs* in his Service, took Care to augment his Forces on divers Pretenſes. The Emperour ordered the Viceroy of *Naples* to keep the Troops of that Kingdom in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice, and at the ſame Time he cauſed Levies to be made in *Germany*, to reinforce his Army in *Italy.* *Proſper Colonna* was declared General of the League.

Colonna *General of the League.*

Whilſt *Francis* was lulled aſleep in a fatal Security, and whilſt he left the *Milaneſe* unprovided with Troops, never imagining he ſhould be attacked in *Italy*, becauſe he thought himſelf ſure of the Pope, the two new Allies were contriving to take from him at once, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Como*, before they proclaimed War againſt him. In the firſt of theſe Projects they employed *Jerom Moron* Senator of *Milan*, who being ſuſpected by the *French*, had been baniſhed the City. *Moron* having got together great Numbers of Exiles in the Neighbourhood of *Milan*, *Leſcun*, who commanded

Attempts upon Genoa, Milan, *and* Como.

manded in the Abſence of his Brother *Lautree* the Governour, ſallied out of *Milan* with ſome Troops, and purſued the Exiles as far as *Reggio*, a Town of the Pope's, where they had rerired, and even demanded of the Governour to put them into his Hands. The Governour deſiring to be excuſed, *Leſcun* withdrew, and poſted himſelf about ten Miles from *Reggio*, within the Pope's Territories, and lay encamped ten or twelve Days. Then the Pope, who only wanted a Pretenſe to declare againſt *France*, called a *Conſiſtory*, greatly aggravated the Affront *Leſcun* had juſt done him, and declared that in Revenge he was reſolved to join with the Emperour. But he had already done ſo, and the Buſineſs of *Reggio* was only a mere Pretenſe to delude the Cardinals. 1521.

Whilſt *Leſcun* was at *Reggio*, *Adorno* baniſhed from *Genoa*, attempted to ſurprize that City with ſome Gallies which the Pope and Viceroy of *Naples* had ſupplied him with; but he could not ſucceed. A few Days after *Leſcun* diſcovered a Plot to take *Como* by Surprize, and was fully informed that the Pope and Emperour were the Contrivers. It is therefore evident, that in caſe they had compaſſed their Ends, they would have made no ſcruple to appear the Aggreſſors.

Leſcun no longer doubting that there was a Deſign to invade the *Milaneſe*, ſent the King notice, and at the ſame Time ſent for the four Thouſand *Swiſs* who were intended for *Milan*, and were ready to march. *Francis*, amazed at the Danger the *Milaneſe* was in, gave ſpeedy Orders for a Levy of Twenty Thouſand *Swiſs*, and ſent *Lautree* to *Milan*, promiſing he ſhould want for nothing. But this Promiſe was but ill performed.

Francis *orders a Levy of* Swiſs, *and ſends* Lautree *to* Milan.

Mean while, *Proſper Colonna* having drawn together at *Reggio* the Army of the Allies, went and beſieged *Parma*, where *Leſcun* had already thrown in ſome Troops. But before he could take the Place, *Lautree* having received the Supplies he expected from *Swiſſerland*, compelled him to raiſe the Siege, and

Colonna *beſieges* Parma. Bellay. Mezerai. *He raiſes the Siege.*

1521. Parma *declares for the Pope.*

purſued him to the very Borders of the *Milaneſe*. As he imagined *Parma* was out of Danger, he drew out *Leſcun* with the Garriſon to ſtrengthen his Army. But no ſooner was *Leſcun* out of the City but the Inhabitants declared for the Pope, and ſet up the *Church*'s Colours on the Walls.

Lautree *is deſerted by the* Swiſs. Colonna *purſues him cloſely.*

But this was not the only Misfortune *Lautree* had to go through during the Campain. Preſently after, he was deſerted by the Twenty Thouſand *Swiſs* he had juſt raiſed, and conſtrained to retire to *Milan*, where *Proſper Colonna* purſued him in his Turn, with all the ſpeed poſſible. Whereupon *Lautree* deſpairing of being able to keep *Milan*, quitted the Town after having furniſhed the Caſtle with Ammunition, and withdrew to *Como*, where the Four Thouſand *Swiſs* he had ſtill left, forſook him and returned Home, becauſe he had no Money to pay them. So *Colonna*, having taken poſſeſſion of *Milan*, went from thence to make other Conqueſts, which *Lautree* was not in a condition to hinder. In a word, *Francis* loſt the whole Dutchy of *Milan*, except a few Places.

Lautree *quits* Milan, *and* Colonna *takes it.*

Death of Leo X. Guicciard.

In all likelihood, *Lautree* would not have been able to ſupport himſelf long in *Italy*, had not the Pope's Death, which happened on the 1ſt of *December*, afforded him ſome Reſpite. *Leo* X. is ſaid to die with Joy at the News of the good ſucceſs of the League. Some however affirm that his Death was haſtened by Poiſon *. However that be, the News of the Pope's Death was no ſooner ſpread, but the Troops he kept in pay disbanded themſelves. Of the Twelve Thouſand *Swiſs* he had in the Army of the Allies, but Fifteen Hundred remained, and the *Florentines* retired to their own Country. Thus *Proſper Colonna* found himſelf in a few Days in as bad a Condition as *Lautree*. The *College* of *Cardinals*,

The Army of the Allies diſband.

* *Guicciardine* ſays, it was ſecretly whiſpered, but by Authors and Conjectures uncertain, that the *French* King had poiſoned him by means of one *Barnaby Malcſpine* his Chamberlain, who was impriſoned on Suſpicion; but the Proſecution was dropped, and he was diſcharged.

nals, being at a loſs what Courſe to take, gave no Orders but put off every thing till the Election of a new Pope. In the mean while the Duke of *Ferrara* recovered ſome of his Towns in *la Romagna*, and *Franciſco Maria della Rovere*, took poſſeſſion again of the Dutchy of *Urbino*. If *Lautree* had then been ſupplied with the Men and Money he had been promiſed, he would have doubtleſs chaſed the Imperialiſts out of *Milan*. But *Francis* I. entirely neglecting the Affairs of *Italy*, thought only of defending himſelf in *Flanders* and *Picardy*, where he was vigorouſly attacked. He ſtill held however in *Italy*, *Genoa*, *Cremona*, the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Novarra*, with ſome ſmall Places on the Lake *Gorda*.

1521. *The D. of* Ferrara *recovers his Towns.* La Rovere *takes poſſeſſion of* Urbino.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, the War at length was begun in *the Low-Countries*, in a manner very diſadvantagious to *France*. The Troops *Robert de la Mark* had raiſed to beſiege *Vireton* withal, being disbanded, *Francis* thought he had thereby ſatisfied the Emperor and King of *England*. It was indeed ſufficient to take from *Henry* all Pretenſe of declaring againſt him, ſince the Treaty of League ran, that in caſe one of the Allies ſhould be invaded, the Reſt were not to declare againſt the Aggreſſor, till after having called upon him to deſiſt from the War, he ſhould have refuſed. *Francis* had been called upon; he had deſiſted, and conſequently *Henry* had no cauſe to complain. But it was otherwiſe with the Emperor who was not contented with ſo ſlight a Satisfaction. He forbore however to complain of the King of *France*, but was reſolved to be revenged of *Robert de la Mark*, who had dared to ſend him a Defiance. Beſides, he conſidered that, if *Francis* took upon him to defend that Prince, as it was very likely, he would incur the Blame of the Rupture, and this was what the Emperor and Cardinal *Wolſey* chiefly wanted, that they might make uſe of that Inducement to perſwade *Henry* to declare againſt *France*. Wherefore *Charles* having prepared an Army, gave the Command of it to *Henry* Count of

Campaign of the Low-Countries. Bellay.

1521. *Naſſau*, who entering the Territories of *Robert de la Mark*, took and razed ſeveral Places. *Francis* was patient, chuſing rather to forſake his Ally, than to give the King of *England* a Handle to Arm againſt him. Then *Robert* being without remedy, ſubmitted to the Emperor, who granted him a Truce for Six Weeks. Mean while, though the Emperor had to deal only with a *petty* Prince unable to ſtand againſt him, and of whom he had been ſufficiently revenged, he continued to reinforce his Army. *Francis* ſeeing ſo many Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Champagne*, eaſily perceived, they were not ſolely deſigned againſt *Robert de la Mark*, and that he might be taken unawares, unleſs he provided betimes for his Defenſe. Nevertheleſs, he repreſented to the King of *England*, that he could not avoid taking up Arms in order to be in a readineſs to withſtand the Emperor who was preparing to attack him. *Henry* anſwered, that he would ſide with Neither, but as a common Friend, offered to become their Umpire. Adding, that if they would both ſend their Plenipotentiaries to *Calais* in the beginning of *Auguſt*, Cardinal *Wolſey* ſhould be there, to act in his Name as Mediator. *Charles* readily accepted ſo advantagious a Propoſal, ſince he was underhand agreed with the *Cardinal*. As for *Francis* he durſt not reject the Offer, though he had no Reaſon to be pleaſed with the King of *England*. But he did not know yet that *Wolſey* was wholly devoted to the Emperor. It was therefore agreed that the Plenipotentiaries of the two Monarchs, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Cardinal Mediator ſhould meet at *Calais* on the 4th of *Auguſt*.

The King of France's *repreſentation to* Henry: *Who offers to become Mediator.*

A Congreſs at Calais *agreed upon.*

The Emperour tries to lay the blame of the Rupture upon the French *King.* Bellay.

In the mean while the Lord of *Liques* having levied an Army at his own Charge, as he affirmed, ſurpriſed *Mortagne* and St. *Amand* in the *Tournaiſis* on Pretenſe of ſome Claim of his *Houſe*. The Emperor affected to conſider this as a private Quarrel in which he had no concern, though *Liques*'s Army was made up of his Subjects. His aim was to oblige *Francis* to take ſome ſtep which might give Occaſion to accuſe

cuſe him of being the Aggreſſor. Wherein he did no more than imitate that Prince who had attacked him under the Name of *Robert de la Mark*. But ſome time after, the Governour of *Flanders* having beſieged *Tournay* in Form, it was not poſſible to put ſo favourable a Conſtruction upon that Siege, eſpecially as what paſſed then in *Italy* left the Emperor no room to wear the Mask any longer. It is certain *Francis* had been ſurpriſed as well in *Italy* as in *Champagne* and *Flanders*. He had intended no doubt to attack the Emperor; but he did not expect to be invaded firſt. For which Reaſon he had need of ſome time to get his Army in a readineſs. Mean while, the Imperialiſts took and razed the Town of *Ardres*. 1521.

He diſcovers himſelf by cauſing Tournay *to be beſieged.*

The time appointed for the Congreſs of *Calais* being come, Cardinal *Wolſey* repaired thither with a numerous Retinue and carried *the Great Seal* along with him *. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he was furniſhed with ſeveral of the King's *Commiſſions*, to be uſed as he ſhould think proper. By the firſt, he was conſtituted the King's Lieutenant-General to adjuſt in quality of Mediator, the Differences between the Emperor and King of *France*. By a ſecond, he was impowered to treat and conclude with *Francis* I. a renewing of the Alliance. But in all appearence this was only to let the *French* Ambaſſadors ſee *Henry*'s Impartiality and pretended Deſign to join with him of the two Princes who ſhould be found to be unjuſtly attacked. By a third he had *Powers* to conclude a League between *England* and the Emperor, the Pope, the King of *France*, or any other Potentate whatever. Thus *Henry*, without having been yet able to examine who was in the wrong, left it to his Lieutenant to ingage him in the ſide he ſhould think fit. But it is very probable, his Reſolution

Conference at Calais. Mezerai. Act. Pub. XIII. 748, 750.

Henry *and the Cardinal act not with Sincerity.*

* For which Reaſon, many *Engliſh* were forced to go to him to receive their Diſpatches, and at home the conſtituting of *Sheriffs*, was ſuſpended, *&c.* Which things were urged againſt him afterwards in his Tryal. *Herb. p.* 44.

1521. lution was taken already, and that the Congreſs of *Calais* was intended only to ſhow he did not reſolve till after a ſtrict Information, and to cauſe the Blame of the Rupture to be thrown upon the King of *France*. All the Proceedings of the Cardinal Mediator, diſcovered that he meant not to procure a Peace between the two Monarchs, but only to find the King his Maſter a Pretenſe to declare for the Emperor.

The Emperour's Army takes Mouzon *and ravages* Champagne. Bellay. Mezerai.

Whilſt theſe things were negotiating at *Calais*, the Imperialiſts beſieg'd and took *Mouzon* in *Champagne*. Then they ravaged the Country and plundered the little Town of *Aubanton*, where the Count of *Naſſau* ſuffered his Soldiers to commit grievous Outrages; after which he went and laid Siege to *Mezieres*. *Francis* having wanted time to aſſemble his Army, could not be ready till the latter end of *September*: but he was ready ſoon enough to throw Succours into *Mezieres*, and by that means forced the Count of *Naſſau* to raiſe the Siege. The Earl of St. *Pol* retook *Mouzon* ſhortly after, and the Count of *Naſſau* retired into the Earldom of *Namur*. *Champagne* being thus freed, *Francis* ordered his Army to march into *Flanders*, where the Imperialiſts were ſtill carrying on the Siege of *Tournay*. As ſoon as his Troops were drawn together, he aſſaulted *Bapeaume*, *Landrecy*, *Bouchain*, and carried them. Afterwards hearing that the Emperor, who had headed his Army, was retiring towards *Valenciennes*, he reſolved to go and attack him: but he loſt the Opportunity by his own Fault. 'Tis ſaid that if he had made the ſpeed he might and ſhould have done, he would have infallibly defeated the Emperor, who giving all over for loſt, was gone off with a Hundred *Horſe* only, quitting his Army that he might not be a Witneſs of their Deſtruction. Upon this Occaſion, *Francis* I. gave the Duke of *Bourbon* Conſtable of *France*, great Cauſe of Diſguſt, by ſetting the Duke of *Alenſon* at the Head of the Vanguard, though that Poſt properly belonged to the *Conſtable* when the King was in

Siege of Mezieres *raiſed.*

Conqueſts of Francis *in the* Low-Countries.

He miſſes the Opportunity of defeating the Emperour.

He diſobliges the Conſtable. Bourbon.

in the Army. 'Tis ſaid the King was pleaſed to give the *Conſtable* this Mortification, to oblige his Mother the Dutcheſs of *Angouleme*, who hated him. But he had too much Reaſon afterwards to repent of his Complaiſance to his Mother. 1521.

At the very time *Francis* I. was attacked in *Champagne*, he ſent an Army into *Navarre* under the Command of Admiral *Bonnivet* who arrived about the End of *September*, at St. *John de Luz*. At firſt, he made as if he would have marched towards *Pampelona*. Then, after ſeveral Marches and Counter-marches, he ſuddenly approached *Fontarabia* and beſieged it. As ſoon as a Breach was made, he ordered the Town to be fiercely ſtormed, but however was bravely repulſed. But the Garriſon, being hardly able to ſtand a ſecond Aſſault, ſurrendered by Capitulation. This Conqueſt was of very great Importance, *Fontarabia* being one of the *Keys* of *Spain*. *Campain in* Navarre. Bellay. Bonnivet *takes* Fontarabia. Oct. 18.

Whilſt the War was vigorouſly carrying on in *Italy*, *Champagne*, *Flanders*, *Picardy*, *Navarre*, Cardinal *Wolſey* was buſy at *Calais* in treating with the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and King of *France*. This Congreſs laſted two Months and a half, without the Parties being able to be brought to an Accommodation. In all appearence, the Mediator helped rather to keep them aſunder than to bring them together. It was long debated, who had begun the War. This was the main Point with reſpect to *Wolſey* who intended to throw the Blame on the King of *France*. Afterwards, when the Differences themſelves came to be conſidered, the Propoſals of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries plainly ſhowed that there was no Proſpect of Peace. They demanded Reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and Abolition of the Homage due to the Crown of *France* for *Flanders* and *Artois*. The only Reaſon they alledged to ſupport their laſt Pretenſion was, that it was not fitting an Emperor ſhould do Homage to a King. Theſe two Propoſitions were of ſuch a Nature that *Francis* would hardly have accepted them, even after the *Account of the Congreſs of* Calais.

1521. the Loss of many Battles. On the other Hand, the *French* Ambassadors having notice of what passed in *Italy*, earnestly demanded Restitution of *Milan*, and that the Emperour should withdraw his Troops from before *Tournay*. They insisted moreover upon the Restitution of *Navarre*, to which the Emperour was bound by the Treaty of *Noyon*. If the Emperour had been afraid of *Henry*'s siding with the King of *France*, he might have granted part of these Demands without being forced to dismember his Dominions. But *Francis* could not yield up *Burgundy* without letting the Enemy into the Bowels of his Kingdom, nor quit the Homage for *Flanders* and *Artois*, without dishonour. But as the Emperour was sure of the King of *England*, he persisted in his Demands, and would make no Abatements.

Wolsey declares he despairs of a Peace.

After the Mediator had feigned a good while that he sought only to make Peace, he declared he saw no way to bring it about. Then he presented to the Plenipotentiaries a Treaty to sign, containing Articles of little Moment; namely, That the *French* and *Flemings* should have liberty to fish for Herrings till the End of *January*: That the two contesting Monarchs should enjoin their Subjects to pursue no Vessel into the Ports or Harbours belonging to the King of *England*, and to commit no Hostilities within the Territories of the said King during the War: That the Pope's Nuntio and the Plenipotentiaries at *Calais* should be at liberty to retire with all their Train, without receiving any Injury from the Troops of the two Monarchs: That the King of *England* and the Cardinal *Legate* his Lieutenant should be the *Conservators* of these Articles which should be ratified within Ten Days. Hence appears a very visible Proof of the *Cardinal*'s Insolence, who in a Treaty drawn up by himself, presumed thus to set himself upon a Level with the King his Master, by making himself declared *Conservator* with him. These Conventions were ratified by the two Monarchs on the 2d and 11th of *October*, and there is not in *the Collection of the Publick*

Treaty of little Consequence.

The Cardinal's Pride.

Publick Acts, the leaſt Footſteps of any other Treaty made at *Calais* at that time. 1521.

Du Bellay * however ſays in his *Memoirs*, that the King of *England* having ſent Ambaſſadors to *Francis* I. during the Congreſs of *Calais*, they laboured ſo effectually, that at length it was agreed that the Emperour ſhould raiſe the Siege of *Tournay*, and withdraw his Troops out of the *Milaneſe*; that *Francis* ſhould retire into *France* with his Army, and that their Differences ſhould be referred to the Arbitration of the King of *England*. He adds, that after theſe Conventions, each looked upon the Peace as a done Thing; but that upon the Emperour's receiving News of the taking of *Fontarabia*, he demanded, before the ratifying of the Treaty, the Reſtitution of that Place, and upon *Francis*'s Refuſal, the Treaty remained unexecuted. But it is very probable this illuſtrious Author, who was better acquainted with the Particulars of the War than of the Negotiations, was miſ-informed. In the firſt Place, becauſe *the Collection of the Publick Acts* make no mention of this pretended Treaty, though we ſee there was one of much leſs Conſequence concluded at the ſame Time. Secondly, we don't find in *the Collection* any Embaſſy from the King of *England*, either to the *French* King or the Emperour, in the Time which muſt have gone before this ſame Treaty. Thirdly, there is no likelihood that the Emperour would have withdrawn his Troops out of the *Milaneſe*, that is, would have reſtored *Milan* to *France*, and loſt his Hopes of acquiring *Tournay*, which was now reduced to Extremities, for the bare Advantage of ſeeing *Francis* retire within his own Kingdom. In ſhort, a Man might eaſily have perceived that *Henry* was very far from the Thoughts of forcing the Emperour to yield to theſe Terms, and he

Remark on a Paſſage of Bellay's *Memoirs.*

* *Martin de Bellay*, Brother to Cardinal *John Bellay*, was much eſteemed by *Francis* I. and employed by him in his Wars, and in important Embaſſies. He writ *Memoirs*, containing the moſt memorable Tranſactions under the Reign of *Francis* I. to the Reign of *Henry* II.

1521. he will ſtill more plainly perceive it by what follows. Add to all theſe Conſiderations, that conſidering the Regard the Emperour and King of *France* had for Cardinal *Wolſey*, it is not at all likely they ſhould conclude a Treaty without his Knowledge, and by the Miniſtry of other Ambaſſadors, whilſt he was on the Spot to do the Office of Mediator. It may be indeed, theſe Propoſals were made to *Francis*, and that he was ſo blind as to imagine they would take place, becauſe he was yet ignorant of the ſecret Engagements of the King of *England* and his *Miniſter* with the Emperour, and becauſe ſuch a Report was ſpread in the Court of *France*. Be that as it will, after the taking of *Fontarabia*, the War continued without Intermiſſion, and with great Animoſity. *Francis* I. became Maſter of *Heſdin* about the Beginning of *November*, and *Tournay* ſurrendered to the Emperour by Capitulation.

Wolſey goes to the Emperour at Bruges,

Mean while Cardinal *Wolſey* continued ſtill at *Calais*, under colour of finding ſome farther Expedient to make Peace between the two Monarchs. He frequently ſent Expreſſes to both, with Propoſals which he knew very well they would not accept. In ſhort, feigning to be deſirous to gain time, he went himſelf to the Emperour at *Bruges*, where he was received with as much Reſpect as if he had been King of *England* *. Here he concluded with the Pope and Emperour a League againſt *France* by virtue of the *Powers* he had brought with him. By this Treaty the Pope engaged to thunder the *Church*'s Cenſures againſt the King of *France*. *Henry* was to invade him with an Army of Forty Thouſand Men. The Emperour and *Henry* bound themſelves to break all the Engagements they had entered into with him. Moreover, *Henry* promiſed to give in Marriage to the Emperour the Princeſs *Mary*, who was contracted to the *Dauphin*. Theſe were the chief Articles agreed upon by the Emperour and Cardinal on the 24th of *November* 1521, which were to be ratified and put into form within

and makes a Treaty with him againſt France.

The Princeſs Mary *promiſed to the Emperour.*

* The Emperour met him a Mile out of Town. *Herb.* P. 43.

within three Months. But they paſſed their Words to keep Matters ſecret till the Time of Performance. In this manner *Henry* ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by his *Miniſter* to cruſh his Ally the King of *France*, who had done him no Injury. The only Thing he could complain of was, that *Francis* had lately permitted the Duke of *Albany* to return to *Scotland*, doubtleſs becauſe he perceived the Cardinal was meditating ſomething againſt him. A Man may ſearch long enough what Intereſt *Henry* had to declare againſt *France*, and cauſe the Ballance to incline to the Emperour's Side, he will be able to find no other but the *Cardinal*'s, who wanted to be Pope at *Francis*'s Coſt. The Death of *Leo* X, haſtened by Poiſon, as ſeveral affirm, and happening during theſe Tranſactions, has made ſome ſuſpect that *Wolſey* had a Hand in it, and the more, becauſe he aſpired to be Succeſſor to a Pope much younger than himſelf: but no Proof was ever produced. Certainly the continuing *Umpire* of the Peace between the two contending Monarchs, and the procuring Tranquillity to all *Europe*, would have redounded more to *Henry*'s Glory than all the Conqueſts his *Miniſter* flattered him with.

1521. Henry's *falſe Politicks.*

Hitherto Cardinal *Wolſey* had puſhed his Fortune to ſuch a Height, that it ſeemed a hard Matter to make any Addition to it. And yet all was too little to ſatisfy him. His *Legateſhip* had been prolonged for two Years, in the Beginning of this. But he looked upon himſelf to be too much above all other *Legates*, not to have a different *Commiſſion* from theirs. In the Month of *April* he procured from *Leo* X a *Bull*, impowering him to make Fifty Knights, Fifty Count *Palatines*, as many *Acolyths* and *Chaplains*, Forty *Notaries* Apoſtolick, who ſhould have the ſame Privileges as thoſe made by the Pope; to legitimate *Baſtards*, conſtitute *Maſters* of Faculties, and grant all ſorts of *Diſpenſations*. In a word, not content with all the Riches he poſſeſſed, or with the Means he had to increaſe them inceſſantly, he cauſed the rich Abby of

Bull to enlarge the Legate's Power. Act. Pub. XIII. 734. 739.

Abby of St. Albans giveu to Wolſey. 760, 775.

1521. of St. *Albans* to be given him this Year in *Commendam.*

Disgrace and Death of the Duke of Buckingham. Herbert.

It is no wonder, if being come to so high a Degree of Grandeur and Riches, his Pride increased in Proportion. Though the King's Blindness on his account was inconceiveable, it was not so with the Courtiers, who saw but too plainly how grosly he misled his Master, who placed so great Confidence in him. But no Man daring to take notice of it, every Body dreading his haughty and revengful Temper. The Duke of *Buckingham*, Son of him who in the Reign of *Richard* III, lost his Head on the Scaffold for endeavouring to set the Crown on the Head of *Henry* VII, sadly experienced how dangerous it was to discover one's Thoughts of that proud Prelate. He happened one Day to say, in the hearing of a Person who betrayed him *, that in case the King died without Issue, he thought he had a Right to the Crown, and if ever he ascended the Throne, his first Business should be to punish the Cardinal according to his Deserts. The Duke's Title was not altogether without Foundation, since he was descended of *Ann* of *Gloucester*, Grandaughter to *Edward* III. Doctor *Martin*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, pressed the Duke his Father to attempt to seize the Crown: but the Duke chose rather to act for the Earl of *Richmond* than for himself, as has been shown in the Reign of *Richard* III. What the Son had said in respect to his Title, was therefore rather Imprudent than Criminal, since he pretended not to the Crown but in case the King died without Heirs. Indeed, his Title might be ill-grounded: but he had done nothing in order to support it. His Crime then consisted only in what he had

* *Charles Knevet* his Steward, who was turned out of his Place by the Duke upon the Complaints of his Tenants, was the Person that informed against the Duke, and told the *Cardinal* all the Particulars which were alledged against him. The first Thing that incensed the *Cardinal*, was his speaking against the Interview of the two Kings as an idle Expence, though no Man made a greater Figure there than himself. *Herbert.*

had ſaid againſt the Cardinal, who, for that reaſon, reſolved to diſpatch him out of the Way. To that purpoſe, he won ſome of his Domeſticks, and learnt by their means that he had conſulted a certain *Monk**, who pretended to foretel Things to come, and had conferred with him ſeveral times ſince the Month of *April* 1512. In all appearance, the Duke, infatuated with his Title, had inquired of the Monk whether the King would die without Children. And that was enough to give the Cardinal a Handle to put an ill Conſtruction upon all his Proceedings. When he believed he had ſufficient Evidence againſt him, he began with depriving him of his two principal Supports, namely, the Earl of *Northumberland* his Father-in-law, whom he ſent to *the Tower* on ſome Pretence, and the Earl of *Surry* *1 his Son-in-law, on whom he conferred the Government of *Ireland*, on purpoſe to remove him at a Diſtance from *London*. Preſently after the Duke was apprehended and accuſed of High-Treaſon. The Subſtance of his Impeachment was, That he had ſeveral times conſulted the Monk concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown, and had affected to make himſelf popular. The Duke confeſſed he had talked ſometimes with the Monk: but denied that he had done ſo with any ſuch Intent as he was charged with. However, he was condemned to die as a Traitor, which he could not bear to hear when the Sentence was pronounced *2. *As a Traitor*, cried he, *No, I was never one. And I pray God, my Lords*, continued he, addreſſing himſelf to the *Peers* his Judges, *to forgive you with all my Heart. I will not ſue to the King for Mercy, though I know him to be a very gracious Prince. Farewel, my Lords, pray for me.* When he ſaid he would not ſue to the King 1521.

* One *Hopkins*, a Carthuſian of *Hinton*.

*1 The Cardinal bore the Earl of *Surry* a Grudge for having drawn his Dagger at him on ſome Occaſion.

*2 By the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was for the Time conſtituted *High-Steward*.

1521. for Mercy, his meaning was that he thought it would be to no purpoſe, well-knowing he was the *Cardinal*'s Sacrifice, who had an abſolute Sway over the King. The Truth is, the *Miniſter* had ordered it ſo, that though all the *Peers* of the Realm had a Right to aſſiſt at the Trial, there were preſent only one Duke, one Marquiſs, ſeven Earls, and twelve Barons; and in all Appearance he had made ſure of the Majority. All the Favour the Duke received was to be beheaded, inſtead of dying the Death of a Traitor*. His Death was attended with loud Murmurs among the People, and ſatyrical Libels againſt the *Cardinal*, wherein was ſaid among other Things, that it was not ſtrange the Son of a Butcher ſhould delight in ſhedding Blood. But this was all the Revenge that was taken for this Act of Injuſtice. He had got too ſure footing in the King's Mind, to ſtand in fear of theſe Murmurings, which beſides never reached the King, all about him being either Spies or Creatures of the Cardinal.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan Herbert.

The King was then wholly intent upon one Affair, *viz.* the War he had reſolved to make upon *France*, as if his Glory and Grandeur had depended upon the Deſtruction of that Kingdom; whereas his true Intereſt was to ſupport *France* againſt the Emperour, who was now grown too powerful. He was already become formidable to all *Europe*, even without the Aſſiſtance of *England*, how much more then by his Union with that Kingdom? This was owing to Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Ambition, whoſe Counſels to his Maſter were always with a View to his own Intereſts. In all appearance, *France* was juſt going to be reduced to a very ſad Condition,

* He was executed on Tower-hill, *May* 17. 1521, and was buried in the Church of the *Auguſtines* in *Broadſtreet*, *London*. *Edward Stafford* deſcended of *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, who married *Ann* Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Son of *Edward* III, left one Son, *Henry*, and three Daughters; *Elizabath* married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; *Catharine* to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*; and *Mary* to *George Nevil*, Lord *Bergavenny*. With this Duke of *Buckingham* ceaſed that great Place of *High-Conſtable* of *England*, which was Hereditary in his Family. *Dugd.*

Condition, it being hardly poſſible for her to ſtand againſt ſo potent Enemies, who were to invade her from ſeveral Quarters. *Francis* I. imagined however he had one Remedy left by means of the *Scots*, who could make a conſiderable Diverſion in *England*. The Congreſs of *Calais* having plainly diſcovered *Henry*'s Partiality to the Emperour, he made no doubt but it was an Introduction to a Rupture. In this Belief, though he was obliged to keep the Duke of *Albany* in *France*, he thought proper to detain him no longer, not looking upon himſelf bound to keep a Promiſe, the Motive whereof was now no more, namely, the mutual Friendſhip between him and *Henry*. He permitted therefore the Duke of *Albany* to return to *Scotland*, or rather he ſent him back, in hopes he would keep part of the *Engliſh* Forces in play on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. He had good Grounds to expect this Service from a Prince who was devoted to him, and looked upon his Settlement in *France* as much more laſting than that he had in *Scotland*, where his Regency was to hold but a few Years. The Duke therefore departed for *Scotland*, and arriving there on the 30th of *October* 1521, after a four Year's Abſence, reaſſumed the Regency. As he intended to ſerve *France* to the utmoſt of his Power, his firſt Care was to conſtrain the Earl of *Angus*, the Queen's Spouſe, to quit the Kingdom, deeming him one of the principal Sticklers for the King of *England*, and yet the Earl went and took Refuge in *France*. 1521.

Progreſs of the Reformation in Germany.

Whilſt the *Chriſtian* Princes were all taken up with their *Temporal* Concerns, the *Reformation* made great Progreſs in *Germany* by means of *Luther*'s Writings, which were read with great Eagerneſs. *Luther* was ſatisfied at firſt with attacking the Sale of *Indulgences*, then the *Indulgences* themſelves, and the Pope's Power to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the Grounds of the *Papal* Authority; and being perſuaded there was nothing to ſupport it in *Scripture*, he had writ upon that Subject without any Regard to the *Roman* Pontiff. He had fallen likewiſe

1521. in his Writings upon the *Celibacy* of Priests, *Monastick Vows*, and *private Masses*. Though at the Time I am now speaking of, *viz.* the Beginning of the Year 1521, he had been but three Years preaching and writing against the Pope, he had gained abundance of Followers, but more Enemies, not only by his *novel* Opinions, but also by his sharp and satyrical Stile, wherein he threw off all Ceremony with respect to the *Church* of *Rome*. The Book that made the most Noise was entitled, *Concerning the Babylonish Captivity*. The Popes were treated in it without Reserve.

In the several Answers which appeared as well against this as the other Books of *Luther*, the *Decretals* of the Popes, and the Works of *Thomas Aquinas*, were urged in favour of the *Papal* Authority. This gave him a Handle, in his Answers, to ridicule those, who in Defence of the *Papal* Power, alledged the Decisions of the Popes themselves, and the Testimony of *Thomas Aquinas*, who was *canonized* purely for having carried the Pope's Authority as high as possible. Besides, he did not show much regard for that Author's Writings; and in all probability that help'd the most to incense *Henry* VIII against him. As *Henry* had much studied the Works of *Thomas Aquinas*, and from thence had acquired all his *Theological* Knowledge, he could not bear to see an Author thus slighted, of whom himself made great Account *. He thought himself therefore a *Match* for *Luther*, and able to confute his Writings. But as *Leo* X had by a *Bull* expresly forbid the reading of his Works, and as an Answer necessarily supposed the Perusal of them, Cardinal *Wolsey* applied to the Pope for a Power to permit such to read them, as desired it with Design to confute them. This was granted him by a *Bull* dated the 15th of *April* 1521, the Pope little thinking who the Person was that was going to maintain his Cause.

Act. Pub. XIII. 742.

Henry

* As did *Wolsey* also, who was therefore called *Thomisticus*. Pol. Virg.

Henry finiſhed, in the Month of *September*, his Book againſt *Luther*, entitled, *Concerning the Seven Sacraments*. He defended *Indulgences*, *Papal* Authority, Number of *Sacraments*, and other Articles combated by *Luther*, proceeding upon *Thomas Aquinas*'s Principles as upon undeniable Truths. It is very probable he was aſſiſted by Cardinal *Wolſey*, in compoſing this Work, which was preſented to the Pope in full *Conſiſtory* *. *Leo* X, who was ſtill living, received it with great Joy, and ſpoke of it in the higheſt Strains of Flattery, making no Scruple to compare it to the Works of St. *Auguſtine* and St. *Jerom*. This is no wonder. A Book compoſed by a great King in Defence of the *Papal* Authority, could not be too much valued by a Pope. In a few Days after, *Leo* called the *Cardinals* together, to conſult with them after what manner he ſhould requite the Service the King of *England* had juſt done the *Church*. After a pretty long Debate, they reſolved at length to honour that Monarch with the glorious Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH *1. Purſuant to this Reſolve, the Pope ordered a *Bull* to be drawn up, whereby he con-

1521. Henry VIII's *Book againſt* Luther, Herbert. *preſented to the Pope;*

who gives Henry *the Title of* Defender of the Faith. Act. Pub. XIII. 756.

* The manner of Delivery was thus: Dr. *John Clarke* Dean of *Windſor*, our King's Ambaſſador, appearing in full *Conſiſtory*, the Pope knowing the glorious Preſent he brought, firſt gave him his Foot, and then his Cheek to Kiſs; after which he received the Book and made a Speech. This Copy richly bound, is kept in the *Vatican*, where my Lord *Herbert* ſays he remembers to have ſeen it. The Book is dedicated to the Pope. "In this Addreſs your *Holi-* "*neſs* may be ſurprized (ſays the King) to find a Perſon bred to "War and Buſineſs of *State* engage in a Controverſy of this Na- "ture, with a Man that has ſpent his whole Time in the Im- "provements of Learning".

*1 It was debated whether he ſhould be ſtiled *Protector*, or, *Defender of the Roman Church*, or, *of the Apoſtolick See*; or *the Apoſtolical*, or *Orthodox King*. But *Defender of the Faith* was at laſt pitched upon. *Fuller* in his *Church-Hiſtory* ſays, there went a Tradition, that *Patch* the King's Fool perceiving the King very jocund one Day aſked him the Reaſon, and when the King told him it was becauſe of his new Title, *Defender of the Faith*, the Fool made this ſuch Reply, *Prithee, good* Harry, *let Thee and I defend one another, and let the Faith alone to defend itſelf.*

1521. ferred that Title on *Henry*, and all the Kings of *England* his Succeſſors *. I ſhall not repeat here the mighty Praiſes which the Pope gave the King in this *Bull*, and in a Letter of Thanks for his Book * . One may eaſily gueſs he was not ſparing of the moſt extravagant Expreſſions to flatter a Prince, who was ſo fond of being flattered, and of whom he ſtood in need, his Nuntio being then at *Calais* negotiating with Cardinal *Wolſey* a League againſt *France* *2.

P. 758.

1522. I have already ſpoken of the League which was actually concluded at *Bruges*. *Henry* grounded his joining with the Emperour upon *Francis*'s having been the Aggreſſor, by encouraging *Robert de la Mark* to take up Arms. But beſides that *Francis* denied he had any hand in that Buſineſs, and had even obliged *Robert* to deſiſt, it was evident that the Emperour had prepoſſeſſed him, by joining in a League with the Pope, though their League was not ſo ſoon made publick. The ſecret Attempts upon *Como*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and the open War in the *Milaneſe*, by which the King of *France* loſt that Dutchy, were clear Evidences that the League had been concluded before *Robert de la Mark*'s Affair. *Henry* pretended to have a farther Ground of Complaint againſt *Francis*, which however had no better Foundation. And that was, that contrary to his Promiſe he had permitted the Duke of *Albany* to return to *Scotland*. But if one conſiders that the Duke arrived not in his own Country till the 30th of *October*, and that the League of *Bruges* was ſigned the 24th of *November*, it will be eaſy

Henry's *Reaſons for making War upon* France.

* This Bull is engraved from the *Original* with the very Hand-writing of the *Cardinals* to it, in the xiiith Volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 756.

*1 Among other Expreſſions in this Letter, there are theſe Words: *Quaſi reputantes, non ſine permiſſu divino, erupiſſe adverſus Chriſti Eccleſiam, Lutheranam hanc Impietatem, [illegible] majore cum Gloria talem Propugnatorem & Defenſorem ſ[illegible] Rym. Fœdera, xiii. p. 758.*

*2 This Year 1521 *Muskets* were invented, w[illegible]n *de Bellay* ſays were firſt uſed in this War.

easy to perceive that the League was already resolved upon before *Henry* could know that the Duke of *Albany* was returned to *Scotland*. But though upon the first Notice thereof, he had taken a hasty Resolution to combine with the Pope and Emperour, was that a just Cause to proceed to a War, which would in all likelihood prove the Ruin of *France*? The Truth is, these were only mere Pretenses to cover the Injustice of a War *Henry* took in Hand for the Cardinal's Interest, and it may be, without knowing himself the real Motives which that *Minister* went upon. 1522.

Mean while, *Henry* perceiving that the Duke of *Albany* would give him Disturbance if he continued in *Scotland*, attempted a second Time to make him go from thence. To that Purpose, he sent *Clarenceux* his Herald, with Orders to upbraid him with Breach of Promise, and with being returned to *Scotland* on purpose to marry the Queen-Dowager that he might the more easily deprive the young King of the Crown. The pretended Ground of this last Charge, was, that the Queen Dowager being desirous to get her Marriage with the Earl of *Angus* annulled, the Duke of *Albany* had backed her Suit at the Court of *Rome* *. The Duke's Answer was, that if he was returned to *Scotland*, he had been sent for by the Great Men: That he had never done any Thing to give Occasion to suspect him of aspiring to the Crown, neither had he ever any such Thought: That it was true he had countenanced the Queen's Suit, but without any Design to marry her, having a Wife of his own. *Henry sends to the Duke of Albany to go out of Scotland.* Buchan. Herbert.

Henry was not satisfied with sending to the Regent, but writ also a Letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*, containing the same Accusations against the Duke of *Albany*, *He writ to the Parliament upon the same Account.*

* She was offended it seems, at his leaving her at *Harbottle*, and very much nettled at the Love he bore to a certain *Scotch* Lady. She alledged among other Things at the Court of *Rome*, that she heard her Husband *James* IV was living three Years after *Flodden-field*, and therefore not dead when she married the Earl, so much did that Report prevail. *Herb.* p. 50.

1522. *Albany*, and a Charge to the *States* to expel him the Kingdom. The Substance of the Parliament's Answer was: That what had been reported to his Majesty concerning the Duke of *Albany*'s being returned to *Scotland* to take forcible Possession of the King's Person, was utterly false: That the Duke did nothing with regard to the King, that could beget the least Suspicion, since he did not so much as offer to change any of his Domesticks, without the Consent of the *States*, and that it was with the Queen's Advice and Consent that they had taken Care of the Guardianship and Education of the King: That they could not believe the Duke had ever intended to put away his Wife, and marry the Queen, or that the Queen had any Thoughts of having the Duke: That as for the Treaty with the King of *France*, to hinder the Duke of *Albany*'s Return to *Scotland*, it was a Thing that had never been imparted to them, neither had they any Knowledge of it: That they could not help thinking such a Treaty a very strange Thing, since they imagined on the contrary, that his Majesty should have sollicited the Duke to return to defend the King his Nephew against his rebellious Subjects, whereas they beheld with Grief, that it was he who fomented the Rebellion: That if it continued thus, they did not see how it was possible to keep a good Understanding between the two Kingdoms: That however if he would be pleased to send away the Bishop of *Dunkeld* from his Court, and without troubling himself with the Affairs of *Scotland*, leave to the Regent and States the Care of governing the Kingdom, a Truce might be concluded till the Embassy they should send to him was ready. But that in Case he would have no Truce, unless they expelled the Regent, they would endeavour to defend themselves in the best manner they could.

The Parliament's Answer. Act Pub. XIII. 761. *Feb.* 11.

The Queen of Scotland's *Letter to the King her Brother.* Herbert.

Queen *Margaret*, to whom the King her Brother had likewise wrote upon the same Account, sent an Answer, sharply expostulating with him for giving Ear to the Report concerning her and the Duke of *Albany*.

Albany. She freely owned that it was with her Conſent and Advice, that the Duke had been recalled, adding, that if he had not been ſo unkind a Brother, ſhe ſhould have had no occaſion to ſeek the Protection of a Stranger. 1522.

Henry could not expect any other Anſwer, ſince he was conſcious to himſelf that his Charge againſt the Regent of *Scotland* was only a far-fetched Pretenſe to complain indirectly of the King of *France*. He ordered however the Lord *Dacres* * to march into *Scotland* with five Hundred Men, and proclaim on the Borders, that if the *Scots* made not Peace with him by ſuch a Time, it ſhould be to their Peril. But he did not make good this Bravado. His ſole Aim was to furniſh his Party in *Scotland* with a Pretenſe to refuſe to ſerve the Regent, in Caſe he ſhould attempt to make a Diverſion into *England* in Favour of *France*. And in this his Expectations were anſwered. In *October* following, the Regent of *Scotland* having raiſed an Army to make an Inroad into *England*, was no ſooner come to the Borders, but many of the Lords refuſed to attend him any farther, alledging that they were unwilling to engage the Kingdom in a War with *England*, without Neceſſity. The Oppoſition the Duke of *Albany* met with in his Army, making him think he ſhould be able to do nothing conſiderable, he propoſed a Truce, which the *Engliſh* gladly accepted. The Truth is, *Henry*'s Aim was only to terrify the *Scots* with a Dread of the Iſſue of a War with *England* during the *Minority* of their King. The Duke of *Albany* ſeeing it was not in his Power to ſerve *France* as he deſired, went back about the End of *October* to *Paris*, in order to take freſh Meaſures with the King. Thus *Henry* attained his Ends, in avoiding a Rupture with *Scotland*, as a War with that Kingdom could not but annoy him very much in his preſent Circumſtances.

Henry finds means to avoid a War with Scotland.

The Regent goes back to France.

Mean

* *Warden* of the *Weſt-Marches*. Herb.

1522. Francis *calls upon* Henry *to aid him against the Emperour.* Act. Pub. XIII. 764. *Feb.* 23.

Mean while *Francis* I. having had some Intelligence of what passed at *Bruges* between the Emperour and the *Cardinal*, and being desirous to make *Henry* sensible how directly contrary to the League of *London* his Proceedings were, sent him *Letters Patents* inserting the Article of the Treaty, whereby they were bound to give one another mutual Assistance. After which he recited what the Emperour had done against him as well in *Italy*, as in *Champagne* and *Flanders*, and called upon him to perform the Treaty they had solemnly sworn to. *Henry* in Answer sent an Herald to proclaim War against him, alledging that he was obliged to it by the same Treaty of *London*, because *Francis* had first attacked the Emperour, and moreover had broke his Word with respect to the Duke of *Albany*. Thus War was once more declared between *France* and *England*, upon very frivolous, not to say unjust Accounts. But *Wolsey* had the knack of perswading the King his Master to whatever he pleased.

Henry *proclaims War.* Herbert.

A Tax imposed on England. Herbert.

Henry having proclaimed War against *France* without Cause, did not dare to call a Parliament in order to demand a *Subsidy*. Indeed he could alledge neither any just Reason, nor any Necessity for undertaking a War destructive to the *English* Merchants. Nevertheless Money must be had, and it was the Cardinal's Business who had embarked him in the War, to see to that. The Expedient he thought most proper was, to order the *Sheriffs* to send a List of the Names of all above sixteen Years Old, with an exact Account of what each Person was worth in Land, Stock, Moveables, and Money. This was such a Survey as was formerly taken in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, and gave so great Cause of Complaint to the Nation *. This was followed by a general Loan

* *Stow* gives an Account of this Survey from an Original Warrant directed to the Constable of a Hundred, who was commanded to charge the Constables of every Parish within the said Hundred to appear personally before certain *Commissioners*, and to bring with

Loan of the *Tenth* of his Lay-Subjects, and a *Fourth* of the *Clergy*, according to the true Value of their Eſtates, beſides Twenty Thouſand Pounds which the King borrowed of the City of *London* in particular. Thus one Injuſtice commonly draws on another. The War was manifeſtly unjuſt, and it became more ſo by the ways and means made uſe of to maintain it. Theſe Kinds of involuntary Loans, which ſome Kings of *England* have now and then compelled their Subjects to, are downright Violations of the Privileges of the People, and tend directly to arbitrary Power. If the King may oblige his Subjects to furniſh him with Money, when he ſhall think fit, though it be by way of *Benevolence* or *Loan*, one may be ſure he will ſeldom or perhaps never think himſelf obliged to call a Parliament. It is true, *Henry* was neither the firſt nor laſt that made uſe of this extraordinary Method to procure Money. But though he was ſo fortunate as to receive no Prejudice by it, ſome of his Succeſſors who were pleaſed to imitate him therein, came not off ſo well. 1522.

Murmurings againſt the Cardinal.

This General Loan made a great Noiſe over all the Kingdom. Every Body exclaimed openly againſt the Cardinal, who was the Author of it. But he little regarded the People's Clamours, becauſe he was ſupported by the King. However, though at firſt he had given Orders to exact theſe Loans with the ſame rigour

with them the Names of all Perſons above ſixteen Year's Old, dwelling within the ſaid Hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain Place aſſigned, with their Arms, and declare what their Names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Town, or Hamlet, and who are Stewards, and who Parſons of the Town, and what their Benefice is worth, and who Owners of every Parcel of Land within the ſaid Precincts, and what is the yearly Value of every Man's Land, what Stock on the Lands, and who the Owner thereof; alſo what Strangers dwell there, and what Buſineſs they follow; alſo the Value and Subſtance of every Perſon above 16 Years of Age, alſo what Penſions go thence to Religious or Spiritual Men. Which being certified, the King rejoyced, finding his Kingdom ſo wealthy (ſays *Polydore Virgil.*) See *Stow's Ann.* p. 515. This Warrant was dated at *Brentwood, March* 27th 1722.

1522. rigour as if they had been a Tax impoſed by the Parliament, he met with ſo many Obſtacles, that he was afraid of raiſing in the Kingdom Commotions which he ſhould not be able to appeaſe when he pleaſed. Wherefore the Tax was levied with much greater Moderation than he had intended. And this cauſed the *Cardinal* to be ſo much out in his Reckoning, that the King was forced at laſt to have recourſe to the uſual Method of a Parliament to maintain the War, as we ſhall ſee preſently. The *London*-Merchants were the moſt ſtrenuous Oppoſers of the levying this Tax. They would have had them declare upon Oath the real Value of their Effects: but they refuſed to comply with great Reſolution, alledging, that it was not poſſible for them to give an exact Account of their Effects, part whereof was in the Hands of their Correſpondents in foreign Countries. At length by Agreement, the King was pleaſed to accept of a Sum according to their own Calculation of themſelves.

The London-Merchants oppoſe the Tax.

The Cardinal is diſappointed of his Hopes of the Papacy

Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Concern at his not ſucceeding in this Buſineſs according to his Wiſh, was nothing in compariſon of his Vexation at being diſappointed in another Affair which touched him more nearly, and about which he had ſpared neither Money nor Pains. I mean his Election to the *Papal* Dignity, of which he thought himſelf ſure. *Leo* X dying in the Beginning of *December* laſt Year, the Moment his Obſequies were over, the Cardinals went into the *Conclave*, where they were not a little puzzled about the Election of a new Pope. *Julio* Cardinal *de Medicis* aſpired to the Popedom, and had a great many Votes for him. But the Emperour's Party and ſome *Cardinals* whom *Wolſey* had gained to his Side, openly oppoſed the Election of *Julio*. Mean while, as one muſt have two Thirds of the *Voices* to be choſen Pope, if the Cardinal *de Medicis* had not enough for himſelf, he had however enough to exclude any other. And this kept the Cardinals a good while in the *Conclave* *.

Management of the Conclave. Guicciard.

Though

* The *Conclave* is in the *Vatican*, where there is a long Gallery full

Though the Emperour had promiſed *Wolſey* his Intereſt beforehand, he intended not to be as good as his Word. His Deſign was to get *Adrian Florentius* Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, Native of *Utrecht*, and formerly his Preceptor, choſen, reckoning when he ſhould be Pope he would be entirely devoted to him. But this Matter was managed ſo dextrouſly and withal ſo privately, that the *Cardinals* of his Party, without diſcovering their Intent, were ſatisfied with breaking the Cardinal *de Medicis*'s Meaſures, till an Opportunity ſhould offer to carry their Point. 1522.

In the mean while, *Wolſey* left no Stone unturned. As he built all his Hopes upon the Emperour's Intereſt, he writ to him, putting him in Mind of his Promiſe, and repreſenting how much it would be for his Advantage to have a Pope devoted to him. At the ſame Time he ordered *Pace* who was then at *Venice* Herbert.

full of *Cells*, which are choſen by the *Cardinals* by Lot. The Funeral of the deceaſed Pope laſting nine Days, on the tenth each Cardinal goes to his *Cell*, and are ſhut up in the *Conclave* with one Servant called a *Conclaviſt*, with each a *Secretary* and *Gentleman* to attend them, carry their Meſſages and manage their Intrigues. The *Conclave* is guarded by the *Militia* of the City, to prevent their receiving any Letters; and the Diſhes of Meat (which are received in at a Window by the *Conclaviſt*) are ſearched by the Maſter of the Ceremonies for the ſame Reaſon. The Cardinals meet every Morning and Evening in the Chapel for a Scrutiny, which is done by writing their Suffrages in little *Billets* done up in two Folds, and ſealed with two Seals. In the firſt Fold, the *Conclaviſt* writes the Name of the *Cardinal* his Maſter votes for, becauſe the Cardinal's Hand would be known. In the ſecond the Cardinal writes his own Name; and on the outſide, the *Conclaviſt* writes any *Motto* the Cardinal pleaſes, as *Deo Volente*, &c. by which they know their own Billets when they are read, for the Fold containing the Elector's Name is not opened till the Pope is choſen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the *Billets* are ready, they put them, after a ſhort Prayer, into a Chalice upon the Altar, and appoint two of their Number to read the Names of the Cardinals aloud, and keep Account of the Votes for each. And this they do till two Thirds of the Votes fall upon one Perſon; and if they do not, the *Billets* are all burnt. The Court of *Rome* conſiſts at preſent, of the Pope and 70 Cardinals, *viz.* 50 Cardinal *Prieſts*, 14 Cardinal *Deacons*, and 6 Cardinal *Biſhops*, who are for the moſt Part of the Pope's *Privy Council*. See *Puffendorf*'s Introduction to the Hiſtory of *Europe*.

1522. *nice* to repair out of Hand to *Rome* to do him all the Service that lay in his Power. The Emperour was at a great Loss about *Wolsey*. He had promised to use all his Interest in his behalf, though nothing was farther from his Thoughts. It was indeed his Interest to have a Pope at his Devotion. But he knew Cardinal *Wolsey* too well, to imagine such a Pope would be guided by his Counsels. It was necessary therefore in order not to lose *Wolsey*'s Friendship, to cause *Adrian* to be chosen without the Emperour's appearing to have any Hand in the Election. As he had not won that *Minister* to his Interest, but by the Promise of helping him to the Papacy, he must needs think that if he saw himself deceived, he would turn his
Guicciard. Master against him. Wherefore the Emperour kept his Designs private, and was so faithfully served in the *Conclave* that no one could dive into them, neither had *Adrian* ever one Vote in the daily Scrutinies. Mean while he kept Cardinal *Wolsey* in hopes, and threw upon the Cardinal *de Medicis*'s Faction the Obstacles which occurred in the Performance of his Promise. At last, when they that were in the Emperour's Secrets, and managed his Intrigues in the *Conclave*, were sure of a sufficient Number of Votes, one Day as the Cardinals were met to make a Scrutiny, some one of them proposed Cardinal *Adrian* Bishop of *Tortosa* who was then in *Spain*. He enlarged upon the great Qualities of that Cardinal and the Advantages which would accrue to the *Court* by his Promotion. Whereupon they who were of the Party voted one after another for *Adrian* as if they had been inspired with the same Mind, and perhaps without knowing one another's Design. So nicely was the Business been managed. The rest that were not in the Secret seeing two Thirds of the *Voices* were for *Adrian*, voted for the same Person, for fear a fruitless Opposition might turn to their Prejudice. Thus the Election was made with unanimous Consent, and passed for a miraculous Inspiration of the *Holy Ghost*. It is not likely that *Wolsey* was such a Cully as to believe

Adrian VI *chosen Pope.*

that

that the Emperour had no Hand in *Adrian*'s Election, since the Caſe was ſo plain. The new Pope who took the Name of *Adrian* VI, had been his Preceptor, and upon his Recommendation was made *Cardinal*, and was now Regent in *Spain*. Beſides, there is no likelihood that the *Cardinals* would have thought of chuſing a *Barbarian*, for that's the honourable Appellation the *Italians* beſtow on thoſe that are not of their Nation, if the Election had not been managed by the Emperour. But however, *Wolſey* took no notice of the Matter whether he waited for an Opportunity to be publickly revenged, or whether he thought it his beſt way to keep fair with the Emperour againſt another Vacancy. The Truth is, it was manifeſt enough there would be one before it was long, the new Pope being Old and very Infirm. *Adrian* VI was elected in *January* 1522, but it was the middle of the Year firſt before he came to *Rome*. 1522. *Wolſey hides his Reſentment.*

The Emperour having made a Pope at his Devotion, and ſettled his Affairs in *Flanders* and *Germany*, reſolved to return to *Spain*, where his Preſence was neceſſary. But as he had Cauſe to fear ſome Change at the Court of *England*, on account of what had paſſed in the late *Conclave*, he thought proper to viſit *Henry* in his way thither. This Viſit was neceſſary as well in order to confirm with that Prince the Articles agreed upon at *Bruges*, as to try to preſerve Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Friendſhip, without which he could not expect the King's. He landed on the 26th of *May* at *Dover*, where the Cardinal was gone to wait his Arrival with a magnificent Train, and *Henry* came himſelf two Days after. From thence he conducted the Emperour to *Greenwich*, and then to *London*, where he was received with all the Honour and Reſpect uſual on ſuch Occaſions. The Cardinal *Legate* forgot not to ſhow his Grandeur by ſaying *High Maſs* before the two Monarchs, aſſiſted by ſeveral Biſhops and ſerved by Dukes. As he had taken a Reſolution to hide his Reſentment, the Emperour had all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatisfied with his Recepti- *The Emperour ſets out for* Spain, *and goes by* England. Herbert. *He is received with great Honour.*

no,

1522. on, and found a ready Compliance with every Thing he propoſed. After ſome ſtay at *London*, the King invited him to go to *Windſor*, where he was inſtalled of *the Order of the Garter*, into which his Brother *Ferdinand* alſo had been admitted on the 23d of *April* laſt *. Which done, the two Monarchs received the *Sacrament* together, and ſwore to the Treaty of *Bruges*.

He is made Knight of the Garter.

He ſigns with Henry *the Treaty of* Bruges.

The Preamble of the Treaty ran, that the Emperour and King of *France* had referred their Differences to the Arbitration of the King of *England*, who had ſent the Cardinal of *York* to *Calais* to decide them: That in theſe Conferences it was long debated, which of the two Monarchs firſt began the War; and after mature Deliberation, the Cardinal declared that it was the King of *France*, as well by Means of *Robert de la Mark*, as by invading *Navarre*: That therefore, the King of *England* found himſelf obliged by the Treaty of *London*, to aſſiſt the Prince attacked againſt the Aggreſſor. That moreover, he had himſelf Cauſe to complain of the King of *France*, for having broke his Word in ſending back the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland*, and for having diſcontinued the Payments of the Sums due to him. Upon all theſe Accounts, *Charles* and *Henry* looking upon themſelves to be free and clear from all Kinds of Engagements with the King of *France*, had reſolved to make a ſtrict Alliance together, and to ſeal it with a Marriage between the Emperour and the Princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s Daughter, upon the following Terms. Of theſe Terms I ſhall recite ſuch only as may be of Service to the Sequel of the Hiſtory. Thoſe relating to the Marriage were to this Effect:

Articles of the Treaty.

That the Emperour ſhould eſpouſe [by *Proxy*] *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry*, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be Twelve Years old.

That

* On St. *George*'s Day, and had the *Order* and *Habits* ſent him to *Noremberg*. He was afterwards Emperour.

That her Dowry ſhould be four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, out of which ſhould be deducted what the Emperour *Maximilian* had borrowed of the King of *England*. 1522.

That in caſe the Marriage ſhould not be accompliſhed by the Emperour's Fault, he obliged himſelf to pay Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns to the King of *England*, who bound himſelf in the ſame Sum to the Emperour, in caſe the Marriage was hindered on his Part.

The Terms of the League were;

That before the End of *May* 1524, the Emperour ſhould enter *France* on the Side of *Spain*, and the King of *England* in *Picardy*, each with an Army of Forty Thouſand * *Foot* and Ten Thouſand *Horſe*.

That they ſhould make neither Peace nor Truce without the Conſent of both.

That if any Places ſhould be conquered upon *France*, they ſhould be given to him of the Allies, who had a Right to them, and to prevent all Diſputes, each ſhould declare what he claimed as his own before the 1ſt of *May* 1524.

That if the King of *England* intended to ſubdue *Scotland*, or reduce *Ireland* to due Obedience, or the Emperour had a mind to recover *Gueldres* or *Friſeland*; if the *Scots* invaded *England*, or the Duke of *Gueldres* made War upon the Emperour, in all theſe Caſes the two Monarchs ſhould be bound to aid each other.

That they ſubmitted to the ſpiritual Juriſdiction of the Cardinal of *York* as *Legate*, and required him to pronounce the *Sentence* of *Excommunication* againſt him of the Two that ſhould firſt violate the Treaty.

That the Treaty ſhould be kept private, ſo that the common Enemy might have no knowledge of it.

That the Pope ſhould be entreated to enter into the League as a Principal, and held as ſuch, provided he accepted it within three Months.

* Thirty-Thouſand or more. *Herbert*, p. 48.

1522. That the *Venetians* ſhould be admitted likewiſe, provided they renounced their Alliance with *France*.

That the two Monarchs ſhould uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade the *Swiſs* to forſake the *French*, or at leaſt to ſtand neuter.

The ſame Day the Treaty was ſigned, the Emperour ſigned alſo *Letters-Patents*, obliging himſelf to pay to *Henry* whatever was due to him from *Francis*, in caſe *Francis*, on account of the preſent League, ſhould refuſe to continue the Payments he was bound to.

The Emperour's Bounty to Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. 769. June 8. p. 770. July 4.

But Cardinal *Wolſey* had not ſtayed to do his own Buſineſs till the King's Affairs were finiſhed. Since on the 8th of *June* the Emperour bound himſelf by *Letters-Patents*, to pay him the Penſion of Twelve Thouſand *Livres*, which the King of *France* gave him for the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. Juſt before he had obliged himſelf to pay him a Penſion of Two Thouſand Five Hundred Ducats, till he had aſſigned him the like Penſion upon the vacant *Churches* of *Spain*, in the room of that he received out of the Biſhoprick of *Badajos*, which the Emperour wanted to free from that Incumbrance. But the Emperour's Bounty to Cardinal *Wolſey* was amply made up by a round Sum lent him by the King before his Departure.

Henry *lends him Money.* ibid. Guicciard. Herbert.

The Emperour makes the Earl of Surry *Admiral of his Fleet.* Herbert.

During the Emperour's Stay in *England*, which was about five Weeks, he ſo won the Hearts of the whole Court by his Civilities, Careſſes and Preſents, that he was almoſt ſure of leaving none but Friends about the King. He gained the Good-will of the *Engliſh* chiefly by conſtituting the Earl of *Surry* Admiral of his Fleet *. The *Commiſſion* was drawn up whilſt the Emperour was at *London*, before his Journey to *Windſor*. As he was to make ſome longer Stay in *England*, the Earl of *Surry* taking with him both the *Engliſh* and *Flemiſh* Fleets, made two Deſcents upon

* Lord *Herbert* has inſerted the *Patent*, as well for the Rareneſs as Honour of the Perſon. *P.* 49. *Comp. Hiſt.* Vol. II.

on *France*, and carried off a rich Booty. Then he returned and convoyed the Emperour to *Spain*. 1522.

I muſt now briefly relate the Iſſue of the Wars which were carrying on in divers Places. The Death of *Leo* X put the Affairs of the Allies in *Italy* in a very ill Situation. The Troops of the *Church* and of *Florence* quitted the Army immediately, upon News of the Pope's Death. Beſides that, *Proſper Colonna* receiving no more Supplies of Money either from *Rome* or the Emperour, was forc'd to disband the greateſt Part of his remaining Troops, and to keep but juſt enough for the Defence of *Milan*. Mean while the Emperour ordered a Levy of Six Thouſand *Landſquenets* *, which *Franciſco Sforza*, and *Hieronimo Adorno* a *Genoeſe* were to lead into *Italy*. Shortly after *Lautrec* receiv'd a Supply of Sixteen Thouſand *Swiſs*, which made him ſtronger than the Allies, and yet he could not hinder the *Landſquenets* from joining the Emperour's Army. He had nothing to do after that but to try to bring the *Imperialiſts* to a Battle, and to that purpoſe he went and beſieged *Pavia*; but *Proſper Colonna* found means to throw Succours into the Place without running any hazard. Whereupon *Lautrec* deſpairing of Succeſs, raiſed the Siege, and went and encamped at *Monza*; and *Colonna*, who was afraid for *Milan*, poſted himſelf at *Bicocca*, a Country Seat with a large Park, capable of being eaſily fortified and ſurrounded with a deep Ditch. Here *Colonna* intrenched himſelf in ſuch a Manner, that he could not be attacked without Raſhneſs. *Lautrec* had no Inclination to attack the Imperialiſts thus poſted; but he could not poſſibly help it. His *Swiſs* wanted Money, and he had none to give them; *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, the King's Mother, having put to other Uſes the Four Hundred Thouſand Crown deſigned for the Army in *Italy*. Mean while the *Swiſs* preſſed that General either to give them Money, or lead them to Battle, elſe they were reſolved to return home. This

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

Iſſue of the Campain of 1522 *in* Italy.

The Swiſs *in the* French *Army oblige* Lautree *to fight.*

* So *German* Foot-Soldiers were called formerly.

1522. Lautrec *is defeated at* Bicocca. *He returns to* France. Colonna *takes* Genoa. Bizan.

put him at length upon aſſaulting the Camp at *Bicocca*, where he was beat back with great Loſs; after which, the *Swiſs* quitting him, he was conſtrained to repaſs the Mountains, not being in Condition to withſtand the Imperialiſts. Preſently after *Colonna* became Maſter of *Genoa*. This rich City being taken by Surprize, whilſt a Capitulation was negotiating, was miſerably plundered. In ſhort, *Francis* had nothing left in *Italy* but the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, and even they were very cloſely blocked up.

The Spaniards *raiſe the Siege of* Fontarabia. Mezerai.

In other Parts where the War was carrying on during this Campain, *France* came off much better. After Admiral *Bonnivet* took *Fontarabia*, the *Spaniards* inveſted that Place, and were continuing the Siege without being able to bring it to a good Iſſue. At laſt Marſhal *de Chabanes* being ſent into *Bearn* to take the Command of the *French* Army, in the room of Marſhal *de Chatillon* who died, raiſed the Siege, and appointed one *Frauget* Governour of *Fontarabia*, who afterwards behaved very ill.

The Imperialiſts and Engliſh *do no great Matters in* Picardy. Bellai. Mezerai.

In *Picardy* and *Champagne*, the Imperialiſts and *Engliſh* having joined Forces, did nothing of any Moment. The two Armies, commanded by the Count *de Bure* for the Emperour, and the Earl of *Surry* for the King of *England*, were ſo much ſtronger than the Armies of *France*, that the Duke of *Vendome* who commanded in *Picardy* was not able to look them in the Face. Wherefore having firſt furniſhed the Towns with Stores, he contented himſelf with annoying them with a ſmall Body which kept cloſe to them continually. In *September* the two Generals beſieged *Heſdin*. But after having ſat down five or ſix Weeks before the Town, they were forced to retire. From thence they marched to *Dourlens*, and finding the Place deſerted, and the Gates pulled down, ſet fire to it. After that, having a mind to approach *Corbie* in *October*, the Foulneſs of the Weather, and the Care the *French* had taken for the Defence of the Place, hindered them from undertaking the Siege. Whereupon, the

the Imperialiſts retired into *Artois*, and the *Engliſh* returned Home. 1522.

Thus all the Attempts of the Emperour and King of *England* would have done *Francis* no great Hurt this Campaign, if himſelf had not been the Cauſe of his ill Succeſs in *Italy*, by neglecting to find the *Swiſs* Money. Indeed, if *Lautrec* had not been forced to attack the Imperialiſts at *Bicocca*, in all likelihood he would have become Maſter of *Milan* before the End of the Campaign. *Charles* V perceived then, that in order to gain any conſiderable Advantages upon *France*; much greater Efforts muſt be uſed, and for that reaſon he continued to careſs Cardinal *Wolſey*, that he might make ſure of the King his Maſter's Aſſiſtance. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter of his to the Cardinal, full of obliging Expreſſions, plainly denoting the Need he ſtood in of him. *I return you Thanks*, ſaid he to him, *for the good Affection you have always ſhown me, deſiring you to continue it, as I firmly believe you will, for you are ſenſible that I place my whole Truſt and Confidence in you.* Again, *I entreat you to give the ſame Credit to my ſaid Ambaſſadors as to my ſelf, and to ſhow your ſelf, on this Occaſion, as I take you to be, my good and faithful Friend, for I ſhall have a grateful Remembrance of it.*

Francis's Fault in leaving Lautrec *without Money.*

The Emperour careſſes the Cardinal very much Act. Pub. XIII. 776. Nov. 11.

The extraordinary Method the Cardinal had uſed to raiſe Money, having been very diſagreeable to the *Engliſh*, he judged it would be better to proceed for the future in the uſual Way: and therefore the King ſummoned a Parliament to be held on the 15th of *April* 1523. The *Convocation* meeting at the ſame Time according to Cuſtom, the Cardinal reſolved to eſtabliſh a good Precedent in favour of the King, by exacting from the *Clergy* a conſiderable *Subſidy*. His Character of *Legate* gave him ſuch an Intereſt with that Body, that he was almoſt ſure of obtaining whatever he was pleaſed to demand. But to make the way the ſmoother, he found means to remove at a Diſtance on divers Pretences, ſome of thoſe from whom he was afraid of meeting Oppoſition, and others he

1523. *The Cardinal demands of the Clergy a Subſidy for the King.*

1523. gained by Promiſes or Threats. Matters being thus ordered, he demanded of the *Clergy* a *Subſidy* of one half of their annual Revenues, payable in five Years. *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and a Proctor of the inferior *Clergy*, one *Philips*, would have oppoſed this Exaction: but the *Cardinal* treated them in ſuch a Manner, as diſcouraged the reſt from backing them. So the *Subſidy* was granted, though the *Clergy* privately murmured, that the Pope's *Legate* who ought to ſupport their Rights, was the firſt to violate them.

He receives a Mortification in the Houſe of Commons.

The Buſineſs being thus ended with reſpect to the *Clergy*, the *Cardinal* repaired to *the Houſe of Commons*, where he made a long Speech, endeavouring to ſhow the Neceſſity of the War the King had undertaken, by aggravating the pretended Injuries he had ſuſtained from the King of *France*. He concluded with demanding a *Subſidy* of the fifth Part of the Goods of every *Lay*-Subject, to be paid in four Years. This Demand cauſed warm Debates among the *Commons*. Several repreſented, that if the Kingdom was actually invaded, hardly could the King require ſuch a *Subſidy*, much leſs therefore for a War taken in Hand unadviſedly, and rather for the Intereſt of the Emperour than of *England*. However, as the Court-Party were very numerous in *the Houſe*, it was reſolved to grant the King a *Subſidy* which was but half as much as had been demanded. The *Cardinal*, who was uſed to carry all before him, was extremely offended at the Oppoſition of *the Commons*. He went again to *the Houſe*, and deſired to know what they, who were againſt the King's Demand, had to ſay, that he might convince them of the Neceſſity there was to grant the *Subſidy* as the King required. But the *Commons* replied by the Mouth of their *Speaker*, *That it was the Order of that Houſe to hear, and not to debate but among themſelves.* At this Reply the *Cardinal* withdrew, extremely mortified, plainly perceiving he ſhould but greatly prejudice the King's Affairs, if he attempted to treat *the Commons* with the ſame Haughtineſs he did

did the reſt of the World. His Sollicitation however had ſome Effect, ſince ſomething more was added to the *Subſidy* *. 1523.

Beſides this Money-Affair, which was properly the only one for which the Parliament had been called, nothing remarkable paſſed this *Seſſion* except an Act of *Attainder* againſt the late Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been condemned by his *Peers*. As all the World was ſatisfied that this *Sentence* had been procured by indirect and irregular Methods, and as the *Cardinal* was publickly accuſed of having ſacrificed that Lord to his Vengeance, he had the Intereſt to obtain this *Act*, in order to take off the Blame which was thrown upon him. But withal, the Parliament plainly ſhowed that the *Act* was paſſed purely out of Condeſcenſion, ſince another was paſſed to reſtore *Henry Stafford* Son of the deceaſed, to his Eſtate and Honours *. A *Statute* was made alſo this *Seſſion*, impowering the King [for his Life] to repeal all Attainders of High-Treaſon, by his *Letters Patents* under the *Great Seal*.

Act of Attainder againſt the Duke of Buckingham.

The King has Power to repeal Attainders.

Theſe were the firſt Attempts made in this Reign to render the King Maſter of the Debates in Parliament. Cardinal *Wolſey* firſt ſet them on foot, and unfortunately for the Subjects, the King knew but too well how to improve the Inſtructions of his *Miniſter*. Such Favourites as he have but too much cauſe to ſtand in awe of the Parliament, and therefore they

Character of Wolſey

* At firſt every Man of 20 *l.* a Year was to pay 2 *s.* in the Pound; and from 20 *l.* downward to 40 *s.* a Year, 1 *s.* in the Pound; and under 40 *s.* every Head of ſixteen Years old or more 4 *d.* in two Years. But afterwards by the liberal Motion of ſome, thoſe of 50 *l.* a Year and upwards were induced to give 1 *s.* more for three Years to come, which at length being continued to the fourth Year, and extended to thoſe who were worth 5 *l.* in Goods, was all that could be obtained. *Herb. p.* 56.

*1 He was only reſtored in Blood, and not to Honours and Lands. However, the King by Letters Patents bearing Date the 25th of *September* this Year, granted to him and *Urſula* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *Richard Pole* by *Margaret* of *Clarence*, part of the Lands of the late Duke his Father, among which was the Caſtle and Manor of *Stafford*. *Dugd.*

1523. ſtrive to the utmoſt of their Power to leſſen the Authority of the *Houſes*, by enlarging that of the Sovereign who ſupports them. But their Labour is all in vain: very few of them fail of falling into the Hands of that Authority they endeavour to deſtroy. *Wolſey* is one of thoſe who have the moſt flagrantly abuſed their Credit, not only againſt the Nation's Intereſt but the King's too, which was much leſs dear to him than his own. He was never contented with Eſtates or Honours. On the 24th of *March* this Year he procured for himſelf the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, one of the richeſt in the Kingdom, in lieu of *Bath* and *Wells*, which he was willing to reſign. Two Months after *Adrian* VI prolonged his Legateſhip for five Years, after the Term granted by *Leo* X ſhould be expired. Thus Eſtates and Honours were inceſſantly heaped upon his Head, without however any Thing being capable of ſatisfying his Greedineſs. And indeed, he carried his Deſires much higher, ſeeing he all along aſpired to the Papacy, *Adrian*'s Age and Infirmities giving occaſion to think that his Pontificate would not laſt long. He ſtill expected to be raiſed to that high Dignity by the Emperour's Means, and therefore omitted nothing to preſerve his Favour. To this doubtleſs muſt be aſcribed the honourable Reception which was given this Year to *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who had married the Emperour's Siſter. This Prince having rendered himſelf odious to his Subjects by his Cruelties, and being on that Score driven out of his Dominions, arrived in *England* about the middle of the Year with his Queen, and was received as a King unjuſtly oppreſſed, and not like one that had drawn his Misfortunes upon himſelf by his Barbarities. *Henry* was not contented to do him all poſſible Honour, but moreover was pleaſed to renew with him the Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Denmark*, juſt as if that Prince had ſtill been in Poſſeſſion of his Dominions.

Adrian *gives him the See of* Durham, *and prolongs his Legateſhip.* Act. Pub. XIII. 783. p. 795

Wolſey *ſtill aſpires to the Papacy.*

Chriſtiern *King of* Denmark *is received in* England.

Henry *renews the Alliance with* Chriſtiern. Act. Pub. XIII. 795. Jan.

This

This was the Fruits of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Self-Intereſted Counſels, who never regarded either Honour or Juſtice, when the Buſineſs in Hand was the gratifying his Paſſions. He expected every Thing from the Emperour, and therefore he laboured with all his Might to increaſe that Monarch's Power, that he might be the better able to perform his Promiſe. It was not the Cardinal's Fault that *France* was not utterly ruined. At leaſt he formed during this Year, together with the Emperour, Projects tending to the entire Diſſolution of that antient Monarchy. 1523.

Projects against France founded on the Conſtable of Bourbon's Rebellion.

Though the Treaty of *Bruges*, which the Emperour and *Henry* had ratified at *Windſor*, ran that they ſhould not enter *France* till 1524, an Opportunity which offered having made them take other Meaſures, they reſolved to begin their Expedition before the Time, and invade the King of *France* in three different Places. The Emperour was to have a ſtrong Army on the Frontiers of *Spain*, in order to become Maſter of *Fontarabia* and *Bayonne*. *Henry* was to employ his Forces in *Picardy*, jointly with thoſe of the *Low Countries*, and the Conſtable of *Bourbon*, who had ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by the Emperour, or perhaps had offered it of his own accord, was to make an Inroad into *Burgundy*. As the Events of the following Years, for the moſt Part turn upon that Prince's Diſguſt, it will be requiſite juſt to mention the Reaſons of it.

Cauſes of the Conſtable's Diſguſt.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, had received the *Conſtable's Sword* ever ſince the firſt Year of *Francis* I. He had all the Qualifications neceſſary for that High Poſt. Perhaps he had too much Merit, ſince if we may believe *Mezerai*. *Louiſa* of *Savoy* Mother to *Francis* wanted to have him for her Huſband. But as he feigned not to underſtand what ſhe deſired, he made her his irreconcileable Enemy. From that Time, he perpetually received Affronts from the King, over whom the Dutcheſs his Mother had too great an Aſcendent. The firſt mentioned in Hiſtory, was when in 1521 the King com-

1523. commanding the Army in Person, gave the Conduct of the Vanguard to the Duke of *Alenson*, contrary to the Prerogative annexed to the Office of *Constable*. But this was nothing in comparison of another, which however is related in the History of *France*, as grounded only upon uncertain Reports. It was that the King having let the Constable know he should be glad to marry him with the Dutchess his Mother, received an Answer so injurious to the Dutchess, that he gave him a Box on the Ear. This Fact is not perhaps sufficiently attested. But however, it is certain that the Dutchess's Affection for the Constable turned to Hatred. From thence forward he was no longer looked upon with a good Eye at Court, neither did the King trust him any more with the Command of his Armies. This was enough to put him very much out of Humour. But his Enemy not being satisfied with these Mortifications, which seemed to her too slight a Revenge for Love despised, commenced a Suit against him, laying Claim to his whole Estate. The Cause was naturally to be tried by the Parliament of *Paris*: But the Dutchess put it into the Hands of the Chancellor, and some other Commissioners, her Creatures. Whereupon the Constable saw that his Ruin was determined. So perceiving no way to avoid so fatal a Blow, his despair drove him to cast himself into the Emperour's Arms. A *Flemish* Lord was the Manager of this Negotiation, wherein the King of *England* interposed, as being equally concerned with the Emperour to create Troubles in *France*. It is hard to know exactly when this Negotiation began: but we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* of *England*, that the Treaty was in great forwardness the 17th of *May* 1523. We see there a Commission of *Henry*'s to *Richard Sampson* and *Richard Jerningham*, to treat with the Duke of *Bourbon* (*a*) in order to draw him into the League. This Commission

Mezerai.

He enters into Engagements with the Emperour, and Henry.

Act. Pub. XIII. 794.

(*a*) The Name of *Bourbon* is in Blank, but it is certain that it is the *Constable* which is there meant.

miſſion empowered the Envoys alſo to receive of the ſame Prince a Promiſe or Engagement to own *Henry* for King of *France*, to do him Homage and ſwear Allegiance to him. It cannot be inferred from hence, that the *Conſtable* entered into any ſuch Engagement, but only that *Henry* intended to perſwade him to it. However the Treaty which the Duke made with the two Monarchs ran, That after they ſhould have conquered *France*, he ſhould have for his Part, *Provence*, which ſhould be erected into a Kingdom, and ſhould marry *Leonora* the Emperour's Siſter, Relict of *Don Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. The Duke was to bring into the Field an Army of his Friends and Vaſſals, to whom the Emperour promiſed to join ſeven or eight Thouſand Men. This Army was to act in the Bowels of the Kingdom, whilſt the Emperour and *Henry* invaded *Bearn* and *Picardy*. 1524.

Mean while *Francis* I, ignorant of the Deſigns of his Enemies, was wholly taken up with preparing to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, where he intended to Command his Army in Perſon. He haſtened his Preparations the more, becauſe the *Venetians* were ſtrongly ſollicited to ſide with his Enemies, on pretenſe that he amuſed them with the vain Hopes of ſeeing him ſpeedily in *Italy* with a powerful Army. But notwithſtanding all his haſte, it was not poſſible to avoid that Misfortune. The *Venetians* ſeeing no *French* Army come, and dreading to be expoſed to the Emperour's Indignation, entered at length into the League againſt *France*, about the End of the Month of *July*.

Francis prepares to go into Italy.

The Venetians declare againſt him.

On the other Hand, Pope *Adrian* VI, laboured with all his Power to procure a Truce between the *Chriſtian* Princes, fancying after that there would be no difficulty to unite them together in a War againſt the *Turks*. But as he was of mean Parts, and of a Genius very different from *Leo* X, and *Julius* II his Predeceſſors, inſtead of making the Princes ſubſervient to his Deſigns, he was himſelf without knowing it, inſtrumental to thoſe of other Men. The Emperour gave him to underſtand that he was for a Truce

Adrian ſuffers himſelf to be deceived by the Enemies of France. Guicciard.

1523. Truce with all his Heart; but that it muſt be a long one to reap that Benefit from it which was intended. He thereby laid an inſurmountable Obſtacle in the way, becauſe the King of *France* being lately diſpoſſeſſed of the Dutchy of *Milan*, would never hearken to a long Truce, which would afford his Enemies Time to ſecure their Conqueſt. That Monarch's Oppoſition gave the Emperour and King of *England* a Handle to perſwade the Pope to go one Step farther, by hinting to him, that after the Example of ſome of his Predeceſſors, he ſhould exert his Power *Apoſtolick*, which no *Chriſtian* Prince would preſume directly to ſtand againſt. Pleaſed with theſe Hopes, *Adrian* publiſhed a *Bull* dated the 30th of *April*, enjoining by virtue of the Power committed to him by God, a three Years Truce between all *Chriſtian* Princes under Pain of *Excommunication* and *Interdict*, againſt ſuch as refuſed to comply. But the King of *France* making a Jeſt of ſuch a Truce, went on with his Preparations for the *Milan* Expedition, and ordered his Troops to march towards the Borders of *Italy*. Then the Pope was given to underſtand, that *Francis* alone, by his Non-compliance and Obſtinacy, hindered the *Chriſtians* from joining their Forces againſt the *Turk*. By theſe underhand Practices the good Pope was brought by Degrees to conclude a League againſt *France* with the Emperour, the King of *England*, *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria*, the Emperour's Brother, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Genoeſe*, and the *Florentines*. This League was ſigned the 3d of *Auguſt*, a few Days after the *Venetians* had deſerted *France*.

He enjoins a three Years Truce among Chriſtian *Princes.*

Act. Pub. XIII. 790 May 1 Herbert.

Francis *rejects it.*

The Pope joins with the Enemies of France.

Italy ſeemed by this League to be ſecure from all Invaſions. And indeed, *Proſper Colonna*, who commanded in *Milan*, ſo little expected to be attacked, that he neglected to take neceſſary Meaſures for the Defenſe of that Dutchy. Mean while *Francis* purſued his Project, eſpecially as he heard there was no Preparations in Hand at *Milan*. The Emperour ſeemed wholly to neglect the Defenſe of that State, on purpoſe

Francis *is induc'd by the affected careleſſneſs of his Enemies to* to paſs into Italy.

poſe to draw *Francis* into *Italy*, reckoning that his Abſence would further the Deſigns of the Duke of *Bourbon*. 'Tis ſaid alſo that to induce *Francis* to leave his Kingdom, *Henry* had cauſed him to be privately told, that he had nothing to fear that Year on account of *Picardy*. 1524.

He ſets out for Lyons. Bellay. Mezerai.

Affairs being in this Poſture, *Francis* ſet out for *Lyons* in order to paſs into *Italy*. In the mean while, the Emperour was getting ready an Army in *Spain*, to beſiege *Fontarabia* and *Bayonne*. But this Army was raiſed very ſlowly, becauſe it was not to act till *Francis* ſhould be employed in the War with *Milan*. On the other Side, the Count *de Bure*, his General in *Flanders*, remained quiet, waiting to join the *Engliſh*, who the better to deceive the King of *France*, were not to land at *Calais* till the End of *September*. In ſhort, the Emperour ordered eight Thouſand *Landſquenets* to march in ſmall Diviſions into *French Comte*, who were to join the Duke of *Bourbon* as ſoon as he ſhould be ready. Upon that Prince's Rebellion the Allies built all their Hopes, imagining that *Francis* being in *Italy*, *France* invaded thus unawares in ſo many Places at once, would make no great Reſiſtance. Their Expectations were the better grounded, as *Francis* having no Intelligence of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Plots, had no Troops at all in *Burgundy*, but few in *Guienne* and *Bearn*, and as *Picardy* was in an ill State of Defenſe.

Project of the Allies.

The Conſtable feigns Sickneſs at Moulins.

Mean while the *Conſtable* pretended Sickneſs at *Moulins*, that he might not be obliged to attend the King. But it happened that whilſt *Francis* was on the Road to *Lyons*, he was informed by two of the *Conſtable*'s Servants, that their Maſter held private Correſpondence with the Emperour. Surpriſed at the News, he turned out of his way to go to *Moulins*, where he told the Duke, who ſtill feigned to be Sick, what had been diſcovered to him. The Duke freely owned that the Emperour had ſounded him by the Count *de Rœulx*; but that he would never hearken to his Propoſals: That he deſigned to inform his Majeſty

The King is informed of the Conſpiracy.

He goes to Moulins.

The Conſtable owns he was ſounded by the Emperour.

1524. Majesty of it, but being prevented by his Illness from coming to Court, he durst not trust any Person with the Secret. Whether the King believed what the *Constable* said, or whether he thought he could not so well apprehend him in his own Territories, he was contented with ordering him to follow him to *Lyons*. The Duke set out indeed as if he intended to follow the King, being carried in a Litter on pretense of his Distemper, and travelling by very easy Days Journies. But upon notice that two of his Confidents were arrested at Court, he privately withdrew from his Attendants, and taking only *Pomperan* one of his Gentlemen with him, he made his Escape through By-ways, and safely arrived in *Germany*.

The King orders him to come to Lyons.

He flies into Germany.

The King stays in France *and sends* Bonnivet *to* Italy. Mezerai.

The *Constable*'s Flight having made the King sensible that there was some grand Plot in *France*, which was to be put in Execution during his Absence, he gave over his Design of going into *Italy*, and contented himself with sending thither his Army under the Command of Admiral *Bonnivet*, who passed the *Alps* about the End of *August*, or beginning of *September*. Much about the same Time the Emperour drew together his Army in *Spain*, the *Landsquenets* arrived in *Franche-comte*, and the *English* landed at *Calais* in order to act in *Picardy*, in Conjunction with the *Flemings*. It will be absolutely necessary briefly to relate what passed during this Campain in these four several Places.

The War is begun in four several Places.

Campain in Italy. Guicciard Mezerai.

The Castle of *Milan*, where *Lautrec* had left a Garrison, surrendered the 14th of *April*. So the *French* had no Place of Importance in the *Milanese*, except the Castle of *Cremona*, which too was so closely blocked up, that there was no likelihood of its holding out long. On the other Hand, as *France* could expect no farther Assistance from the *Venetians*, and as all the rest of *Italy* was joined in a League against her, *Prosper Colonna* who commanded in *Milan*, made no question but the King would desist from his Design of carrying War into the *Milanese*. For that Reason he had neglected to repair the Fortifications of the

Capita

Capital City, which were in a bad Condition, the Ramparts being tumbled down in ſeveral Places. However upon Advice that Admiral *Bonnivet* was going to paſs the *Alps*, he drew together all his Forces to try to defend the Paſs of the *Teſin*; but he came too late. The *French* had made ſuch ſpeed, that he was forced to retire to *Milan* in the utmoſt Diſorder. Nay, he had reſolved to abandon that City, if by a Negligence not to be accounted for, they had not given him ſome Days Time to repair the Works. He had but fifteen Thouſand Men with which he could not expect to defend againſt an Army of above forty Thouſand, ſo large a City, which alſo was open in ſeveral Places. Nevertheleſs as he had learnt by long Experience, that one muſt not always reckon that the Enemies will do what is moſt for their Advantage, he never ceaſed repairing the Places which wanted it moſt, deeming he could but withdraw at laſt, in Caſe the *French* uſed all the Expedition they ſhould have done. If *Bonnivet* had marched directly to *Milan* without ſtopping, he would have found the Gates open. But after he had taken *Novarra* and *Vigerano*, and paſſed the *Teſin* without Oppoſition, he prepoſterouſly imagined that a few Days would ſignify nothing. So having loſt to no purpoſe four or five Days, he gave the Emperour's General Time to put *Milan* in a Poſture of Defenſe *. At laſt, approaching the City when it was too late, he found it incapable of being ſtormed, by the good Management of *Colonna*. Whereupon he reſolved to go and encamp at *Chiaravalla*, in hopes of cutting off the Proviſions of *Milan*, and of having by that Means the Imperialiſts at his Mercy. But he took his Meaſures ſo ill, that after having perſiſted in his Deſign till the End of *November*, he was forced himſelf to remove at a Diſtance 1524.

* Lord *Herbert* ſays, *Galeazzo* Viſcount of *Milan*, meeting him and deſiring him to ſtay till he had raiſed a Tumult in the City (which he aſſured him of in two or three Days) made *Bonnivet* loſe the Opportunity. p. 59.

1523. ſtance from *Milan* for want of Proviſions. All he did during that Time was to relieve the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which was reduced to the laſt Extremities. Such was the Iſſue of *Bonnivet*'s Campain, which might have been more glorious for him, and more advantagious for the King his Maſter, had he been wiſe enough to take juſter Meaſures, and to make the beſt of his Superiority. *Colonna* died ſhortly after, and *Lanoy* Viceroy of *Naples*, took the Command of the Imperial Army. The Seaſon was ſo far advanced, that nothing remarkable paſſed in thoſe Parts till the End of the Year, when the Duke of *Bourbon* come and took the Command of the Emperor's Troops, not without *Lanoy*'s great Diſguſt, who did not care to give up his Poſt to a Foreigner.

Campain in Bearn. I have already ſaid that the Allies were reſolved not to invade *France* till *September*, becauſe it was to be preſumed that the King would be then employed in *Italy*. For this Reaſon it was the Beginning of that Month firſt before the Emperour drew together his Army in *Spain*. *Lautrec* who commanded in *Guienne*, having notice that the *Spaniards* were drawing together, haſtened to the Frontiers in order to provide for the Defenſe of *Bayonne* and *Fontarabia*, which were the Places moſt in Danger. *Frauget* an Officer of note, was Governour of the laſt, having been left there the Year before by Marſhal *de Chabanes*. *Lautrec* relying upon *Frauget*'s Bravery and Experience, left him in the ſame Poſt, after having reinforced the Garriſon and laid in ſome warlike Stores. Which done, he did not queſtion but the Place would be able to hold out a long Siege. Theſe Precautions being taken with regard to *Fontarabia*, he repaired to *Bayonne*. He was no ſooner come there, but the *Spaniſh* Army appeared before the Walls, ſupported by a Fleet, which threw the Inhabitants into great Conſternation, the Town being weak towards the Sea. But *Lautrec* managed ſo well that the *Spaniards* miſſed their Aim, though they expected to carry the Place at the firſt Aſſault. Perceiving therefore that the Siege

Siege was like to take them up a long while, they ſuddenly raiſed it and went and inveſted *Fontarabia*, which *Frauget* baſely yielded up in a very few Days *. He was very near loſing his Head for a Fault of that Conſequence. But if he came off with his Life, he did not ſo with his Honour, being publickly deprived of his Nobility. 1523. *The* Spaniards *become Maſters of* Fontarabia.

The Emperour had not ſo good Succeſs in *Burgundy* and *Champagne*. *Lamothe* of *Noyers*, the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Officer, was gone ſometime ſince to *Germany*, to conduct into *Burgundy* Count *de Furſtemberg*, who, with a Body of between Seven and Eight Thouſand *Landſquenets*, was to join there the Duke of *Bourbon*. Though this Project ſeemed to be diſappointed by the Duke's Flight, Count *de Furmſtemberg* however entered *Champagne* with his Army. He took preſently *Coiffy* and *Monteclair*, ſmall Places which made no great Reſiſtance. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who commanded in that Province, knowing that *Furſtemberg* had no Cavalry, aſſembled all the Nobles of the Country, and forming ſome Squadrons of *Horſe*, he kept cloſe at the Heels of the *Germans*. *Fuſtemberg*, finding himſelf too weak in the Middle of the Enemy's Country, and having no *Horſe* to oppoſe againſt thoſe of the Duke of *Guiſe*, reſolved to retire into *Lorrain*. He could not however make good his Retreat without receiving a terrible Blow near *Neufchâtel*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* defeated the beſt Part of his Troops. *Campain in* Champagne. Bellay. Furſtemberg *defeated by the Duke of* Guiſe.

Whilſt War was carrying on in *Italy*, *Bearn* and *Champagne*, *Henry* imbarked his Troops under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who landing at *Calais*, went and joined the Count *de Bure* the 20th of *September*. Theſe two Bodies made together an Army of between Twenty-five and Thirty Thouſand *Foot*, and almoſt Six Thouſand *Horſe*. The Duke *de la Trimouille*, who commanded in thoſe Parts, was ſo much inferior in Number of Troops, that he durſt not keep *Campain in* Picardy, *where the Imperialiſts and* Engliſh *make no great Progreſs*. Bellay.

* Being deſirous (ſays my Lord *Herbert*) to ſave his Goods. p. 59.

1523. the Field. All he could do was to throw Succours into the Places most exposed, and to give the King speedy Information of what was doing in those Parts. *Francis* I. being then at *Lyons*, was at a very great Loss how to withstand so many unexpected Invasions. 'Tis affirmed, that deceived by the false Advices from *England*, he had been in hopes that *Picardy* for this Year would be unmolested, and yet he saw it was there that his Enemies intended to make their greatest Effort. In this Perplexity he dispatched immediately the Duke of *Vendome*, with all the Troops he could muster together, as well for the Defence of *Picardy* as to secure *Paris*, where he did not question but the Alarm was very great. Indeed the Duke of *Suffolk* and Count *de Bure* passing by *Terouenne*, *Hesdin* and *Dourlens* had taken *Roye* and *Montdidier*, and were advanced as far as *Corbie*. But the News of the Duke of *Vendome*'s coming, causing them to proceed more circumspectly, they thought proper to march no farther, especially as the Season began to be very incommodious, and as they were afraid of being hemm'd in by the Dukes of *Vendome* and *la Trimouille*. These Considerations induced them to think of retreating. In their way back they became Masters of *Bouchain*, the Governour whereof brought them the Keys, though they had no thoughts of attacking the Place. Then leaving an *English* Garrison in *Bouchain*, they retired into *Artois*. But presently after the *French* recovered that Town. Thus the Progress of the confederate Army was not so great as *Francis* had reason to fear it would be. Had the Army taken the Field sooner, he would have been put to great Straits. But as I said before, the Hopes the Emperour and King of *England* had conceived of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Undertaking, was the Cause they began not the Campaign in any Place till about the End of *September*.

Death of Adrian VI. When *Adrian* VI came into the League, he had no design to ruin *France* on purpose to compel *Francis* to wage War with the *Turk*; but it was insinuated to him, that it would be a certain Means to oblige that Prince

Prince to conſent to the Truce. Mean while, without the Pope's knowing any thing of the Matter, the Emperour and *Henry* had combined to invade *France* and ſhare it between them. In all appearance, if he had lived this Year out, he would have ſeen that their Deſigns did not correſpond with his; but he died about ſix Weeks after ſigning the League againſt *France*. 1523.

He was a good Man, of a Character very different from thoſe of his Predeceſſors. Inſtead of thinking of enlarging the *Eccleſiaſtical State* by unjuſt Confiſcations, he had given the Duke of *Urbino* the Inveſtiture of his Dutchy. He had done the ſame by the Duke of *Ferrara*, well-knowing that the former Popes had picked a Quarrel with theſe Princes only to gratify their Deſire to enrich their own Relations. He would have reſtored alſo *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, if the Clamours of his Council, who could not underſtand that Juſtice ought to be the Foundation of *Policy*, had not prevented him. He had thought likewiſe of reforming the Court of *Rome*; but Death ſuffered him not to execute his Deſign. All theſe Proceedings ſo diſtant from thoſe of his immediate Predeceſſors, who had uſed the Courtiers and People of *Italy* to ſee the Popes purſue the looſe Maxims of Temporal Princes, cauſed it to be ſaid that he was indeed an honeſt Man, and a good *Chriſtian*, but withal an indifferent Pope. Accordingly the *Italian* Writers ſpeak of *Adrian* VI in Terms importing no great Eſteem for him. *His Character.* Guicciard. Cimar. Sardi.

The Beginning of this Year Cardinal *Julio de Medicis*, who withdrew to *Florence* upon the Death of *Leo* X, returned to *Rome*, and was very civilly received. In a ſhort time he gained the Good-will of the Pope to ſuch a Degree, that he ſupplanted the Cardinal of *Voltorra*, who was Prime Miniſter, and had him committed to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. From thenceforward he had the ſole Management of the Pope's Affairs, winning more and more his Eſteem, by putting on *the Devout*, and expreſſing a great Zeal to unite all the *Chriſtian* Princes againſt the *Turk*. By this Julio de Medicis *Prime Miniſter to* Adrian VI.

1523. Artifice he got him to publiſh the *Bull* for a Triennial Truce, which led him at length to ſign the League againſt *France*. Such a Miniſter as this was doubtleſs too cunning for ſuch a Pope. *Adrian* VI died the 14th of *September*, at the very Time that the Armies began to take the Field. Had he lived any longer, he would no doubt have perceived that the League he had imprudently entered into was by no means proper to procure the Union he ſo much deſired among the *Chriſtian* Princes.

Cardinal Wolſey *endeavours to obtain the Papacy.* Herbert.

Cardinal *Wolſey* having notice of the Pope's Death, writ to the King to inform him of it, deſiring his Intereſt and Favour. Next Day he wrote to him again, praying him to recommend him to the Emperour, by a Letter under his own Hand. He flattered himſelf, that the Emperour would have a grateful Senſe of the Service he had juſt done him, in cauſing the King his Maſter to declare againſt *France*; and that he would now at leaſt keep his Word with him, ſince he had no Preceptor to get elected as in the former *Conclave*. But if the *Italian* Hiſtorians are to be credited, the Emperour little thought of helping him to the *Papacy*, and the *Conclave* much leſs, who met preſently after *Adrian*'s Deceaſe. Of the Thirty-nine Cardinals which were in the *Conclave*, *Julio de Medicis* had Fifteen or Sixteen at his Devotion, beſides Three who had promiſed not to be againſt him, if Matters went well for him in the *Conclave*: ſo that he wanted only Seven or Eight to have the two Thirds of the Voices. But it was no eaſy Thing to gain theſe. Cardinal *Colonna*, his Adverſary, was at the Head of a much more numerous Party, who would have infallibly carried it, if the Cardinals of that Faction could have as readily joined in chuſing a Pope as in preventing the Election of *Julio*. This made the *Conclave* hold Fifty Days. As for *Wolſey*, if he had any Cardinals on his Side, they could not be many, ſeeing he had againſt him the *French* Party, and ſeeing the Emperour's Friends were the ſame with thoſe of *Julio de Medicis*. In ſhort, *Colonna*'s Faction not being able to agree upo

Recital of what paſſed in the Conclave.

upon the Choice of a Pope, becauſe the Head of it would have elected one who was not liked by his Friends, his Vexation at their Obſtinacy made him go and be reconciled with the Cardinal *de Medicis*. *Guicciardine* ſays, that *Julio* gave him a Promiſe under his Hand to make him his Vice-Chancellor, and preſent him with his Palace, one of the moſt magnificent in *Rome*. Be that as it will, *Colonna* having helped him to Seven or Eight Votes which were at his Diſpoſal, he met with no farther Obſtacle to his Election. It being given out in the *Conclave* that the Cardinal *de Medicis* would be elected the next Scrutiny, the major Part of the Cardinals ſtayed not till Day appeared, but went and made their Court to the Perſon who was to be their Maſter. Their Example drew in all the reſt, who finding it was not in their Power to hinder the Election, were willing alſo to ſhow that they freely concurred towards it. So that very Night, being the 18th or 19th of *November*, all the *Cardinals* went and paid Obeyſance to the new Pope, and next Morning his Election was confirmed by a ſolemn Scrutiny, wherein he had all the *Voices*. Thus it is that *the Holy Ghoſt* guided the Hearts of the *Cardinals* in the Choice of a Pope, who contrary to their Intention, was to be the Cauſe of the *Roman Church*'s receiving the deepeſt Wound ſhe ever had. The new Pope took the Name of *Clement* VII, on account of St. *Clement*'s Day, which was to be very ſhortly ſolemnized. He was natural Son to *Julian de Medicis*, Uncle to *Leo* X. But this Flaw in his Birth, though contrary to the *Canons*, was over-looked. *Leo* X, who made him *Cardinal* in the Beginning of his Pontificate, took care to have it legally atteſted by Evidences, that *Julian* promiſed his Mother Marriage. Then taking it for granted that a bare Promiſe was equivalent to a Marriage, declared *Julio* legitimate. *Alexander* VI took the ſame Courſe when he made *Cæſar Borgia* his Baſtard Son Cardinal. He got Witneſſes, who depoſed that *Cæſar* was born of a married Woman, whence it was inferred that the Child ought to be deemed the 1523.

1523. Husband's Son. In this manner did the *Vicars of Jesus Christ* play with Laws *divine* and *human* to gratify their Passions.

Wolsey hides his Disgust.

The News of *Clement*'s Election was a great Mortification to *Wolsey*, who since the Promotion of *Adrian* VI, had all along expected to be Pope upon the first Vacancy. He must needs have been extremely incensed against the Emperour, who had twice deceived him. Wherefore, one may be almost sure, considering his vindictive Temper, he resolved from that Moment to be revenged. But as he could not put his Resolution in Practice without his Master's Help, it was necessary to take care not to let him see that he acted from a Motive of Revenge: otherwise he would have run the Risk of missing his Aim. He concealed therefore, under the Mask of a feigned Moderation, the Spite he harboured in his Breast, and contented himself with telling the King, that several had voted for him in the *Conclave*, but his Absence had turned to his Prejudice, and the Posture of Affairs in *Italy* made the *Cardinals* chuse *Julio de Medicis*. In a few Days after, the King's Ambassador at *Rome*, had Orders to notify to the new Pope the King's and *Wolsey*'s Joy at his Promotion. *Wolsey* demanded withal the Continuance of his Legateship, affirming, that by reason of the King's Prerogative, it was not worth to him a Thousand Ducats a Year. *Clement* VII was entirely of the Emperour's Party, and knowing of what Consequence the King of *England*'s Assistance was at the present Juncture of Affairs in *Europe*, gladly embraced the Opportunity to gratify Cardinal *Wolsey*, and make him his Friend, by whose help he might gain the Good-will of the King his Master. He granted the Cardinal therefore more than he desired. By a *Bull* of the 9th of *January* 1524, he gave him the *Legatine* Power for Life. This is the first and perhaps the only Instance of a perpetual *Legateship*.

He demands the Continuance of his Legateship.

Clement grants it for Life.

Wolsey becomes every Day more proud.

Wolsey was now raised to the highest Step of Greatness that a Subject can aspire to. He was Archbishop of *York*, Bishop of *Durham*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, Cardinal,

Cardinal, Legate *a Latere* for Life, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Prime *Miniſter* and Favourite to the King, careſſed by the Emperour, reſpected by the Pope, regarded by all the Princes of *Europe*, with almoſt an abſolute Power in *England*, where nothing of Moment was tranſacted either in *Spirituals* or *Temporals*, but by his ſole Direction. It is eaſy to ſee that ſo many Advantages were but too capable of rendering him Proud and Inſolent. He looked upon the King's Subjects as ſo many Slaves, and unfortunately for them, he inſpired the King by degrees with the ſame Principles, and inſinuated to him that he ought to conſider the Parliament only as an Inſtrument to execute his Will. Theſe Inſinuations were but too effectual, as will be ſeen in the Sequel. It was with a View to render him independent of the Parliament, that he perſuaded him to exact from his Subjects at one Payment the *Subſidy* given by Parliament, and payable in four Years. Every one aſcribed to the *Cardinal* this illegal Proceeding, which ſerved to eſtabliſh a very dangerous Precedent. But he little regarded the Complaints of the People, ſince he was ſure of the King's Countenance, and the Pope's Protection. 1523.

He cauſes the Subſidy payable in four Years to be paid at once. Herbert.

He took in hand this very Year a Thing he would never have ventured upon, had he not been fully ſatisfied that the Pope could not do without the King's Aſſiſtance. And that was to cauſe ſeveral *Religious Houſes* to be ſuppreſſed in order to appropriate the Revenues to two *Colleges*, which he intended to found at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*. If the Pope had reaped any Advantage by it, the giving his Conſent would be no great wonder. But that he ſhould agree to the ſuppreſſing ſeveral Monaſteries to gratify a private Perſon, is what could hardly be expected, and perhaps has never happened. Accordingly the Pope would never have granted it, had not the ſatisfying the Paſſion of this ambitious *Miniſter* been abſolutely neceſſary to his Deſigns. The *Cardinal*'s Project was to found a magnificent College at *Oxford* by the Name of *Cardinal-College*, which was to conſiſt of 186 Perſons with

He forms the Project of founding two Colleges. Herbert.

1523. Salaries. The other College was to be founded at *Ipſwich*, the Place of his Birth, but only for *Grammar*, and to qualify young *Scholars* for his *College* at *Oxford*. But as theſe Projects were not accompliſhed this Year, I ſhall take Occaſion to ſpeak of them elſewhere, and cloſe the Year 1523, with an Account of what paſſed in *Scotland*, where Affairs were in no better State than in other Countries.

Henry *forms Deſigns deſtructive to* Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

Henry being engaged in a War with *France*, juſtly dreaded the Diverſion the *Scots* might make on the Frontiers. On the other Hand, the King of *Scotland*'s Minority frequently tempted him to become Maſter of that Kingdom, after the Example of *Edward* III his Predeceſſor, who had diſpoſſeſſed the King his Nephew at a like Juncture. The Factions in *Scotland* increaſing his Hopes, he never ceaſed to foment them by means of his Adherents, who were very numerous, becauſe he had wherewithal to afford good Penſions. He uſed for Pretence his being obliged by Nature to take care of the King his Nephew's Concerns, who was not of an Age to diſcern what was for his Advantage from what might be hurtful to him. Wherefore, as a kind Uncle, he did his endeavour to remove the Duke of *Albany*, under colour that there was danger of that Prince's ſeizing the Crown. He knew very well that he ſhould never compaſs his Ends as long as *Scotland* was guarded by ſuch an *Argus*. The Queen his Siſter had vexed him heartily by ſiding with the Regent, for by that, ſhe had taken from him all Pretence of ſaying, the King was in Danger. The Truth is, it was not likely, as the Parliament of *Scotland* very wiſely hinted in their Anſwer, That the Queen ſhould join with the Regent to deſtroy the King her Son. *Henry* however, to give ſome colour to this Accuſation, was pleaſed to pretend that the Queen his Siſter deſigned to marry the Duke of *Albany*. But finding at length that this Suppoſition had not the Effect he expected, he had recourſe to another Expedient, which was, to gain his Siſter, by promiſing to help her to the Regency. That done, he preſſed yet more

He foments their Diviſions;

and would remove the Duke of Albany;

and make his Siſter Regent.

more earneſtly the Parliament of *Scotland* to remove the Duke of *Albany*, and confer the Regency on the Queen. But to render his Inſtances the more effectual, he reſolved to exert his utmoſt to hinder the Duke's Return to *Scotland*. To that End he ſent out a Fleet to try to take him in his Paſſage*. At the ſame time he ordered the Earl of *Surry* to march into *Scotland*, to let the *Scots* ſee what they were to expect in caſe they did not give him ſpeedy Satisfaction. The *Scots* being without a Leader, and unprepared againſt this Invaſion, ſuſtained great Damages during the Campain. The Earl of *Surry* took *Jedworth*, and carried Fire and Sword a good way into the Country, without meeting any Oppoſition. In the mean while, *Henry*'s Favourites ceaſed not to cry that a Peace muſt be made with *England*, ſince it was the only Way to ſave *Scotland* from utter Deſtruction. *Henry* ſupported them on his Part, by offering to the King his Nephew his only Daughter *Mary* in Marriage, and by extolling the Advantages which would accrue to the *Scots* from this Alliance. But withal, he was pleaſed to require of them that they ſhould break through all their Engagements with *France*. It was however very unlikely that he ſhould ſeriouſly think of giving his Daughter to the King of *Scotland*, ſeeing ſhe was affianced to the Emperour, and ſince he was ſtrictly united with that Prince. Beſides, ſuch a Marriage would have been of no Benefit to himſelf or the Nation. To this the oppoſite Party replied, that the King of *England* ſought to take off *Scotland* from *France*, on purpoſe that he might the more eaſily ruin the Kingdom, and that to make an Alliance with *England* by abandoning *France*, was the ready way to be Slaves to the *Engliſh*: That this was not the firſt time the Kings of *England* by ſuch Marriages had attempted to become Maſters of *Scotland*, and that the worſt

1523.

He invades Scotland;

and offers his Daughter in Marriage to the King his Nephew.

Oppoſition of the contrary Party.

* Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with 36 great Ships cruized on the Coaſts of *France*, and *Anthony Pointz* with a good Fleet guarded the *Weſtern* Seas. *Herbert*, p. 56.

1523. worſt was to be feared from Neighbours who had all along aſpired to the Poſſeſſion of all *Great-Britain*. In a Word, that the deſtroying with Fire and Sword a Country whoſe Friendſhip was courted, was a ſtrange ſort of Way of demanding an Alliance, and propoſing a Marriage. All theſe Reaſons did not want for Replies from the other Party. But it tended only to augment Diſorder and Confuſion among the *Scots* to ſuch a Degree, that it was impracticable for them to come to any Reſolution. Mean while *Henry*, who had no other Deſign but to terrify them, by making them feel the Effects of his Arms, ordered the Earl of *Surry* to quit *Scotland* and return to *England*. But hardly had he ſent his Men to Winter-Quarters, but the *Scots* made Inroads on the Borders of *England*, which conſtrained him to march a ſecond Time into *Scotland*, where he became Maſter of *Jedburrough*.

The Engliſh *Army retire.*

The Duke of Albany *deceives the Vigilance of the* Engliſh, *and gets to* Scotland. Buchan.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Albany* hearing what paſſed in *Scotland*, burned with Deſire to repair thither, to appeaſe by his Preſence the Troubles cauſed by the King of *England*'s Favourers, and to ſtrengthen the *French* Party, which was in danger of being outdone by the other. *Francis* I. had granted him an Aid of Three Thouſand *Foot* and Two Hundred *Men at Arms*, to enable him to make a Diverſion upon *Henry* from that Quarter. But it was not poſſible to tranſport theſe Troops to *Scotland*, whilſt the *Engliſh* Fleet kept the Sea on purpoſe to hinder their Paſſage. Recourſe therefore muſt be had to Artifice. To that End, he feigned to give over his Deſign of going to *Scotland*, and ſent his Troops into Quarters at a good Diſtance from the Coaſt, with Orders however to be ready to march upon the firſt Notice. The Tranſport-Ships were likewiſe ſent away to certain Ports, from whence they were ordered to ſail to the appointed Rendezvous as ſoon as they ſhould hear from the Duke. This Stratagem deceived the *Engliſh* Admiral, who being informed by his Spies that the Duke of *Albany* was returned to Court, and had diſmiſſed his Troops and Veſſels, thought there was nothing

thing more to fear this Year, ſo carried back the Fleet to *England*. The Duke no ſooner heard of it, but he drew together his Troops and Ships, and embarking about the middle of *September*, he arrived in *Scotland* the 20th *, the very Day the Earl of *Surry* became Maſter of *Jedburrough*. 1523.

He marches with an Army to the Borders.

The Regent's Arrival revived the Courage of the *French* Party, who began to be very much diſheartned, and drew from the King of *England* ſeveral Perſons who had only ſided with him out of pure fear. Some time after, the Regent ſummoned the Nobility to *Edinburgh*, and endeavoured to make them ſenſible that the Kingdom would be in great Danger, unleſs the King of *England*'s Deſigns were timely and vigorouſly oppoſed. But all his Eloquence could not prevail to change the Minds of thoſe who preferred *Henry*'s Penſions to all the Arguments that could be alledged. Nevertheleſs, he drew together an Army, and advanced towards the Borders, where he arrived the 20th of *October*. But when he came to march into *England*, he met with the ſame Obſtacles that had ſtopped him the laſt Year. That is to ſay, the Generals and Officers of the *Engliſh* Party refuſed to follow him, maintaining it was manifeſtly againſt the Intereſt of *Scotland* to provoke the *Engliſh*, and therefore it was enough to keep in a Poſture of Defence. They added, that if the Deſign was to ſerve *France*, it could not be done better than by having an Army on the Frontiers, which would oblige the *Engliſh* to have the like in thoſe Parts. But that in the preſent Circumſtances it was going too far to run the Hazard of a Battle, the Loſs whereof would bring with it the Ruin of the Kingdom. In ſhort, the Regent ſeeing it was loſt time to perſuade them to follow him, ordered *Werk*-Caſtle to be aſſaulted by the *French* Troops: but they were vigorouſly repulſed. Mean while, upon notice of the Earl of *Surry*'s Approach at

They refuſe to follow him into England.

The Earl of Surry *approaches.*

* With *Richard de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Lincoln*, beheaded in the 5th of this Reign. *Herbert*.

1523. *The Regent retired.* at the Head of a numerous Army, he did not think proper to expect him, but chose to retire. Indeed, it would have been too hazardous to give Battle with an Army wherein the *English* had so many Friends. The Season being no longer fit for one or other to keep the Field, the Earl of *Surry*, content with having stopped the *Scots*, sent his Troops to Winter-Quarters, and the Regent followed his Example.

Progress of the Reformation. Whilst the Flames of War were kindled almost over all *Europe*, the Reformation made great Progress in *Germany*, and began also to spread in *Switzerland*, *France* and *England*. In the Beginning of this Year the *Canton* of *Zurick*, moved by the Preaching of *Zuinglius*, renounced divers Articles of Religion which they had professed hitherto, though *Zuinglius* and *Luther* differed about the *Eucharist* *. Many likewise in *France* and *England* began to be out of conceit with a Religion, that seemed to be founded more upon the *Pope* than upon *Jesus Christ*. *Adrian* VI hearing of the Progress *Luther*'s Doctrine made daily in *Germany*, dispatched a *Nuntio* to the Diet of *Nuremberg*, to exhort the *German* Princes to destroy *Luther* and his Followers. He confessed however, in a Letter to them upon the same Subject, that many Abuses and Disorders had crept into the *Church* *, throwing the Blame upon those who had governed before him. But he said, to reform all at once, would be a means to spoil all, and therefore it was necessary to proceed by Degrees in a Reformation. *Luther* having

* Their Differences about *Consubstantiation* much hindered the Progress of the Reformation. And not being able to be composed, *Zuinglius*'s Party were called *Sacramentarians*, and *Luther*'s *Ubiquitarians*. *Calvin* succeeded *Zuinglius*, who by his Doctrines of *Predestination*, &c. so widened the Breach between the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, that they became irreconcileable. Insomuch that the *Lutherans* at *Leipsick*, where they are very rigid, have set up in their great Church the Picture of *Ignatius Loyala*, *Calvin* and the *Devil* in one Frame, with this Inscription, *The three great Enemies of Christ and the Christian Religion*. Such Enmity does the differing in Opinion preposterously breed among *Christian Sects*, especially where both Sides are in the wrong!

* His Words are, *In hac Sancta sede aliquot jam annis* Multa Abominanda *fuisse*.

having a ſight of this Letter, publiſhed it in *German* with Notes of his own, wherein he ſaid, among other Things, that the *Degrees* the Pope mentioned were ſo large, that there was a Hundred-Years Interval between each of them. On the other Hand, the *Diet* taking Advantage of the Pope's Confeſſion, demanded the holding of a *Free Council* in *Germany*, where every one ſhould be obliged upon Oath to ſpeak his real Opinion, and that a World of Abuſes which *Germany* had long ſince groaned under ſhould be reformed. 1523.

Luther *anſwers the King of* England's *Book.*

Mean while *Luther* continued to write in Defenſe of his Doctrine. Among other Things he publiſhed an Anſwer to the King of *England*'s Book, wherein he uſed no Ceremony. This Behaviour induced *Henry* to complain of him to the Princes of the *Houſe* of *Saxony*. At the ſame Time he exhorted them to hinder the Publication of *Luther*'s *German-Bible*, for fear the Tranſlation ſhould be prejudicial to the *Truth*. But his Letter had no great Effect.

1524. *Affairs of* Italy.

The Progreſs of the Reformation was not yet great enough to be much heeded by the chief Sovereigns of *Europe*, whoſe Thoughts were wholly intent upon War. *Clement* VII refuſed to renew the League, though himſelf had engaged his Predeceſſor in it, and declared he would ſtand Neuter. This Declaration troubled at firſt the Duke of *Bourbon* extremely, becauſe the Emperour not having provided for the Payment of his Troops, it was not poſſible for the Duke to ſatisfy them, ſince the Pope and the *Florentines* withdrew their uſual *Subſidies*. He found Means however to get ſome Money of the Inhabitants of *Milan*, and at laſt brought the Pope to give him twenty Thouſand Ducats, and to cauſe the *Florentines* to let him have fifty Thouſand, on Condition he would keep it private.

Not long after the Duke of *Bourbon* receiving a Supply of ſix Thouſand *Landſquenets*, and the *Venetian* Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino* joining him, he took the Field with Thirty-five Thouſand

1524. Thouſand Men. In the mean while *Bonnivet* was at a great ſtand. He had not above twenty Thouſand Men, having loſt the reſt of his Army by Death or Deſertion during the laſt Campain. But the worſt was, he had no Money to pay his Troops. This was a Misfortune common to both Sides. 'Tis true, he expected ten Thouſand *Swiſs*, and five Thouſand *Griſons*: but he foreſaw they would be of little Service, becauſe he had not wherewithal to content them at their Arrival. This made him reſolve to go in queſt of the *Imperialiſts* and give them Battle. But as they were fully informed of his Condition, they determined to avoid fighting, though they had the Odds on their Side, in hopes of diſperſing his Army without ingaging. And indeed the five Thouſand *Griſons*, who were going to join the Admiral, and were advanced as far as *Bergamo*, not receiving the Money promiſed them, went back the ſame Way they came. As for the ten Thouſand *Swiſs*, they arrived indeed at *Jurea*, and went on even to the Banks of the *Seſia*; but it was not poſſible to get them to march any farther, for want of Money to pay them. Mean while the Imperialiſts became Maſters of ſeveral ſmall Towns which very much annoyed the *French* Camp, and at length they drove the Admiral to the Neceſſity of retiring to *Novarra*. Whilſt theſe Things were doing, the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which the *French* had kept hitherto, ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts.

The French *Army repaſs the* Alps.

Bonnivet, finding that the *Griſons* were gone back, that the *Swiſs* would not ſtir without being ſure of their Pay, and that his Men deſerted in great Numbers, reſolved at laſt to re-paſs the *Alps*. As ſoon as the Duke of *Bourbon* had notice of his March, he purſued him with all ſpeed, in order to compel him to a Battle. There were even between the two Armies ſeveral ſharp Skirmiſhes, in one of which the brave *Bayard* was ſlain. But in ſpite of the Imperialiſts, *Bonnivet* retreated in pretty good Order. Upon the *French* re-paſſing the Mountains, the Places they

The French *loſe the* Milaneſe.

they ſtill had in the *Milaneſe*, ſurrendered upon Terms to the Imperialiſts. 1524.

The Emperour's and Henry's *Deſigns upon* France. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

The *French* were no ſooner out of *Italy*, but the Emperour and King of *England* contrived how to invade *Francis* in his own Kingdom. They had expected great Matters from the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Rebellion. But hitherto it was not poſſible to make any uſe of it, becauſe the Conſpiracy was diſcovered too ſoon. The Affairs of *Italy* having proſpered beyond Expectation, they reſolved by means of the Duke of *Bourbon* to carry War into *France*, imagining that if he could get ſome notable Advantage, he would draw Part of the Kingdom to revolt. The Duke himſelf fed them with theſe Hopes; becauſe that was the Thing which made him conſiderable. He would have been glad to act in ſome Place near his own Territories, from whence he expected great Supplies. But it was thought more proper that he ſhould enter *Provence* with an Army, by reaſon he could eaſily be aſſiſted by the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which kept at *Genoa*, whereas ſhould he ingage in the middle of the Kingdom, the Fleet would be of no Service. This Reſolution being taken, *Henry* bound himſelf to find the Duke a Hundred Thouſand Crowns a Month, on Condition, that after the firſt Month, he ſhould be free to diſcontinue the Payment, provided he acted himſelf in *Picardy* at the Head of a Royal Army, from the firſt of *July*, to the End of *December*.

The Duke of Bourbon *prepares to enter* Provence. Henry *binds himſelf to find him Money.* Act. Pub. XIII. 794.

The Duke of Bourbon *marches into* Provence. Guicciard.

Though the Emperour had put the Duke of *Bourbon* in hopes he would let him him have all his Army in *Italy* for his Expedition in *Provence*, he could not however help leaving a good Part at *Milan*, and other Places of that Dutchy, under the Command of *Lanoy* Viceroy of *Naples*. On the other Hand, the *Venetians* withdrew their Troops, becauſe they had bound themſelves by this private Treaty only to defend the *Milaneſe*. So the Duke of *Bourbon* began his March on the 24th of *June*, much weaker than he expected (*a*), and entered *Provence* the ſecond of *July*. Mezerai.

He

(*a*) He had 13000 *Foot* and 3000 *Horſe*.

1524. He presently became Master of *Aix* and some other Place, and at last he came before *Marseilles*, the taking whereof was the main End of his Expedition. But a few Days before *Renzo de Ceri* an *Italian* Captain in the *French* Service, had thrown in a strong Garrison. Whereupon the Duke found he should meet with more Resistance than he had imagined, but however he opened the Siege.

He besieges Marseilles.

Mean while *Francis* I. having Intelligence of *Bourbon*'s March, issued Orders to draw together his Forces, and to send some Troops to *Avignon*, for fear the Enemy should seize it. There it was that he resolved to assemble his Army, and repaired thither himself to command in Person. It is by no Means requisite to give a particular Account either of the Siege of *Marseilles*, or of the King's great Expedition in assembling his Troops. It suffices to say in a Word, that the very Day he sat out from *Avignon*, in order to give Battle to the Imperialists, namely, the 10th of *September*, the Duke of *Bourbon* raised the Siege of *Marseilles*, and retired to *Italy*. Whilst the King was at *Avignon*, he received the News of his Queen's Death, who died at *Blois* in *July*.

Francis I. *flies to its relief;*

and forces the Duke to retire into Italy.

The Duke of *Bourbon*'s Retreat entirely changed the Face of Affairs. *Francis* I. who had been in danger of losing *Provence*, saw himself at the Head of an Army above forty Thousand strong, ready to be employed in some important Undertaking. Wherefore perceiving that the Imperialists took a round-about Way to *Italy*, he resolved to take Advantage of that and the Superiority of his Army to recover the *Milanese*. Whereupon he began his March, and tried to reach *Milan* before them. On the other Side, the Duke of *Bourbon* having notice that the King had taken the shortest Road to *Milan*, made incredible speed to get there first, knowing on that depended the safety of the Dutchy. Thus the two Armies marching by different Routs, arrived the same Day, one at *Albe*, the other at *Vercelli*. A few Days after the

The King *marches into* Italy *another way.*

The two Armies arrived on the same Day.

the Duke of *Bourbon* went and joined the Viceroy of *Naples* at *Pavia*. 1524.

Whilſt the Imperial Army was in *Provence*, the Court of *England* was otherwiſe diſpoſed than hitherto it had been, and ſeemed to intend to follow new Maxims. *Henry* made no Diverſion in *Picardy*, though he had paid but one of the Monthly Subſidies he was to give the Duke of *Bourbon*. This was enough to raiſe the Emperour's Suſpicions, which were confirmed by *Henry*'s unſeaſonable demand of the Money he had lent him at his Departure from *England*. He could not believe that *Henry* would demand his Money at ſo improper a Time, inſtead of performing himſelf his Engagements, unleſs he intended to ſeek an Occaſion of quarrelling. His Uneaſineſs upon that Score increaſed, upon Advice from his Ambaſſador in *England* that a Perſon was come from *France* to *London*, from the Dutcheſs of *Angoulême* Regent of that Kingdom, and had long and frequent Conferences with Cardinal *Wolſey*. Theſe Things added to the Cardinal's revengful Temper, whom he had vainly amuſed with Hopes of the *Papacy*, made him juſtly apprehenſive that the King of *England* would think of abandoning him and ſiding with his Enemy. However, in the preſent Situation of Affairs, there was no other Courſe to take, ſince all depended on the Iſſue of the War which was going to commence in *Italy*, where his Generals were in great Straits.

Henry alters his Deſigns, and goes off from the Emperour. Herbert. Guicciard.

As ſoon as the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Viceroy of *Naples* were joined, they conſulted about what was to be done at ſo ill a Juncture. At firſt, they reſolved to leave ſtrong Garriſons in *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, and take refuge in *Milan*. But the Plague had made ſuch Ravage in that City, every Thing there was in ſo great Confuſion, and Money and Proviſions ſo ſcarce, that they were forced to give over their Deſign and abandon *Milan*. So having firſt well ſtored *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, they withdrew to *Soncino*, where *Franciſco Sforza* went along with them.

The Imperialiſts abandon Milan.

1254. *The* French *enter the City.* *The Caſtle is beſieged.* Guicciard. Bellay. *Falſe Step of* Francis I. *He beſieges* Pavia. *The Imperialiſts raiſe Troops in* Germany.

Mean while *Francis* I. continuing his March towards *Milan*, and hearing that the Imperialiſts were retired, cauſed his Troops to enter the City, and ordered the Caſtle to be inveſted. If inſtead of going to *Milan* he had marched directly to the Imperialiſts, who were little able to withſtand him, he would have infallibly diſperſed the Army. But *Bonnivet*'s unfortunate Advice induced him not only to march to *Milan*, which muſt have fallen into his Hands if he had defeated or put the Imperialiſts to flight, but alſo to reſolve to beſiege *Pavia*. As ſoon as he appeared before that Place, the Generals of the Imperialiſts began to take Heart, hoping that the length of the Siege and the Winter-Seaſon would afford them Time to take ſome Meaſures. Mean while they ſent with all ſpeed for a Supply of ten Thouſand *Germans*. The Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* having failed them all at once, ſince the *French* King's coming to *Italy*, their only Refuge was the length of the Siege of *Pavia*, which began in *November*.

The Pope treats privately with the King.

Clement VII, who in the late Pontificate had openly declared againſt the King of *France*, being in great Perplexity, ſent a *Nuntio* to the two Armies to ſee to procure a Truce; but miſſing his Aim, he made his Peace with the King of *France*. Moreover he propoſed to him the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and concluded with him a private Treaty, whereby he was bound to let the *French* Troops paſs through his Dominions.

Francis *ſends a Detachment to* Naples. Bellay. Mezerai Clement *diſſembles with the Emperour,*

Preſently after *Francis* detached five or ſix Thouſand Men, under the Command of the Duke of *Albany*, who had left *Scotland* in the beginning of the Spring, with Orders to march towards *Naples*. As they were under a Neceſſity of paſſing through the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, *Clement* VII pretended for ſome Time to oppoſe it, in order to make believe it was againſt his Will. When the *French* were in the Heart of his Dominions, he publiſhed his Agreement with the King of *France*, as if it had been juſt made, and ſent the Emperour notice of it, excuſing himſelf on the

the Score of the Neceſſity and Conſtraint he was under. Though the Emperour was of a very flegmatick Temper, he could not help ſhowing on this Occaſion, an extreme Reſentment againſt the Pope. He ſaid, it was purely at the Inſtance of *Leo* X, that he had undertaken the Defenſe of *Italy*: That it was *Clement* himſelf who had preſſed *Adrian* VI to ſign the League, and now he was become Pope, he forſook him in his greateſt need, and left him to bear alone the brunt of a War which he himſelf had kindled: That however he hoped to come off with Honour, and to the Confuſion of thoſe who ſo baſely turned their Backs upon him. Nevertheleſs the Event ſhowed that the Pope did him a ſignal Service, in perſwading his Enemy to carry War into the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſince by that he cauſed him to divide his Forces. But it is uncertain whether the Pope had any ſuch View. 1524. *who is very much incenſed againſt him.* Guicciard.

Another Accident helped likewiſe to make *Francis* loſe the great Odds he had of his Enemies. *Renzo de Ceri*, who defended *Marſeilles*, having received the King's Orders to embark ten Thouſand Men on Board the Gallies, and to go and join the Duke of *Albany*, who expected him in *Tuſcany*, by the way became Maſter of *Savona*. This which ſeemed to be very much for *Francis*'s Advantage, turned to his real Misfortune, in that it put him upon ſending a freſh Detachment to *Savona*, under the Conduct of the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, that he might take againſt *Genoa* what Advantages ſhould offer. The two Detachments for *Naples* and *Savona*, ſo weakened the *French* Army, that the Imperialiſts no longer doubted to take the Field in order to lengthen the Siege of *Pavia*, till the Arrival of the *German* Succours, which the Duke of *Bourbon* himſelf was gone to haſten. And indeed, within a few Days *Peſcaire* became Maſter of *Caſſano*, a Poſt very convenient for his Purpoſe. With this Event ended the Year 1524. But before I proceed to the next, it will be neceſſary to ſay a Word of what paſſed in *Scotland* during the preſent Year.

Francis *ſends another Detachment to* Savona.

The Imperialiſts take the Field.

They annoy the Beſiegers.

1524. *Affairs of* Scotland.

The Duke of *Albany* returning to *France* in *May*, the Queen-Dowager and Earl of *Arran* of the Houſe of *Hamilton*, adviſed the young King, who was between thirteen and fourteen Years old, to aſſume himſelf the Reins of the Government. This Advice was given with very ſelfiſh Ends; but *James* was yet too young to perceive it. He followed it, and ſummoning the States, he declared that the Authority of the Regent was at an End, and for the future all Orders were to be received from the King himſelf. Which done, the Queen and Earl of *Arran* governed in the King's Name. This Change was not made with univerſal Approbation. The Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, vexed to ſee the Earl of *Arran* in Poſſeſſion of the Government, under Colour of the King's anticipated Majority, ſent for the Earl of *Angus* from *France*, to ſupport themſelves by his Intereſt, becauſe he was entirely fallen out with the Queen his Wife. Upon that Lord's Arrival, they combined with him, and on pretenſe of freeing the King from the ſuppoſed Captivity the Queen and Earl of *Arran* held him in, they levied Troops and took *Sterling*; then they marched to *Edinburgh* where the King was. At their Approach, the Queen and Earl carried the King into the Caſtle; but as they had not taken Care to lay in Proviſions, they were forced in a few Days to yield up the King to the three Lords, who took the Title of *Regents*. Thus the King was again put in Guardianſhip under theſe three Lords, who agreed to rule by Turns four Months each. The Earl of *Angus* begun, and as he was in the King of *England*'s Intereſt, he diſpatched Ambaſſadors to treat about the King of *Scotland*'s Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, according to *Henry*'s own Scheme. To facilitate this Negotiation, the Truce which was to be expired the 1ſt of *December*, was prolonged to the 25th of *January* 1525.

End of Albany's *Regency.*

The Earl of Angus *is declared Regent.*

Act. Pub. XIV. 21, 23–28.

Clement *confirms* Henry's *Title of* Defender of the Faith. *P.* 13.

As *England* was very quiet during the whole Year 1524, the Affairs of that Kingdom will not take me up long. I ſhall only ſay in two Words, that *Clement*

ment VII finding himſelf in a very ill Situation between the Emperour and the King of *France*, ſhowed great regard for the Court of *England*, whoſe Aſſiſtance he thought he might need. To that Purpoſe he confirmed the King's Title of *Defender of the Faith*, conferred on him by *Leo* X, and to pleaſe Cardinal *Wolſey*, ſuppreſſed St. *Frideſwed*'s Priory in *Oxford*, on the Ground whereof the Cardinal intended to build his College, and appropriated the Revenues to the new Foundation. But as this was not ſufficient for the Maintenance of the College, the Cardinal procured Powers to viſit all the *Religious Houſes*, notwithſtanding their Immunities, and particularly thoſe of the *Franciſcans*, who pretended to be exempted. This was done that a true Eſtimate might be taken of ſuch as were to be ſuppreſſed, in order to transfer the Revenues to his Colleges. The *Bull* which gave him theſe Powers, was dated the 21ſt of *Auguſt*. On the 11th of *September* following, the Pope granted him another *Bull*, empowering him to ſuppreſs as many Monaſteries as he pleaſed, to the Value of three Thouſand Ducats a Year for the ſame uſe.

1524. *He Suppreſſes Monaſteries for the Cardinal's Colleges. P.* 15. *Bull granted to the Cardinal. P.* 18. *Another Bull. P.* 23.

In the Beginning of *December*, Cardinal *Laurentius Campejus*, who had been the Pope's *Legate* in *Germany*, was made Biſhop of *Salisbury* with the King's Conſent. We muſt now return to the Siege of *Pavia*, to behold an Event there which made a very great Alteration in the Affairs of *Europe*, wherein *England* was deeply concerned.

Cardinal Campeju *made Biſhop of* Salisbury. *P.* 29.

Francis I. reſolutely carried on the Siege, though without making any great Progreſs, by reaſon of the rigour of the Seaſon, and of the Imperial Army which being poſted at *Caſſano*, annoyed his Convoy very much. Beſides, he had made three Detachments, one to beſiege the Caſtle of *Milan*, another for *Naples*, and a third for *Savono*. On the other Side, the Duke of *Bourbon* came from *Germany* about the End of *January*, with a Supply of ten Thouſand *Foot*, and a Thouſand *Horſe*, which made the Imperial Army two and twenty Thouſand Strong. As the Ge-

1525. Guiccia Bellai. Mezera *The Duk of Bourb brings Troops from Ge many.*

1525. nerals wanted Money, and as for that Reason they were not sure of being able to hinder the Army from disbanding, they resolved to attempt the Relief of *Pavia*. To that End they began to march the 3d of *February* towards the Town, bent to improve what Opportunities should offer. But as the Camp of the Besiegers was strongly intrenched, they waited three Weeks before they executed a Resolution so dangerous, which might be attended with terrible Consequences. In the mean while, the *Grisons* having recalled six Thousand Men they had in the *French* Service, and these Troops going away in spite of the King, the Duke of *Bourbon* thought he should no longer defer attacking the Enemy's Camp. This Resolution was put in Execution the Even of St. *Matthias* * with a Success very fatal to *Francis*, since his Army was routed, and himself had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of his Enemies.

e French e attack- and eir King ade Pri- ner

The Issue of this Battle filled all *Europe* with Consternation and Dread. The Emperour was without a Rival, and in Condition to over-run *Italy* with his victorious Army, whilst the King of *England* his Ally, had it in his Power to give *France* a mortal Wound on the Side of *Picardy*. Consequently the Balance of *Europe* being taken away, the Sovereigns for the most Part, had great reason to dread they should in the End be enslaved. The *Venetians* alone, fully sensible of the Danger, proposed to the Pope the making a League against the Emperour, not questioning but the King of *England* would come into it, because it was his Interest. This League added to the Forces *France* could still bring into the Field, and the Supplies which might have been had of the *Swiss* by paying them well, would have been sufficient to keep the Emperour in Awe, if it could have been concluded out of Hand. But the Pope preferring his own private Interest to that of *Europe* in general, hastened his Treaty with the Viceroy of *Naples*, who acted

e Empe- ur be- mes for- idable to Europe.

e Vene- ns pro- se a ague a- inst the mperour.

e Pope erst not enture on it.

* Being the Emperour's Birth-Day.

acted in the Emperour's Name. By the Treaty, the Emperour among other Things, was to give the Inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Franciſco Sforza*. There were alſo three ſeparate Articles which concerned the Pope in particular; namely, 1. That the Inhabitants of the *Milaneſe* ſhould furniſh themſelves with Salt from the Pope's Territories 2. That the Emperour ſhould compel the Duke of *Ferrara* to reſtore to the *Church* the Town of *Reggio*, which he ſeized after *Leo* X's Death. 3. That the Pope ſhould have the Diſpoſal of the Benefices in the Kingdom of *Naples*. By this Treaty, which was of no Force till ratified by the Emperour, the politick Viceroy found Means to bring to nothing, or at leaſt to put off the Project of a League againſt the Emperour propoſed by the *Venetians*, and to make the other Powers jealous of the Pope. This was the greateſt Piece of Service he could poſſibly do his Maſter at that Time. 1525. *He treats with the Emperour.* Guicciard.

Mean while the Emperour's Generals were at a great Loſs after ſo glorious a Victory, for want of Money to pay their Troops. They had got a hundred Thouſand Ducats from *Florence*; but as that was not enough to pay the Arrears due to the Army, and maintain the Soldiers afterwards, they were forced to diſband the beſt Part of the Troops, as ſoon as by the Treaty with the Pope, they were ſure of having no League to fear. Beſides *Trivulce*, who beſieged the Caſtle of *Milan*, had now re-paſſed the *Alps*, and the Duke of *Albany* was only thinking how to retire to *France* with his Army. The diſbanding of the Troops would have been of very great Conſequence to the Emperour, whoſe Intereſt it was to prevent by his Moderation the Meaſures which the States of *Italy* alarmed at his Succeſs might take againſt him, if his Generals would have proceeded with Gentleneſs. But Proſperity cauſing them to be wanting in Politicks, they treated the States of *Italy*, and eſpecially the *Venetians*, with a Haughtineſs that gave them Occaſion to be apprehenſive of loſing their Liberty, and put *The Emperour's Generals at a Loſs.* *They diſband Part of their Army.*

1525. them upon exerting their utmoſt to avoid the Slavery which hung over their Heads.

The Emperour's Moderation at the News of the Victory of Pavia.

The Emperour knew much better how to hide his Sentiments. He received the News of the Victory of *Pavia*, and Captivity of the *French* King, with a great deal of Moderation, forbiding any Demonſtrations of Joy, and ſaying, *One ought not to rejoyce but for Victories over the Infidels.* He ſeemed to ſympathize with *Francis*'s Misfortune, and as I may ſay, to put himſelf in his Place, by acknowledging it to be owing to the Chance of War, and that no Prince, how brave ſoever, could be exempt from the like Accident. Preſently after he called his Council to debate what was to be done with the Priſoner. His *Confeſſor*, who ſpoke firſt, was of Opinion to releaſe him freely without Terms. He repreſented to him, that by ſo generous a Proceeding, he would not only acquire immortal Honour, but alſo make the King of *France* his faithful Friend, who not to be out-done in Generoſity, would doubtleſs ſtrive to make a grateful Return: That with his Help, he would give Law to *Germany* and *Italy*, without being obliged to demand the Aſſiſtance of other inferior Princes. But the Duke of *Alva* anſwered all theſe Arguments, and concluded that it was beſt to reap from this Victory all the Advantages it could naturally procure, and the Emperour cloſed with his Opinion. This plainly ſhows that his pretended Moderation was all a Feint, on purpoſe to hinder the Princes of *Europe* from being alarmed, and from concerting Meaſures to oppoſe the Execution of his ambitious Deſigns.

He debates about what is to be done with his Priſoners. His Confeſſor's Advice.

The Duke of Alva's *Opinion, which is followed.*

The Emperour offers Terms for Francis's *Liberty.*

To keep on this Diſguiſe, he ſent the Count of *Beaurain* to *Italy* with certain Terms, on which he was willing to releaſe his Priſoner. He was very ſure *Francis* would not accept them. But it was his Buſineſs to make the World believe it was not his Fault that the *French* King was not ſet at Liberty. To that Purpoſe, it was induſtriouſly reported every where, that the Emperour had ſent the King very reaſonable Terms. But great Care was taken not to publiſh them.

them. Among other Things, he demanded for himſelf the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. Moreover he had a Mind to join to the Territories of the Duke of *Bourbon*, *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and to erect them all for that Prince into a Kingdom independent of the Crown of *France*. Laſtly, he demanded that *Francis* ſhould give the King of *England* entire Satisfaction, as to what he owed him. The firſt of theſe Conditions had nothing in it which ought to be wondered at, if the Juſtice and Equity of the Thing were conſidered. King *Lewis* XI had taken Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* after the Death of the laſt Duke, under Colour of a Title which was conteſted, and of which however he made himſelf Judge. It could not therefore be taken ill that the Emperour ſhould demand Reſtitution of what had been wreſted from *Mary* of *Burgundy* his Grandmother, at leaſt till the Cauſe was fairly and legally decided. But what was very ſtrange and hard in the Emperour's Propoſals, was his deſiring to eſtabliſh in the Heart of *France*, an independent Kingdom, to gratify a rebellious Subject, the prime Author of the King's Misfortune. In all Appearance he inſiſted on this Article only to make the firſt go down the ſmoother, or to give Occaſion for a Rupture. *Francis* I. rejected theſe Conditions with the utmoſt Indignation, and ſwore he would rather paſs all his Days in Priſon, than agree to them *. But however he made in his turn ſome Offers which he thought very advantagious to the Conqueror, namely, that he would marry *Leonora* Queen-Dowager of *Portugal* the Emperour's Siſter, and give to the Duke of *Bourbon* his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Alenſon*, who had lately loſt the Duke her Huſband: That he would agree to hold the Dutchy of *Burgundy* as

1525.

The King rejects them.

He offers others.

* When the Articles were preſented to *Francis*, he was ſo diſpleaſed at them, that he is ſaid in a fury to draw his Dagger and cry, *It is better for a King of* France *to dye thus*: Upon which *Hernando de Alenſon* who was preſent, haſtily took the Dagger from him. *Herbert*, p. 66.

1525. as the Queen-Dowager's Dowry, and to leave it to their Heirs: That he would reſtore to the Duke of *Bourbon* all his Eſtate which had been confiſcated: That he would give over all Claim to *Naples* and *Milan*: That he would ſatisfy the King of *England* as to what was due to him: Finally, that he would pay the ſame Ranſom King *John* paid after he was made Priſoner at the Battle of *Poictiers*. But the Emperour was not ſatisfied with theſe Offers. He inſiſted ſtill that the Dutchy of *Burgundy* ſhould be reſtored to him without Condition. Moreover he affirmed that *Francis* had no Right to *Naples* and *Milan*, and therefore his Offer to relinquiſh his Claim was needleſs and chimerical.

The Emperour rejects them.

Great Conſternation in France.

It was not without Reaſon that the Emperour ſtood to his Demands. It is eaſy to gueſs what Conſternation *France* was in, upon the Loſs ſhe had juſt ſuſtained. The King was a Priſoner, and almoſt all her Generals were taken or ſlain at the Battle of *Pavia*. The Kingdom being drained by continual Wars under this and the former Reigns, there was neither Men nor Money. The *Swiſſers* were diſheartened. The *Canton* of *Zurich* having refuſed to furniſh the King with Troops for the War, were ſtill in the ſame Mind out of a Principle of Conſcience. *Zuinglius*, who had a great Intereſt in that *Canton*, perſwaded the Senate that to barter the Blood of their Citizens for Money, and to ſerve the Ambition of Princes, was an infamous Thing. But ſuppoſing all the *Cantons* had been equally inclined to find Troops, it was well known, they would not do it without their being paid, and to procure the Money was no eaſy Matter. On the other Hand, there was reaſon to fear, that the King of *England* would take Advantage of the Juncture, and invade *France* on the Side of *Picardy*, whilſt the Emperour would attack the Provinces bordering upon *Spain*. In fine, there was nothing to be expected from *Italy*, ſince the Pope had agreed with the Emperour, there being no likelihood that the *Venetians* would maintain the War alone for

ſake of *France*. Thus nothing was ſeen on all 1525.
es but juſt Grounds of Alarm. Moſt certainly had
Emperour and *Henry* renewed their League, and
rouſly attacked *France*, that Kingdom muſt needs
e been undone, conſidering the ſad Condition it
in. But at the very Time the Regent, and all the
eſt *Frenchmen* were under theſe Apprehenſions,
beheld a Ray of Hope ſhining upon them, which
ered their Courage from ſinking entirely. The
pe and Emperour could not agree together, though
wardly they ſeemed willing to unite. The *Veneti-*
were inclined to join in a League with the other
es to oppoſe the Emperour's Progreſs. In ſhort,
King of *England*, inſtead of taking Advantage of
King of *France*'s Misfortune, generouſly took his
t. On the other Side, *Franciſco Sforza*, ſeeing
ſelf as it were a Slave to the Emperour, ſtrove to
w off his Yoke, and though he miſcarried, his
empt however produced a good Effect, in that it
le the Emperour ſenſible how the Princes ſtood af-
ed who were concerned in the Plot. It will be
eſſary to explain this Matter, in order to give a
ineſt Notion of the Affairs of thoſe Times, where-
England had a ſhare. But firſt let us ſee what be-
e of the Captive King.

Several Things concur to revive the Courage of the French.

The unfortunate Priſoner was kept in the Caſtle of *Francis I. is carried into* Spain. June.
zighitone till *Eaſter*, but with ſo much uneaſineſs
the Part of the Imperialiſts, that they durſt not
rch their Troops from that Quarter for fear of
being reſcued. At laſt *Lanoi* hearing that the *Ve-*
an Ambaſſador at *Rome* held frequent Conferrences
h the Pope, was afraid ſome Plot was hatching to
the Priſoner. Wherefore, without imparting his
ign to the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom perhaps he miſ-
ted, he reſolved to convey him to *Spain*. But
was no eaſy Matter, ſince he had no naval Force
the *French* Gallies were at Sea. To remove this
ſtacle, he inſinuated to the King, that the only
to obtain his Liberty ſpeedily, was to confer in
ſon with the Emperour: That as he was a very
generous

1525. generous Prince, and had ſhown a Concern for h Misfortune, their Interview muſt needs have a goo Effect, and pave the Way to a ſpeedy Peace. *Fran* agreed to it, full of hopes that he ſhould do mo himſelf in two or three Conferences with the Emp rour than his *Miniſters* in many Months. He ev lent the Viceroy his Gallies to carry him to *Spai* where he arrived about the Middle of *June*.

He is ſhut up in the Caſtle of Madrid.

He flattered himſelf that he ſhould be treated *Spain* juſt as King *John* had been in *England*: but his Arrival he had the Vexation to ſee himſelf ſh up in the Caſtle of *Madrid*, where the Emperour w ſo far from treating with him in Perſon, that he d not ſo much as pay him a Viſit. All he could obta was a Safe-Conduct for his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Al ſon*, who came to *Madrid* in *September*. She was e powered by the Regent her Mother to negotiate wi the Emperour. But at length ſhe was fain to retu home without having done any thing. When came to *Madrid*, ſhe found the King her Brother ſo that his Recovery was deſpaired of. As there w no room to doubt, but that his Grief at ſeeing Proſpect of Liberty at hand, occaſioned his Illn the Emperour haſtened on purpoſe from *Toledo* *Madrid*, to ſee and comfort him, being apprehen of loſing, by his Priſoner's Death, the Advantages expected from his Captivity. He put him theref in hopes of his Deliverance in the two Viſits he m him, though in general Terms, which however p duced the deſired Effect, ſince the King recovered Health. But when, after he was well, he would h renewed the Negotiation, he quickly ſaw he was ſo near his Deliverance as he had imagined. The Em rour ſtill inſiſted upon the Reſtitution of *Burgu* and when the King offered to eſpouſe the Princeſs *nora*, and hold that Dutchy as her Dowry, *Charles* cuſed himſelf on the Score of having promiſed to g the Queen his Siſter in Marriage to the Duke of *B bon*. It was no ſmall Mortification to *Francis* to one of his Subjects preferred before him. But w trou

The Dutcheſs of Alenſon *comes to treat about him.*

He falls ſick.

The Emperour viſits him.

Difficulties about the Peace.

oubled him ſtill more was, that he perceived it was 1525.
ly a Pretence to retard the Concluſion of the
reaty. Wherefore, in the Deſpair the Emperour's
igour drove him to, he gave the Dutcheſs of *Alenſon* Francis
Writing under his Hand, whereby he conſented and *orders the*
en ordered that the *States* of *France* ſhould crown Dauphin
e *Dauphin* his Son. This is called in *France*, *the* *his Son to*
dict of Madrid. But the Parliament of *Paris* thought *be crowned*
ot fit to record it, either becauſe it was againſt the *The Par-*
aws of the Realm, or becauſe they deemed ſuch an *liament of*
nperfect Edict to be of no Force, ſeeing the King Paris *re-*
as under Conſtraint. It may very well be, that *fuſe.*
rancis deſigned to let the Emperour ſee, that inſtead
f having a King in his Power, he ran the Hazard of
aving only a Prince without Dominions.

Whilſt the Emperour amuſed his Priſoner in *Spain*, *The Em-*
e acted with no greater Sincerity with regard to the *perour deals*
ope, who did not know what to think of his Pro- *deceitfully*
eedings. The victorious Monarch had courted him *with the*
ery earneſtly; but after he had made a Treaty with *Pope.*
im by the Viceroy of *Naples*, it was a good while *He ſends*
efore he ratified it, and after all he had ſent his Ra- *an imper-*
ification without including the Three ſeparate Arti- *fect Rati-*
les. He alledged, that as to the Duke of *Ferrara* he *fication of*
ould not oblige him to yield up *Reggio* to the Pope, *the Treaty*
eing a *Fief* of the Empire. As to the ſecond Arti- *of* Rome.
le, whereby the Emperour was bound to oblige the
nhabitants of the *Milaneſe* to take their Salt of the
ope's Subjects, he ſaid, that concerned only the
uke of *Milan*, and for his Part he could not promiſe
or other People. Concerning the *Benefices* of *Naples*,
e could not agree to that Article, unleſs a Limitation
as added, which rendered it of no Effect, namely,
hat what had been practiſed in the Reigns of the for-
ner Kings of *Naples* ſhould be conformed to. The *The Pope*
ope finding that the Emperour refuſed to ratify theſe *rejects it.*
hree Articles, would not accept of the Ratification,
nd they both remained upon the ſame Foot they were
efore the Treaty. But the Emperour had got what
e wanted, ſince he had laid Obſtacles in the way of
the

1525. the League which was projecting againſt him, b rendering the Pope ſuſpected by the reſt of the Sov reigns.

The Emperour offers the Inveſtiture of Milan *to* Sforza *on a Condition not to be performed.*

There was another Thing which ſhowed that th Emperour acted deceitfully: and that was, havin ſent the Inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Franciſco Sforza*, h clogged it with the Condition that *Sforza* ſhould pa him Twelve Hundred Thouſand Ducats in amends fo the Expence he had been at to keep that Dutchy fo him. As it was evident *Sforza* could not poſſibl perform this Condition, it was no leſs ſo that the Em perour only ſought a Pretence to continue Maſter o *Milan*. All theſe things made the Pope look abou him, having heard beſides that the Council of *Spai* were not his Friends. The Truth is, ſome of th Emperour's *Miniſters* had adviſed him to chaſtiſe th Pope for having ſided with *France* at ſo critical Juncture, and to compel him to reſtore *Modena* to th Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* to the *Bentivoglio*'s.

The Pope fall off more and more.

The Venetians *endeavour to form a League againſt the Emperour.*

On the other Hand, the *Venetians* ſeeing there wa no likelihood that the Emperour really intended t reſtore *Sforza*, could not but be alarmed at his keep ing the Dutchy of *Milan*. Wherefore they uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade the Pope an King of *England* to join in a League with them an *France* againſt the Emperour, well-knowing tha otherwiſe all *Italy* would fall under the Dominion o the *Houſe of Auſtria*. A Letter of *Andrea Gritti* their *Doge* to Cardinal *Wolſey*, of the 31ſt of *Marc* extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſhows tha theſe able *Politicians* had formed the Project ſhort after the Battle. The Letter indeed is only Credent als for an Ambaſſador, who had Orders to treat wi the King about an Affair of very great Importanc But at ſuch a Juncture, this great Affair could b nothing elſe but the League they were projecting.

The Pope continues undetermined.

Mean while the Pope was at a very great Stand. H having been deſirous to carry Matters too cunningl had cauſed him to make ſo many falſe Steps, that h was at a Loſs which way to turn. This is frequent th

the Caſe of thoſe who, quitting the great Road, purſue their Journey through By-ways. *Clement* VII could not reſolve either to take up with what the Emperour offered him, or to enter into a League againſt him. In this Uncertainty he choſe to follow the Example of *Leo* X and *Julius* II his Predeceſſors; that is to ſay, to treat with the Emperour and his Enemies at the ſame time, that he might be determined by the Events to what would be moſt for his Advantage. To that End, whilſt he was treating at *Rome* with the *Venetians*, he diſpatched Cardinal *Salviati* to *Spain*, to negotiate with the Emperour, ſending by him a Diſpenſation that Monarch had deſired for his marrying *Iſabella* of *Portugal* his Niece. But the Diſpenſation was not to be delivered to the Emperour till after the Concluſion of the Treaty. 1525.

Sforza is kept in Servitude by the Imperialiſts.

The Affairs of *Italy* being in this Situation, another Accident happen'd which plainly ſhowed the Emperour only ſought to amuſe all the Sovereigns by a feigned Moderation, whilſt in truth his whole Thoughts were employed how to enlarge his Dominion. The League he had made with *Adrian* VI, and the reſt of the States of *Italy*, was founded upon *Franciſco Sforza*'s Reſtoration to the Dutchy of *Milan*. As it was for the common Intereſt of *Italy*, ſo was it likewiſe the only Bond by which the Emperour had found means to unite all the Potentates againſt *France*, which was then in Poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*. That League had ſucceeded according to the Allies Deſire. The *French* were driven out of *Italy*, and *Sforza* got *Milan* again. But though the Emperour made as if he would give him the Inveſtiture, he had not yet done it, becauſe *Sforza* was not able to pay the Twelve Hundred Thouſand Ducats he demanded. He was made to hope he ſhould obtain more moderate Terms, but that was only to amuſe him, and remove his as well as the Pope's and *Venetians* Suſpicion that the Emperour intended to keep the Dutchy for himſelf, or give it to his Brother the Archduke *Ferdinand*.

What

1525. *The Emperour lays a Snare for* Sforza *in order to diſpoſſeſs him.*

What was then but a bare Suſpicion, became very ſoon a Certainty. The Duke of *Bourbon* going into *Spain* to take care of his Concerns, *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquiſs of *Peſcara*, was commiſſioned by the Emperour to command in *Italy*. Shortly after, *Peſcara* affected to appear very much diſguſted, and openly to complain of the Emperour's Ingratitude. He carried the Matter ſo far, that at length he inſpired *Jeronimo Moronè*, the Duke of *Milan*'s Chancellor, with the Boldneſs to ſound him, in order to ſee whether by his Means the *Spaniards* might be driven out of the *Milaneſe*. *Peſcara* hearkened to his Inſinuations: he had ſeveral Conferences with him upon that Subject, and managed it ſo dextrouſly, that he engaged *Moronè* to get the Duke himſelf to ſpeak to him about the Affair. *Moronè*'s Project was to kill all the *Spaniards* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and make *Peſcara* King of *Naples*. As this could not be done without foreign Aid, *Peſcara* propoſed to engage in the Plot, the Pope, the Regent of *France*, and the *Venetians*. Accordingly theſe three Powers came deeply into it, and promiſed their Aſſiſtance. When Matters were almoſt ripe, *Peſcara* received the Emperour's Orders to diſpoſſeſs the Duke of *Milan* entirely. He began with ſeizing *Moronè*, which done, he conſtrained the Duke, who was not in Condition to reſiſt, to reſign the City of *Milan*, and all the reſt of the Towns in his Poſſeſſion. Only the Caſtle of *Milan Sforza* would not yield up, which was therefore beſieged immediately. Thus the Emperour had a plauſible Colour to render himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy, and the Pope and *Venetians* could not complain of his puniſhing *Sforza*'s Treachery, ſince there were evident Proofs that they themſelves were concerned in the Conſpiracy.

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Peſcara *takes away all his Places, and beſieges the Caſtle of* Milan.

The Venetians *inſiſt upon* Sforza's *Reſtoration.*

The Stratagem practiſed by the Emperour to ſeize the *Milaneſe* ſerved only to confirm the *Venetians* in their Reſolution to run all Hazards in order to hinder that Dutchy from continuing in the Hands of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. Without troubling themſelves about juſtifying

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Having thus ſhown the Poſture of Affairs in *Italy*, we muſt ſee what paſſed at the Court of *England*, where they were almoſt as buſy in plotting and contriving as the Pope and *Venetians*, ſince the Point in Hand was in good Earneſt to keep the Balance of *Europe* even, which leaned too much to one Side. The Equality between the two *Houſes* of *France* and *Auſtria*, was properly what made *England* of great Weight, and conſequently an Advantage not to be

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1525. neglected. But there were other Reaſons alſo that ſpurred on *Henry* to forſake the Emperour, and ſide with *France*. Though the Treaty of *Bruges* or *Windſor* ſeemed to have made an inſeparable Union between the Emperour and *Henry*, it is however certain they were not pleaſed with one another, becauſe each of them was deſirous to make their Union ſubſervient to his own Affairs, without any regard to his Ally. In all Appearance Cardinal *Wolſey*, who was very angry with the Emperour, did not a little contribute towards inclining his Maſter to a Rupture.

The Emperour and Henry *are diſſatisfied with one another.*

Cauſes of their falling out.

The Princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s Daughter was contracted to the Emperour, and yet the King her Father had offered her to the King of *Scotland*. On the other Side, the Emperour had made no Scruple to conclude his own Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, as if he had not been engaged to *Mary*, and from hence theſe two Monarchs ſhowed that they had very little regard for one another. *Charles* coming to hear that *Henry* was treating about a Match between his Daughter and the King of *Scotland*, took Occaſion from thence to throw upon him the breaking off his own Marriage. In *March* he ſent to *England* the Lord of *Buren*, and the Preſident of the Council of *Mechlin*, to demand of the King that he ſhould forthwith ſend the Princeſs, and pay down the Dowry agreed upon, and that purſuant to their League he ſhould enter *Picardy* with a powerful Army, as he ſhould have done the laſt Year. It was no hard Matter for *Henry* to perceive that the Emperour only wanted to clear himſelf, without having any Thoughts of conſummating his Marriage with *Mary*, and this way of proceeding was not very proper to keep up a good Underſtanding. But on the other Hand, the Emperour had no leſs Reaſon to complain of him. *Henry* had promiſed to find a hundred Thouſand Crowns a Month for the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Expedition in *France*, or to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy*. But after he had ſet the Affair on Foot by the firſt monthly Payment, he ſtopped ſhort without undertaking

March. Herbert.

taking any Thing againſt *France*. Nay, he had demanded the Money due to him, when he knew very well the Emperour was not able to pay him. This Step ſeemed to argue that he only ſought a Pretenſe. Moreover the Emperour was informed that in *October* laſt, when *Francis* I. was upon his march to *Italy*, a Perſon without Character came to *London* from the Regent, and held ſeveral Conferences with Cardinal *Wolſey*. But then *Charles* had promiſed to invade *France* on the Side of *Spain*, without having done any Thing towards it. And yet he took it very ill that *Henry* ſhould fail him. Thus theſe two Monarchs who were thought to be ſo ſtrictly united, and whoſe Union made *France* and *Italy* tremble, were in reality eſtranged from one another, and ready to fall at Variance. In all Appearance, the Conferences of the Perſon ſent from *France* with Cardinal *Wolſey*, had taken Effect. Beſides, the Cardinal who was of a very revengeful Temper, muſt needs have been extremely incenſed againſt the Emperour for having deceived him twice, after a poſitive Promiſe to help him to the *Papacy*. 1525.

Wolſey contributes to the Rupture.

It was in the Beginning of *March* that the Emperour's two Ambaſſadors diſcharged their Commiſſion. But before they had received an Anſwer, the News of the Battle of *Pavia*, and taking of the King of *France* reached *England*, by a Letter from the Governeſs of *Flanders*, with another from *Lanoy*, written on the very Day of the Battle. As the Court of *England* then ſtood inclined, this News was by no Means agreeable. Nevertheleſs as it was yet neceſſary to conceal his Thoughts, *Henry* cauſed a ſolemn *Maſs* to be celebrated at St. *Pauls*, where he was pleaſed to be preſent in Perſon, without however having *Te Deum* ſung. His Aim was to make the Emperour's Ambaſſadors believe that it was on the Score of the Victory, and at the ſame Time to ſhow a regard for *France*, by avoiding to expreſs any Joy at her Misfortune.

Henry ſhows a regard for France. Herbert.

1525. Henry *adviſes with his Council about the Courſe he ſhould take.*

Some Days after, the Council met to conſider what was to be done at this Juncture. The Queſtion was whether this Opportunity ſhould be laid hold on to make Conqueſts in *France*, by aſſerting the King's Title to that Kingdom, or whether it was more Expedient to aſſiſt and preſerve *France* entire, and oppoſe the growing Power of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. As to the firſt Point, it is certain if at this Juncture, *England* had heartily joined with the Emperour, and made a vigorous Effort on the Side of *Picardy*, *France* in the Condition ſhe was in would have been loſt paſt Redemption. Far from being able to withſtand the Arms of theſe two powerful Enemies, it was not poſſible for her to ſtand againſt the Emperour without the King of *England*'s Aſſiſtance. But on the other Hand, it was conſidered that *France* could not be ruined without rendering the Emperour too powerful: That he was already in Poſſeſſion of *Spain*, and had an Eye upon *Portugal*, by marrying his Niece *Iſabella* as it was publickly reported: That his late Victory in *Milan* gave him ſuch a Superiority in *Italy*, that in all likelihood the Pope and *Venetians* would not be able to make Head againſt him: That he poſſeſſed almoſt all the *Low-Countries* with large and rich Provinces in *Germany*, not to reckon the Imperial Dignity which was become as good as Hereditary in his Family: That if by a powerful Diverſion, an Opportunity ſhould be given him to conquer the *French* Provinces bordering upon *Spain* and *Italy*, the moſt the King could expect was to ſhare *France*, with him: But that it was to be feared, that in proceſs of Time the Emperour would become his Enemy, and ſo much the more formidable as there would be no Proportion between their Forces, nor any *State* in *Europe* capable of ſupporting the weakeſt Side: That therefore, ſuppoſing the King had in *France* all the Succeſs he could wiſh, he would only involve himſelf for the future in an unequal War with the Emperour, who very probably would never reſt ſatisfied till he had wreſted their Conqueſts out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*:

gliſh: That what had paſſed between *Lewis* XII and *Ferdinand*, in reſpect of the Kingdom of *Naples*, was a clear Evidence how difficult it is for ſuch Partitions long to ſubſiſt: That upon all theſe Accounts, it was more for the Intereſt of *England*, to make a vigorous Effort to ſupport *France*, and enable her to be always a Counterpoiſe to the Power of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*: That the Happineſs and Glory of *England* depended on the Equality between the King of *France* and the Emperour, ſince by that *England* was always in Condition to remain Arbiter of *Europe*, and to make herſelf courted by both Sides: That there was no other way to cauſe Trade to flouriſh, wherein conſiſted her main Strength, and without which the *Engliſh* could never hope to make themſelves feared: That if on the contrary, it was reſolved to compleat the Deſtruction of *France*, and a War ſhould happen afterwards with the Emperour, of which there was great likelihood, at once would be loſt the Trade with *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, which would quickly reduce *England* to extreme Poverty: That at leaſt it would by that Means be out of her Power to have *Land* and *Sea*-Forces ſufficient to Balance the Emperour's Power. In ſhort, that in caſe *France* came to be divided between the Emperour and the King, one muſt expect to ſee *Scotland* join in Alliance with the Emperour, and continue to annoy *England* by frequent Diverſions as ſhe had all along done in favour of *France*. To theſe Conſiderations another of greater Weight was added, namely, that the ſiding with the Emperour to conquer *France* was a Thing of a different Nature from joining with the Regent to defend that Kingdom: That in the former Caſe, the Emperour's ſole Aim would be to make the *Engliſh* Forces ſerve to enable him to puſh his Conqueſts elſewhere: But at the ſame Time he would oppoſe directly or indirectly the King's Increaſe of Power: That it was the uſual Policy of Princes when they joined in a League with thoſe that were weaker than themſelves; That one could the leſs doubt that the Emperour 1525.

1255. would follow this Maxim, becauſe even before the Battle of *Pavia*, he had ſhown plainly enough, that he conſidered the King only as his Inſtrument to promote his Deſigns in *Italy*, but in caſe the King ſided with *France*, the two Allies having the ſame View, would go Hand in Hand, as is uſually done in Leagues *Defenſive*: That on the other Hand, at the preſent Juncture, *France* not being able to ſupport herſelf without the Aſſiſtance of *England*, would readily accept of the Terms which ſhould be impoſed upon her, which was an Advantage more real and certain than any which might be expected from the Invaſion of that Kingdom: In a Word, nothing could be more glorious for the King than to raiſe up *France* again in her dejected State, and ſet at Liberty her Captive King: That by ſo doing he would truly acquire the Title of *Arbiter* and *Deliverer* of *Europe*, and make of the King of *France* a Friend, who probably would have ſo great a Kindneſs in everlaſting Remembrance.

Henry reſolves to ſupport France. *He uſes for Pretenſe the Injuries done him by the Emperour.*

Theſe were the Reaſons that induced the King and Council to Side with *France*. They correſponded exactly with the King's and the Cardinal's Inclinations, and the Meaſures they had already begun to take. The only Buſineſs was to find out a Pretenſe to break with the Emperour, by throwing upon him the blame of the Rupture. This is a Thing very uſual with Princes. When they wage never ſo unjuſt a War, they would fain perſwade the World that they have Juſtice and Equity on their Side, without any Motive of Envy, Jealouſy, Ambition and Avarice. The War *Henry* was meditating againſt the Emperour was wholly founded upon Policy, as we have juſt ſeen. And that would have been enough to juſtify it. But he choſe rather to ground it upon the Injuries he pretended to have received from the Emperour. The Reaſon of his ſo doing is evident. It ſeldom happens that *Policy* and Equity agree together, and *Henry*, like moſt Princes, had rather be counted a great Politician, than an honeſt Man.

However

However that be, the Reſolution being taken to ſupport *France*, *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield* were ſent to *Spain* to demand of the Emperour ſeveral Things which he knew would not be granted. Firſt, That as the War was made at a common Charge, it was reaſonable the King of *England* ſhould ſhare the Benefits of the Victory of *Pavia*: That purſuant to their Alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in a Treaty with the Captive King, that *Henry* ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of what belonged to him in *France*. Secondly, That in caſe this could not be obtained by fair Means, the Emperour, according to the Treaty, ſhould prepare to invade *France* on the Side of *Spain*, whilſt the *Engliſh* acted in *Picardy*, and that the War ſhould not ceaſe till the King of *England* had got all that belonged to him: That the Emperour ſhould be the readier to aid the King of *England*, in obtaining what he wanted, becauſe by his Marriage with the Heireſs of *England*, all theſe Acquiſitions would one Day be his. Thirdly, That as it was ſaid in the Treaty of *Windſor*, that the two Allies ſhould mutually deliver up all Uſurpers upon each other's Right, *Henry* required, purſuant to that Article, that the King of *France*, ſhould be delivered to him the ſame Day the Princeſs *Mary* was yielded to the Emperour. 1525. *He ſends Ambaſſadors to* Spain. Herbert. *His Demands upon the Emperour.*

Theſe Demands were for the moſt Part of ſuch a Nature, that the Emperour eaſily perceived *Henry* only ſought a Pretenſe to break with him. The Truth is, he could not receive the Princeſs *Mary*, ſeeing he was determined to marry *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, and much leſs would he deliver the Captive King, and ſo part with the Benefit he expected to reap from his Victory. Wherefore having framed his Anſwer in general Terms, which ſhowed plainly enough how backward he was to grant what was demanded, he afforded *Henry* the Pretenſe he wanted to join with the Regent of *France*. Upon divulging this Reſolution, the Court of *England* took Care to publiſh the Reaſons whereon the Rupture with the Emperour was grounded. *The Emperour Anſwers in general Terms.* *Henry reſolves to ſide with* France.

1525. *He publishes the Reasons.*

grounded. They were in short as follows: That the Governess of the *Low-Countries*, instead of providing for the War the Forces she was bound to find, had privately treated with *France*: That the *Florentines* had broken the Treaty of Commerce in several Articles: That the Emperour had not paid the King the Sums due to him: That in the Terms on which he had offered to set the King of *France* at Liberty, he had mentioned *Henry*'s Right only in a superficial Manner, as a Thing of little Moment: That he actually treated about his Marriage with the Princess of *Portugal*, in contempt of the Princess *Mary*, to whom he was contracted. Lastly, that the *Turks* being just upon the Point of invading *Christendom* *, it was necessary that all *Christian* Princes should join their Forces against them, which could not be done without a general Peace; but a general Peace could not take Place, whilst the Emperour remained in Arms to aggrandize himself at the Loss of other Princes. These are the Reasons alledged in Vindication of the King's Conduct. But the true Reason was the just Fear which the Emperour's Power inspired *England*, and the rest of *Europe* with. However, *Henry* thought fit not to proclaim War against the Emperour, being unwilling by so rash a Step, to prejudice the Treaty he intended first to make with *France*. He contented himself with ordering his Ambassadors in *Spain*, to intercede in his Name, in behalf of the Captive King, though he expected little from thence. Mean while he sent Word to the Regent of *France*, that if she would send Ambassadors to treat with him, something might follow to the Advantage of the King her Son, and the Interest of the two Kingdoms. The Regent immediately appointed *Jean-Joachim de Passau* Lord of *Vaux*, the same that had begun the Negotiation with Cardinal *Wolsey*

Embassy of France to London. Act. Pub. XIV. 37.

* They had now taken *Belgrade* and *Rhodes*, and thereby opened several Ways to *Italy* and *Germany*.

Wolſey and *Jean Brinon* Preſident of *Roan*. Their Commiſſion was dated at *Lyons*, *June* the 9th. 1525.

Wolſey reſolves to levy Money without the Parliament. Herbert.

Whilſt the Treaty between *France* and *England* was negotiating at *London*, *Henry*, knowing how it would end, committed the raiſing of Money to Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Care. The moſt natural way was to apply to the Parliament. But *Wolſey* was too haughty to run the hazard of a Refuſal, or conteſting with the *Houſe of Commons*, as it happened to him once before. So reſolving to uſe a ſpeedier Means, and more agreeable to his Temper, he iſſued out Orders in the King's Name to levy throughout the Kingdom the ſixth Part of every *Lay-Man*'s Goods, and the fourth of the *Clergy*'s. Theſe Orders were no ſooner publiſhed, but the Nation was in a great Fermentation. Every one deemed this Method of raiſing Money a manifeſt Breach of *Magna Charta*, and an Incroachment of ſo great Conſequence, that there was like to be a Rebellion over all the Kingdom. The King being informed of it, forthwith iſſued out a Proclamation, diſavowing theſe Commiſſions which had been publiſhed in his Name, and declaring he would exact nothing of his People by Force, nor demand any Thing but by way of *Benevolence*, as had been practiſed in the Reign of *Edward* IV. But it was not long before they perceived this was only an Artifice to extort by another Name, what the People refuſed to give by Force. The Truth is, the *Benevolence* which the King demanded afterwards was hardly any thing leſs than what he had at firſt required by way of Authority. The *Londoners* being taxed firſt, the Magiſtrates excuſed themſelves on account that *Benevolences* were aboliſhed by *Richard* III. The Cardinal cried out upon't, as if they had ſaid the moſt extravagant Thing in the World. He told them *Richard* III was a Tyrant and Uſurper, and therefore Laws made in his Reign could not limit the Sovereign's Power. But as this Argument had no great Effect, he ſent for the Chief of the Common-Council of the City one by one to frighten them, being deſirous at any rate to compaſs

The King diſavows it.

He demands a Benevolence.

The City of London *oppoſes it.*

The Cardinal keeps his Ground.

1525. paſs his Ends, without being obliged to call a Parliament. But whilſt he was thus taken up, there was an Inſurrection near *London*, which in all Appearance would have drawn in the whole Kingdom, if a timely ſtop had not been put to it. The ſpeedy Courſe that was taken to diſperſe the Seditious, ſucceeded as the Court could wiſh. The People that had taken up Arms ſeeing they were not ſufficiently ſupported, ſubmitted to the King's Mercy, and ſome of the Ring-Leaders were impriſoned. The King finding how the Nation ſtood affected, thought it proper to ſatify them by ſhowing he had no Hand in the violent Proceedings of his *Miniſter*. Wherefore he declared in full Council, that his Intent was no Perſon ſhould be puniſhed for this Commotion. The Cardinal perceiving that the King caſt all the Blame upon him, vindicated himſelf as well as he could, without accuſing the King, alledging he had the Judges Opinion for what he had done. If ſuch an Excuſe were admitted, it would be no longer neceſſary for a King of *England* to apply to the Parliament for Money. The Judges being appointed by the King, it would be no hard Matter for him to have their Opinion on his Side. But although there have been Judges ſo hardy as to decide Points of this Conſequence, as in the Reigns of *Richard* II, *Charles* I, *James* II, few of them eſcaped the Puniſhment due to their Boldneſs. The Parliament never intended that the Privileges of the Nation ſhould depend upon the Deciſions of the Judges. The Council finding the King was not inclined to ſtand by what the Cardinal had done, and on the other Hand, not daring to come upon the Cardinal himſelf, thought fit to throw the whole Blame, without naming any Body, upon thoſe that had given the King wrong Iuformation, and to releaſe the Priſoners, after a ſevere Reprimand. Purſuant to this Reſolve, the Priſoners being brought before the Council, the Cardinal ſharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinouſneſs of their Offence, and adding that the King was pleaſed to grant them his Pardon, provided

Inſurrection in the Country.

It is appeaſed.

The King throws the blame on the Cardinal.

The Affair ends mildly.

provided they would find Sureties for their good Behaviour for the future. But the Priſoners replying, they could find none, the Cardinal and Duke of *Norfolk* ſaid, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were diſcharged. 1525.

As ſoon as the King had diſcovered that he approved not of all the Cardinal's Actions, People ventured more boldly to complain of his Conduct. The Truth is, he oppreſſed the Nation, and more eſpecially the *Clergy*, in a ſtrange Manner. The Inſtrument of his Oppreſſions was one *Allen* * his Chaplain, who kept no Meaſures, well-knowing his Maſter's Protection would not fail him on occaſion. Nevertheleſs, how great ſoever the Cardinal's Power might be, a private Perſon ventured to commence a Suit againſt *Allen*, and proſecuted him ſo vigorouſly, that at laſt the Buſineſs came to the King's Knowledge, who was informed at the ſame Time of ſeveral other Complaints of the People. He had fancied hitherto that there had never been in *England* ſo mild a Government as his, being ignorant of the ill Uſe *Wolſey* made of his Authority. This Information threw him into ſo terrible a Rage, that the Cardinal was like to have been entirely out of Favour. It was not without the utmoſt Submiſſion that he appeaſed the King's Anger, ſhowing him withal his laſt *Will*, wherein he had made him his Heir. This he did to intimate that he was working for him, and that the Outrages he committed were only to increaſe the Inheritance the King was one Day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully expreſs the King's Sentiments on this Occaſion, than his Lette[r] to the Cardinal after he had pardoned him. A P[ar]dment whereof

Henry *receives ſeveral Complaints againſt the Cardinal.* Herbert.

He is like to turn him out of Favour. The Cardinal appeaſes him.

* *John Allen* Doctor of Law, the ſame that was Judge of the Cardinal's Court, was made Archbiſhop of *Dublin* in 1528, and barbarouſly murdered by *Thomas Fitz-Gerard*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Kildare*, 1534. Antiq. *Oxf.* This *Allen* (ſays Lord *Herbert*) accompanied with a great Train, and riding from one *Religious Houſe* to another in a kind of perpetual *Progreſs* or *Viſitation*, did the Cardinal no little Service.

1525. whereof inſerted by Lord *Herbert* in his Hiſtory, is as follows:

The King's Letter to the Cardinal.

" AS touching the Matter of *Wilton*, ſeeing it " is in no other Strain than you write of, and " you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of " your Servants) afraid and troubled; I marvel not " that it over-ſlipped you as it did. But it is no great " matter, ſtanding the Caſe that it doth; for it is yet " in my Hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and " your Default was not ſo great, ſeeing the Election " was but Conditional. Wherefore, my Lord, ſee- " ing the Humbleneſs of your Submiſſion, and " though the Caſe were much more heinous, I can " be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, " according to mine Intent, my Monitions and Warn- " ings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on " your behalf, promiſing you, that the very Affec- " tion I bear you cauſed me thus to do. As touching " the Help of Religious Houſes to the building of " your College, I would it were more, ſo it be law- " fully; for my Intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo " appear to all the World, and the Occaſion of all " their mumbling might be ſecluded and put away; " for, ſurely their is great Murmuring of it through- " out all the Realm, both good and bad. They ſay " not that all that is ill-gotten is beſtowed upon the " College, but that the College is the Cloak for cove- " ring all Miſchiefs. This grieveth me, I aſſure " you, to hear it ſpoken by him, which I ſo entirely " love. Wherefore, methought I could do no leſs, " than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing " more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little " methinketh toucheth Conſcience, and that is, that " you have received Money of the Exempts for ha- " ving of their old Viſitors. Surely this can hardly " be with good Conſcience. For, and they were " good, why ſhould you take Money? And if they " were ill, it were a ſinful Act. Howbeit, your " Legacy herein might, peradventure, *apud Homines*,

" be

" be a Cloak, but not *apud Deum.* Wherefore you, 1525.
" thus moniſhed by him whom ſo entirely loveth you,
" I doubt not, will deſiſt, not only from this, (if Con-
" ſcience will not bear it) but from all other things
" which ſhould tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing,
" we will ſing, *Te laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te*
" *laudat Omnis Spiritus:* And thus an End I make of
" this, though rude, yet loving Letter, deſiring you
" as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I
" enſure you, (and I pray you think it ſo) that there
" remaineth, at this Hour, no Spark of Diſpleaſure
" towards you in my Heart. And thus fare you well,
" and be no more perplext. Written with the Hand
" of your loving Sovereign and Friend,

HENRY R.

The Cardinal removes from Court thoſe whom he miſtruſts.

This Letter ſhows that the King was informed of ſeveral Miſdemeanors in the Cardinal's Conduct. But he did not yet thoroughly know him, his Affection for him combating in his Heart the Heinouſneſs of his Proceedings, and making him believe that the Faults were the pure Effects of his great Zeal for the founding his College. Had he not been thus prepoſſeſſed in his Favour, he might have been more fully informed. But it was very hazardous to ſpeak Point-blank againſt a Favourite, to whom the King ſtill ſhowed ſo great Kindneſs. However, the Cardinal finding by this Sample, what his Enemies would be able to do againſt him if they had the King's Ear, was very careful to remove from Court all thoſe he had any miſtruſt of. At the ſame time, he ſtrove to preſerve the King's Love and Eſteem by the moſt condeſcending and obliging Carriage. He had now built at *Hampton-Court* a ſtately Palace, which outſhone in Beauty all the King's Houſes. But what had lately happened making him apprehenſive that it might breed a Jealouſy in the King, he made him a Preſent of it, as if from the very firſt he had intended to build it for him. He had a Mind to inſinuate by this Preſent, that he heaped up

1525. up Riches purely for his ſake, and it took effect accordingly. The King had the ſame Confidence in him as before, which the Murmurs of the People ſeemed to have ſomething altered. This Year he obtained the King's *Letters Patents* for the Founding his College at *Oxford*.

The King reſtores him to his Friendſhip.

Much about the ſame time the King created *Henry Fitz-Roy* his natural Son *Duke of Richmond* and *Somerſet*, and *High-Admiral of England*, though he was but ſix Years old *. As he had no legitimate Son, he was extremely fond of this Baſtard, whom he had by the Lady *Elizabeth Blunt* *1.

Henry *the King's natural Son made Duke of* Richmond. Act. Pub. XIV. 42. July 16.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing, the Cardinal was buſy in treating with the *French* Ambaſſadors. Ever ſince the Beginning of *June* the Regent had ſent full Powers in general Terms to her two Ambaſſadors. But in the Courſe of the Negotiation they found they ſhould have occaſion for more particular *Powers* to ſettle the Sums which the King of *France* owed the King of *England*, and which, conſiſting of ſeveral Articles, were to be put into one according to *Henry*'s Intention. Theſe new *Powers* were diſpatched the 16th of *Auguſt*. At ſuch an extraordinary Juncture, the *French* Ambaſſadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the King of *England*'s Pleaſure.

Negotiation with the French *Ambaſſadors.*

Their

* He was firſt made *Knight of the Garter*, then *Earl of Nottingham*, and the ſame Day *Duke of Richmond* and *Somerſet*, on the 18th of *June*. He was conſtituted likewiſe *Lieutenant-General* beyond the *Trent*, and *Warden General* of the Marches of *Scotland*. After which he was bred up with *Henry* Earl of *Surry* at *Windſor*, from whence they went both together to ſtudy at *Paris*. Their Friendſhip was indeared by the Duke's marrying *Mary* the Earl's Siſter, Daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom he had no Iſſue. He was very perſonable and of great Expectation, and for Abilities of Mind and Body one of the rareſt of his Time. But he departed this Life in the 17th Year of his Age, and was buried at *Thetford* in *Norfolk*. Herb. Dugd.

*1 Daughter of Sir *John Blunt*, Widow of Sir *Gilbert Talboy*, who was thought for her rare Endowments of Nature and Ornaments of Education to be the Beauty and *Maſter-piece* of her Time. *Herb.*

Their Aim being to bring him off from the Emperour, and cauſe him to ſide with the King their Maſter, there was no diſputing upon the Terms. But it muſt be confeſſed that on this Occaſion, *Henry* behaved with an uncommon Generoſity. Though he might have demanded Towns and even Provinces for the Friendſhip he was pleaſed to contract with *Francis* I, and for the Charges he was going to be at, he contented himſelf with ſecuring by new Treaties, the Sums that were juſtly due to him. Theſe Treaties being ready, were ſigned at *Moore*, a Houſe of the King's on the 30th of *Auguſt*. 1525.

Henry's Generoſity to the King of France.

The firſt contained a League *Defenſive* between *France* and *England*, againſt all Powers *Spiritual* or *Temporal*, that ſhould invade either of the two Kingdoms. The Allies of the two Kings were included by Name in the League; but with this Limitation, that the Article was not to be underſtood of thoſe who had uſurped any thing upon either of the two principal Contractors ſince the League concluded at *London*, *October* the 2d 1518. Hence the Emperour who had lately conquered the Dutchy of *Milan* was excluded. Moreover, *Henry* I. engaged to uſe his beſt Endeavour to procure the Liberty of *Francis*.

Treaty of Moore *divided into ſeveral Treaties.* Act Pub. XIV. 48, &c.

The ſecond Treaty concerned the Payment of the Sums due to *Henry* from the King of *France*, namely, 1. By a Treaty of the 3d of *Auguſt* 1515, one Million of Crowns of Gold. 2. By another of the 12th of *January* 1518, for Reſtitution of *Tournay* Six Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold. 3. By another of the ſame Date, Twenty-three Thouſand *Livres Tournois*. 4. By another of *November* the 13th 1520, Four Hundred Sixty-two Thouſand Crowns. For all theſe Sums the Regent bound herſelf in the King her Son's Name, to pay *Henry* Two Millions of Crowns of Gold, of Thirty-five Pence *Turnois* each, which being reduced to Crowns of Thirty-eight Pence each, amounted to the Sum of 1899736 ſuch Crowns, and Thirty-two Pence. This Sum was to be paid at ſeveral

1525. ral Times, viz. 47368 Crowns, within forty Days after the Date of the Treaty; the like Sum on the 1ſt of *November* next, and the ſame every ſix Months till the whole was paid. This made in all forty Payments, conſequently the whole Sum was to be paid in Twenty Years.

It was farther agreed by the ſame Treaty, that if *Henry* died before he had received the two Millions, the Arrears were to be paid to his Heirs and Succeſſors. But in Caſe he out-lived the Payment of the whole, he ſhould receive during his Life, an yearly Penſion of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns to ceaſe at his Death.

To ſecure the Performance of the Treaty, the Regent was to ſwear to it ſolemnly before the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and *Francis* I. was to ratify and ſwear to it immediately after his return to *France*. Moreover *Henry* had for Security, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Longueville*, the Earls of St. *Paul*, *Maulevrier*, *Brienne*, the Lords of *Montmorency*, *Lautrec* and *Brezé*, the Cities of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Toulouſe*, *Amiens*, *Bourdeaux*, *Tours*, and *Rheims* *.

It muſt be obſerved, that in the Sum of two Millions of Crowns due to *Henry*, there was no Deduction of what he had received from *Francis* I. from the Year 1515, to their Rupture. This was all the Advantage *Henry* made, which was not very great, conſidering how little punctual the King of *France* was in his Payments.

By a Third Treaty, the Regent bound herſelf to pay to *Mary*, *Henry*'s Siſter, Queen Dowager of *France*, all the Arrears of her Dowry at ſeveral Payments, namely, five Thouſand Crowns on the Day of the Date of the Treaty, and a like Sum every ſix Months

* All theſe Lords and Cities were to ſend a Bond with their Seal annexed within three Months under the Obligation and Forfeit of all their Goods. *Herbert*, *p.* 70.

Months till the whole was paid. Moreover ſhe promiſed to let her enjoy her Dowry for the future. 1525.

There was alſo a fourth Treaty, which ran, that the King of *Scotland* ſhould not be reckoned in the Number of the Allies of *France*, but on Condition the *Scots* committed no Acts of Hoſtilities againſt *England*, after the 25th of *December* next.

Laſtly, by a fifth Treaty it was agreed, that the Court of *France* ſhould conſent neither directly nor indirectly, that the Duke of *Albany* ſhouſld return to *Scotland* during the Minority of *James* V.

All theſe Treaties, which properly were only different Articles of one and the ſame Treaty, were ratified and ſworn by the Regent of *France*, and confirmed by the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Tholouſe*, and *Bourdeaux*. The Lords and Cities that were to be Securities gave their Bonds. Finally, *Francis* I. himſelf ſent a Ratification under his own Hand, bearing Date the 27th of *December*.

Grant of the Regent to the Cardinal. Act. Pub. XIV. 100.

But after having done the King's Affairs, the Cardinal forgot not himſelf. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Regent's Bond of the 18th of *November*, to pay the Cardinal the Arrears of the Penſion granted him in lieu of the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, being four Years and a half, amounting to the Sum of 29793 Crowns of Gold *Sol* *. Moreover ſhe declared that for ſeveral other weighty Reaſons, there was due to the Cardinal a Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, theſe two Sums making together 121898 Crowns *Sol.* were to be paid in ſeven Years, by half-yearly equal Payments.

The Regent takes Heart.

The Defenſive League between *France* and *England* being thus concluded and ſigned, the Regent began to be a little more at eaſe, and better able to diſpute upon the Terms of the King her Son's Liberty. Beſides,

* Crowns *Sol*, or *de Soleil*, were Golden Coins, of old worth 38 Pence *Tournois*.

1525. ſhe had Ground to hope that the King of *England*'s Declarations would help to determine the Pope and *Venetians*, whoſe Fears alone hindered them from forming a League againſt the Emperour. And indeed we ſhall ſee hereafter, they very much altered their Meaſures upon hearing what the King of *England* had done. Mean while the Emperour having Intelligence of the Treaty of *Moore*, recalled his Ambaſſadors who were ſtill in *England*, and *Henry* did the ſame with reſpect to his in *Spain*. Shortly after, *Charles* concluded his Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, by Virtue of a Diſpenſation brought him by Cardinal *Salviati*, who delivered it to him after the Concluſion of the Treaty aforementioned.

Henry and Charles recalls their Ambaſſadors.

The Affairs of Scotland.

Whilſt the Affairs of *Europe* took a new Turn, by the Effects the Battle of *Pavia*, and the *French* King's Captivity produced in ſeveral Places, there was no other Alteration in thoſe of *Scotland*, except that the Earl of *Angus*, who was to hold the Adminiſtration but four Months, did not think fit to reſign when his Time was out. Whereupon the Earl of *Argyle* withdrew very much diſſatisfied; but the Earl of *Lenox*, though diſguſted too, kept at Court. Mean while the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* who had been diſpoſſeſſed, were not unmindful of their Affairs. The Earl of *Lenox*'s Diſguſt giving them an Opportunity to hold Intelligence with him, they got him to inſpire the King with a Deſire to get out of the Hands of the Earl of *Angus*. But as there was Occaſion for a great deal of Precaution to deceive that Lord's Watchfulneſs, it was not till the next Year that the King found an Opportunity to attempt the Execution of this Deſign.

Truce between England *and* Scotland *prolonged.* Act. Pub. XIV. 30.

The Beginning of the Year the Court of *Scotland* had ſent an Embaſſy to *England*, at the Head whereof was the Earl of *Caſſis*, to treat about the King's Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*. But as ſeveral Difficulties occurred, the Truce which was to expire the 26th of *January*, was prolonged to the 23d of *March*, to give the Earl of *Caſſils* Time to go to *Scotland*

land for new Inſtructions. Nevertheleſs it was not poſſible to conclude any Thing, becauſe in all Appearance *Henry* had no Intention to give his only Daughter and *Heir* to the King of *Scotland*. The Truth is, one cannot ſee what Benefit he could have reaped from thence. Beſides, intending to join with *France*, he was no longer ſo much concerned to keep fair with *Scotland*. 1525.

Before the Treaty of *Moore* was concluded, the Emperour had a great Advantage in the Negotiations he kept on Foot at *Rome* and *Madrid*. By reſtoring *Sforza* to *Milan*, he was almoſt ſure the Pope and *Venetians* would abandon *France* and by giving over his Claim to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he could depend upon it that *Francis* would readily reſign *Milan*, and not trouble himſelf much with the Affairs of *Italy*. But he could not think of yielding up either, and that made the Negotiations laſt ſo long. After the Treaty of *Moore* was ſigned, the Scene of his Affairs was ſhifted. The Pope grew more ſtout, and finding he was impoſed upon by the Emperour, who in a ſecond Ratification of their Treaty, left the Reſtoration of *Sforza* in a State of Uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the Reſtitution of the *Milaneſe*, there was no Peace to be expected. The Emperour had reaſon to fear likewiſe, that *Francis* I. ſeeing himſelf about to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill farther from complying in the Buſineſs of *Burgundy*. Wherefore perciving there was no Way to prevent a League which was going to unite ſo many Princes againſt him, he was at a very great Loſs. He was under a neceſſity of reſolving ſpeedily either to maintain without any Ally, the impending War, or to make Peace with *France*. Both which threw him equally into great Perplexities. In chuſing War, he knew not where to find Money, and in making with his Priſoner a Peace upon Compulſion, he could not expect to reap that Benefit from his Victory which he had propoſed to himſelf. Luckily for him, *Francis*, heartily tired of his Captivity, freed him for his Perplexity,

1526. *Negotiations at Rome.*

The Pope refuſes all Terms without Sforza's Reſtoration.

The Emperour reſolves upon a Peace.

1526. plexity, by offering to reſign the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, which had hitherto been the main Obſtacle to a Peace. After that the Emperour ſtuck no longer to treat in good earneſt with him, whereas hitherto he had only amuſed him. Shortly after they concluded together the famous Treaty of *Madrid*. The chief Articles to which *Francis* ſubmitted are here ſet down, beſides a great many others which it would be needleſs to recite.

Treaty of Madrid. Jan. 14. Act. Pub. XIV. 308.

That the King of *France* ſhould marry Queen *Leonora* the Emperour's Siſter, and have with her two Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold.

That *Francis* ſhould be ſet at Liberty on the 10th of *March*, and the ſame Day he ſhould deliver to the Emperour his two Sons in Hoſtage.

That he ſhould reſign to the Emperour the Dutchy of *Burgundy* in full Sovereignty.

That he ſhould deſiſt from the Homage the Emperour owed him for *Flanders* and *Artois*.

That he ſhould renounce all Claim to *Naples*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, *Aſti*, *Tournay*, *Liſle* and *Heſdin*.

That he ſhould perſwade *Henry de Albert* to yield up the Kingdom of *Navarre* to the Emperour, or at leaſt ſhould give him no Aſſiſtance.

That within forty Days he ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* and all of his Party to their Eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore *Philibert de Châlons* Prince of *Orange*, and *Michael Antonio de Saluzzo*, to their Principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Guelders*, and after that Prince's Death, he ſhould uſe his beſt Endeavour to cauſe his Towns to fall into the Emperour's Hands.

That he ſhould pay the King of *England* five Hundred Thouſand Crowns which the Emperour owed him.

That when the Emperour went to *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown, he ſhould lend him twelve Gallies

lies, four large Ships, and a Land-Army, or two Hundred Thouſand Crowns inſtead of the Army. 1526.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the Word and Honour of a Prince, to execute all theſe Articles, or in caſe of Non-Performance to return Priſoner to *Spain*.

Poſture of the Emperour's Affairs at the time of the Treaty of Madrid.

If *Francis* had not been ſo haſty to offer the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he would in all Appearance have ſaved himſelf a World of Trouble, and avoided ſome Reproaches which not a little touched his Honour. At the Time the Treaty of *Madrid* was concluded, *Charles* was under very great Perplexities. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the Princes and *Hans-Towns* of *Germany*, that had embraced *Luther*'s Doctrine, began to take Meaſures to ſcreen themſelves from the Calamities they were daily threatned with. To this was added the dread of a *Turkiſh* Invaſion in *Hungary*, wherein the Emperour was deeply concerned, by Reaſon of the Neighbourhood of *Auſtria*. Wherefore in all likelihood, if *Francis* had not been ſo haſty, the Emperour would have ſooner given over his Claim to *Burgundy*, than run the Hazard of having ſo many Enemies to deal with at once. Theſe were the real Motives that obliged him to haſten the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Madrid*, contrary to the Inſtances and Oppoſition of many of his Counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His Chancellor even refuſed to ſign it; but as he believed he had ſtrong Reaſons to run that Hazard, he abſolutely concluded in the Belief he was in, that it was the ſole Means to prevent the League againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to come off at moſt by reſtoring *Sforza* to *Milan*; which however he did not intend to do but at the laſt Extremity. Mean while, by reſolving to ſtand too ſtiffly upon that Article, he rendered all his Meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his Priſoner, without obtaining *Burgundy*, or preventing the League. In ſhort, after having ſuſtained abundance of Attacks, he was forced to yield up the Dutchy of

1526. *Milan*, as will be seen hereafter. But where is the Prince, let his Abilities be never so great, that can foresee all the Consequences of his own Politicks? When *Charles* V signed the Treaty of *Madrid*, he imagined he did a Thing very much to his Advantage. Indeed *Francis* would have dearly purchased his Liberty, if when he signed the Treaty he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifest, that when he gave his Word, he designed to break it, since he had no sooner set Foot in his own Dominions, but he refused to ratify the Treaty. The Emperour so little expected any such Thing, that immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace, he wrote to the Pope, that although he had promised to restore *Sforza* to *Milan*, it was however on Condition that *Sforza* cleared himself of the Crime of *Felony* and High-Treason laid to his Charge. Adding, that since the Princes of *Italy* wished he would not give the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Archduke *Ferdinand* his Brother, he would present it to the Duke of *Bourbon*, in Case *Sforza* was found guilty. *Clement* VII having been informed of the Conditions of the Treaty of *Madrid*, presently guessed that *Francis* had accepted of them purely to obtain his Freedom, without intending to perform them. In this Belief he insisted still upon *Sforza*'s Restoration without Terms, being willing before he ingaged with the Emperour, to see what the King of *France* would do. The Senate of *Venice* being of the same Mind, not a little contributed to keep the Pope in his Resolution.

The Emperour adds a new Condition with regard to Sforza. Guicciard.

The Pope believes Francis *will not keep the Treaty of* Madrid. *He insists upon* Sforza's *Restoration.*

What these subtle *Politicians* had foreseen came to pass. *Francis* was no sooner arrived in his own Territories, but he mounted a *Turkish* Horse and rid full speed to St. *John de Luz*, from whence he went next Day to *Bayonne*. On the 17th of *March*, he signed Bonds to the King of *England* for the Sums his Mother the Regent had bound him in. By the Way, the Historians place this Prince's Deliverance on the 18th of *March*, and yet these Bonds are dated at *Bayonne* the 17th of the same Month. When he came to *Bayonne*

Francis *arrives in his own Dominions,*

Lanoy *prays him to ratify the Treaty.*

onne, *Lanoy*, who accompanied him as Ambaſſador, prayed him to ratify the Treaty of *Madrid*. But the King told him, that having made in the Treaty a Step beyond the Power of a King of *France*, in yielding the Dutchy of *Burgundy* to the Emperour, he muſt proceed to the Performance by fair Means, and endeavour to get the Conſent of the *Burgundians* and Approbation of the reſt of his Subjects: That however he intended to execute the Treaty, but that he had need of a little Time to prepare for it. This Anſwer was enough to let the Ambaſſador ſee what the King had in his Mind. He followed him however to *Bourdeaux*, where the King's firſt Buſineſs was to ratify the Treaty concluded at *Moore* with the King of *England*. From *Bourdeaux* he came to *Cognac*, where he made ſome ſtay with the Viceroy of *Naples* ſtill in his Train, preſſing him from Time to Time to ratify and execute the Treaty of *Madrid* or return to *Spain* according to his Oath. To which the King objected in his Excuſe three Reaſons, wherein the Ambaſſador was far from acquieſcing. The firſt was, that it was not in his Power to reſign *Burgundy*, becauſe the Kings of *France* not being Proprietors of their Dominions, it was not lawful for them to alienate any Part. The ſecond, that he was compelled to ſign the Treaty of *Madrid*. The Third, that by the Oath he took at his Coronation, he had ſworn not to alienate any Part of his Kingdom, and that his Coronation-Oath made void that he had taken at *Madrid*. The Ambaſſador replied to the firſt, That ſuppoſing he could not alienate any of his Provinces, that was not to be underſtood of Dominions unjuſtly acquired by the Crown of *France*, as was the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. To the ſecond he anſwered, That it had been left to his Choice either to remain in the State, the Fortune of War, and the good Pleaſure of God had thrown him, or to get out of it by a Treaty which he had himſelf ſollicited; and that it was a hard Matter to conceive wherein the Compulſion he complained of conſiſted. To the Third he ſaid, That when the King

1526.

He ſhifts it off.

He ratifies the Treaty of Moore. Act. Pub. XIV. 135.

Lanoy *preſſes him.* Guicciard. Mezerai.

The King alledges Reaſons to be excuſed.

Lanoy's *Reply.*

1526. ſwore to the Treaty of *Madrid*, he was not ignorant of the Oath he took at his Coronation, and in all appearance, believed the Second contrary to the Firſt; that if it was otherwiſe, there would be ground to think, he had intended to impoſe upon the Emperour's Eaſineſs. Without weighing here either the King's Reaſons or the Ambaſſador's Anſwers, it ſuffices to ſay in one word, that the King's Reſolution was already taken.

The Pope's and Venetian Ambaſſadors go to the King at Cognac.

The Pope, the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, plainly foreſeeing that *Francis* would ſcruple to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, made haſte and ſent Ambaſſadors to him, who found him at *Cognac*. They were receiv'd with great Civilities, and the King out of hand enter'd into Negotiation with them about a League againſt the Emperour. The League was concluded indeed at *Cognac*, the 17th of *May*, between the Pope, the King of *France*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians:* but it was not made publick till a Month after, *Francis* pretending he could not ratify it till he had ſeen the Ratifications of the other Allies. The Viceroy of *Naples*, having ſome Notice of it, call'd upon the King, for the laſt time, to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*. Whereupon *Francis* told him downright, that it was not in his Power to reſign *Burgundy*, tho' he had bound himſelf thereto. But to let him ſee that he deſir'd to live in Friendſhip with the Emperour his Maſter, he offer'd to give him Two Millions of Crowns of Gold, as an Equivalent for *Burgundy*, and punctually to perform the Reſt of the Treaty.

League at Cognac *againſt the Emperour.*

Lanoy *calls upon the King, who tells him plainly he will not execute the Treaty. He offers 2 Millions in lieu of* Burgundy.

The Emperor will abate nothing.

Thus the Emperour's Meaſures were entirely broken. He had the King of *France* no longer in his Power, and yet he was no leſs ingag'd to ſuſtain the Efforts of the League juſt concluded againſt him, not to mention the King of *England*, who probably would one time or other act upon the Offenſive. His whole Dependance was upon having the King of *France*'s two Sons in Hoſtage. But the Perplexity he was in was not capable of making him

ſtoop

ſtoop on this Occaſion. He choſe to run all Hazards rather than conſent to the leaſt Alteration of the Treaty of *Madrid*. His Reſolution being notified to *Francis*, the League was publiſh'd at *Cognac* the 11th of *June*. Two things haſten'd the Concluſion of this League. The Firſt, that the Caſtle of *Milan* beſieg'd by the Imperialiſts, being hard preſs'd, ſtood in need of a ſpeedy Relief, and the Pope and *Venetians* durſt not ſend their Troops into the Field, before they were ſure of the League with *France*. The Second, that the King of *France* deſigning to offer the Emperour Two Millions of Crowns in lieu of *Burgundy*, he believ'd his Offer would meet with a readier Acceptance after the Concluſion of the League. It is certain, this was his ſole Aim, and if his Offer had been accepted, he would never have ratified the League of *Cognac*. Nay, after the League was made publick, neither himſelf nor the King of *England*, ever did any thing conſiderable againſt the Emperour, their Intent being only to frighten him and obtain by that means the Reſtitution of the two Hoſtages upon reaſonable Terms. Thus, for once the *Italians* were overreach'd by the *French* and *Engliſh*, which deſerves to be taken Notice of, as a thing very uncommon. Mean while *Francis* and *Henry*, to go on with their Game, made a new Treaty, promiſing never to make Peace with the Emperour, unleſs he would reſtore the Hoſtages and pay *Henry* what he ow'd him. But this Treaty oblig'd them not to take Arms to procure one anotner the Satisfaction they pretended to.

1526.

The League is made publick.

Francis aims only to frighten the Emperour.

The Pope and *Venetians* relying upon the Aſſiſtance of *France* and *England*, ſent their Troops into the Field under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino*, who ſuffer'd the Caſtle of *Milan* to be taken, and caus'd an Attempt upon *Genoa* to miſcarry, for want of ſending the Allies a Supply of Fifteenhundred Men. *Guicciardini* inſinuates, in ſeveral Places, that the Duke acted but faintly againſt the Empe-

The Pope's and Venetians *Army take the Field.* Guicciard.

1526. Emperour, who was very weak in *Italy*, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* who was come back to *Milan* would have been infallibly conſtrained to abandon the City, had he been put to it never ſo little.

The Colonna's make War upon the Pope. Whilſt the Duke of *Urbino* favour'd the Emperour indirectly, the Duke of *Seſſa* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and *Hugo de Moncada*, who commanded at *Naples* in the Viceroy's Abſence, made amends other ways for the weakneſs of the Imperialiſts, by exciting the *Colonna*'s to war upon the Pope, whilſt his Troops were in the Dutchy of *Milan*. This unexpected Invaſion, which the Pope could not but aſcribe to the Sollicitations of the Emperour or his *Miniſters*, cauſed him to reſolve to ſend into the Kingdom of *Naples* the Army the Duke of *Urbino* commanded in the *Milaneſe*, and to that End he got the Conſent of the *Venetians*. But the Duke of *Seſſa*, to prevent the Invaſion the Kingdom of *Naples* was threaten'd with, ordered it ſo that the *Colonna*'s gave the Pope all the Satisfaction he deſir'd. The Agreement was made at *Rome* the 22d of *Auguſt*, and the Duke of *Urbino* was countermanded.

They ſubmit.

They enter Rome *on a ſudden.* *The Pope flies to the Caſtle of St.* Angelo. But about a Month after, when the Pope leaſt expected it, the *Colonna*'s with Five or Six Thouſand Men enter'd *Rome* on the 19th or 20th of *September*, in the Night, and put the Pope in ſuch a Conſternation that he fled all in a Fright to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. As he was not very ſafe in that Caſtle, where he had nothing to ſtand a Siege withal, *Moncada* went to him, and repreſenting to him the Danger he was in, and that *Rome* was going to be plunder'd, he perſwaded him to make a ſeparate Truce with the Emperour for Four Months. This was longer than the Emperour had Occaſion for, who had order'd Levies to be made in *Germany*, and was about to ſend back *Lanoy* to *Naples* with a good Body of *Spaniſh* Troops. As ſoon as the Truce was ſign'd, the Pope's Troops which ſerv'd under the Duke of *Urbino* were recall'd to *Rome*.

Truce between the Pope and Emperour.

Mean

Mean while the Pope was extremely ſurpriz'd at *Francis*'s ſlowneſs, who, tho' principal Author of the League, never ſtirr'd to compel the Emperour to give back his Sons. The King of *England*'s Indolence aſtoniſh'd him no leſs, becauſe knowing not that the League concluded at *Moore* was only Defenſive, he had imagin'd that the two Kings were to fall upon the Emperour with all their Forces. Wherefore to rouze them up by raiſing their Jealouſy, he declar'd he deſign'd to go to *Spain* and concert with the Emperour the Means to procure the Peace of *Europe*. This Declaration very much confounded the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors. They were afraid there was ſome hidden Myſtery in ſo extraordinary a Journey, and therefore uſed their beſt Endeavour to diſſwade the Pope from it. But *Henry* made uſe of a more effectual Means, *viz.* A Preſent of Thirty-Thouſand-Ducats which made him entirely lay aſide all thoughts of his pretended Journey to *Spain*.

1526. Clement VII. *feigns to intend to go to* Spain.

Henry *makes him a Preſent.*

Shortly after, *Clement* VII broke the Agreement he had made with the *Colonna*'s, and order'd the Troops he had ſent for to *Rome* to march into their Territories, having firſt excommunicated them and depriv'd *Pompeo Colonna* of the Cardinalate. He affirm'd that the Treaty he had made with them was void, becauſe he was compell'd to it, he thereby juſtified, in ſome Meaſure, *Francis*'s Proceedings, to whom on the ſame Pretenſe he had granted a Diſpenſation from the Oath he had taken at *Madrid*.

The Pope breaks the Agreement with the Colonna's.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at *Rome*, the Baron *de Frondſperg* march'd from *Germany* to *Italy* with an Army of Thirteen or Fourteen Thouſand Men, whom he had raiſed for the Emperour's Service. Upon News thereof, the Duke of *Urbino*, who kept the Duke of *Bourbon* as it were beſieged in *Milan*, quitted the Neighbourhood of that City, under Colour of going and oppoſing the Paſſage of the *Germans*. Mean while the Pope was under no ſmall Trouble.

Frondſperg *marches to* Italy.

The Duke of Urbino *raiſes the Blockade of* Milan.

1526. Trouble. The Truce was ſoon to expire. *Frondſperg* was on the march to *Italy*, and the Viceroy of *Naples* was now in the Iſland of *Corſica*, leading to *Naples* a ſtrong ſupply of *Spaniards*. In the mean time, the King of *France* was making no Preparations to ſupport his Allies, and the King of *England* ſhow'd the ſame Remiſſneſs. Mean while *Frondſperg*, continuing his March, arriv'd in the *Mantuan*, where the Prince of *Orange* came to join and ſerve under him as a Volunteer. Afterwards, about the middle of *December*, he repair'd to the Borders of the *Milaneſe*, the Duke of *Urbino* not being able or willing to oppoſe his March. Here he expected the Duke of *Bourbon* who was to come and join him; but who was not yet in condition to execute that Deſign. The Difficulties aroſe from his having no Money to pay his Troops, who poſitively refuſed to go out of the City till they had receiv'd their Arrears, and even threaten'd to ſack the Town. There was no other way to hinder them from putting their Threats in practice, than to take the Plate belonging to the Churches. This ſerv'd to pay Part of what was due to the Troops, who had ſcarce receiv'd any thing ſince the Battle of *Pavia*, ſo deſtitute of Money was the Emperour. The Duke of *Bourbon* made uſe of another Expedient to increaſe his Treaſure: That was to cauſe the Chancellor *Moroué* to be condemn'd to die, who to redeem his Life gave him Twenty Thouſand Ducats. After that he became one of his chief Counſellors.

Francis *neglects the Affairs of* Italy.

The Duke of Bourbon *is at a Loſs for want of Money*

Lanoy *arrives at* Naples. *He amuſes the Pope.*

Whilſt the Duke of *Bourbon* was buſied in finding Money, *Lanoy*, who was come to *Naples* with a Body of *Spaniſh* Troops, amus'd the Pope with Negotiations tending only to hinder him from taking fix'd Meaſures, by putting him in hopes of a ſpeedy Accommodation with the Emperour. This Proſpect however became more and more diſtant ſince *Frondſperg*'s Arrival. Whilſt *Milan* was in danger, the Emperour cauſed the Pope to be told, that if he deſir'd

deſired *Franciſco Sforza* ſhould be brought to his Trial, it was only to ſave the Honour of the Empire, but that he would give the Judges private Orders to declare him innocent. But after the coming of the *Germans*, he demanded ſuch a pecuniary Reparation, that *Sforza* was by no means able to raiſe the Sum required. Wherefore the Emperour pretended that the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* were bound for him. 1526.

Francis deceives the Pope and Venetians;

The Pope and *Venetians* were in hopes that immediately after the Concluſion of the League of *Cognac*, *Francis* would ſend a ſtrong Army into *Italy*, and together with the King of *England*, make a powerful Diverſion upon the Borders of *Spain* and *Flanders*. But, as we have juſt ſeen, they were very much out in their Reckoning. *Francis* had concluded the League purely to frighten his Enemy, and in hopes it would cauſe him to accept of the Equivalent offered him. He was deſirous of avoiding a War, and thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceeding by that means, that he made with the King of *England* no Treaty which obliged them to take Arms unleſs they were attacked. Thus *Henry* knowing the King of *France*'s Mind, took care to go no faſter than he. Expreſſes and Envoys from the Pope and *Venetians* frequently came to the two Courts to ſollicite them to War, but it was to no purpoſe. On the contrary, even after the Pope and *Venetians* had ſolemnly declared War againſt the Emperour, *Francis* ſent the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* to make him the ſame Offer again of Two Millions of Crowns in lieu of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. But the Emperour rejected it with diſdain, and charged the Ambaſſador to tell his Maſter that he had acted like a *Knave* and a *Villain*, and that he ought not to have forgot the laſt Converſation they had together *. In all appearance, the

who ſollicite him to no purpoſe.

The Emperour calls him Villain.

* It ſeems before *Francis* went from *Spain*, the Emperour ſaid to him one Day, *Are you willing to perform all that is capitulated between us?* *Francis* replied, *Yes; and when you find that I do not keep my Word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me for a Knave and a Villain.* Herbert. p. 75.

1526. the Ambaſſador thought not proper to diſchaage ſo diſagreeable a Commiſſion, which cauſed afterwards a Miſ-underſtanding to the King of *France*'s Diſadvantage.

Wolſey *obtains Grants for his College.*

Act. Pub. XIV. 156, 158.

Whilſt *Italy*, *France* and *Spain* were in Agitation, *Henry* lived quietly in his Kingdom, and the Cardinal his Favourite was wholly employed about his College at *Oxford*, for which he inceſſantly obtained freſh Grants from the Pope and King. The Pope durſt not refuſe him any Thing at a Time when he thought he wanted his Credit, to excite the King his Maſter to War; and *Henry* was always ready to give him Marks of his Affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the Pope. This Compliance of the Pope and King proved fatal to ſeveral little Monaſteries, which the Cardinal ſuppreſſed and converted the Revenues to the Uſe of his College.

***The Pope endeavours to perſuade* Henry *into the League of* Cognac.**

Ever ſince the publiſhing of the League of *Cognac*, the Pope and *Venetians* had uſed their beſt Endeavours to perſuade *Henry* not only to come into it, but to declare himſelf Protector. It is eaſy to gueſs with what View they paid him this Deference. They were in hopes to find him the ſame they had done formerly, ever ready to fall into their Snares, and to laviſh away his Money in other Peoples Concerns. We ſee, in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Credentials of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors addreſſed to the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal, in all appearance to preſs the King to come into the League. We ſee there likewiſe *Clement* VII's Commiſſion to *Hubert Gambara* and *Giovanni-Baptiſta Sanga* to treat with *Henry*. In this Commiſſion the Pope ſaid, that the Circumſtances of the Times having conſtrained the Allies to conclude a League without the King of *England*'s Knowledge, they had agreed however that he ſhould be declared Protector. Wherefore he empowered his two Envoys to treat with that Monarch about his coming into the League, and to make what Alterations or Amendments in the Articles they ſhould agree upon with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought proper,

Ibid. p. 187. Aug.

per, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them *Powers* to ſettle with him the Penſion which was to be adjudged to him as Protector of the League, if he would pleaſe to accept of the Title. But this ſame Penſion, as appears elſewhere, was to be raiſed upon the Dutchy of *Milan* and Kingdom of *Naples*, after they were conquered. Thus, on the Proſpect of an imaginary Penſion, the Pope deſigned to engage *Henry* in a War with *Spain*, and conſequently to put him to a very great and real Expence. But for once, *Henry* would not be his Cully. He knew by Experience what it was to join with the Popes on account of the Affairs of *Italy*. 1526.

This Year was fought the famous Battle of *Mohatz* in *Hungary* between *Lewis* II King of that Country, and *Soliman* the Emperour of the *Turks*. *Lewis* loſt the Day, and was drowned in a Moraſs *. The Death of this Prince was a freſh Source of Calamities which afflicted *Hungary*. *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* the Emperour's Brother, who had married *Lewis*'s Siſter *Ann*, pretended to the Crown of that Kingdom, and had for Competitor *John de Zapol*, Wayvode of *Tranſilvania*. They were elected by two different Parties. But *John* put himſelf under the Protection of *Soliman*, who cauſed him to be crowned at *Buda*, whilſt *Ferdinand* was taking Meaſures to aſſert his Right. *Battle of* Mohatz *in* Hungary. Aug 18.

The Affairs of *Scotland* continued ſtill in the ſame Poſture, except that in the Courſe of this Year, the Queen's and Earl of *Arran*'s or *Hamilton*'s Faction attempted to take the King by Force from the Earl of *Angus*. But their Attempt miſcarrying, the Earl was ſeverely revenged of the Undertakers. *Affairs of* Scotland.

The Pope and *Venetians* had not begun the War in *Italy*, but in hopes that *Francis* would ſend thither a powerful Francis *and* Henry *deceive the Expectations of the Pope and* Venetians

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1526. the Ambaſſador thought not proper to diſchaage ſo diſagreeable a Commiſſion, which cauſed afterwards a Miſ-underſtanding to the King of *France*'s Diſadvantage.

Wolſey obtains Grants for his College. Act. Pub. XIV. 156, 158.

Whilſt *Italy*, *France* and *Spain* were in Agitation, *Henry* lived quietly in his Kingdom, and the Cardinal his Favourite was wholly employed about his College at *Oxford*, for which he inceſſantly obtained freſh Grants from the Pope and King. The Pope durſt not refuſe him any Thing at a Time when he thought he wanted his Credit, to excite the King his Maſter to War; and *Henry* was always ready to give him Marks of his Affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the Pope. This Compliance of the Pope and King proved fatal to ſeveral little Monaſteries, which the Cardinal ſuppreſſed and converted the Revenues to the Uſe of his College.

The Pope endeavours to perſuade Henry *into the League of* Cognac. Ibid. p. 187. Aug.

Ever ſince the publiſhing of the League of *Cognac*, the Pope and *Venetians* had uſed their beſt Endeavours to perſuade *Henry* not only to come into it, but to declare himſelf Protector. It is eaſy to gueſs with what View they paid him this Deference. They were in hopes to find him the ſame they had done formerly, ever ready to fall into their Snares, and to laviſh away his Money in other Peoples Concerns. We ſee, in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Credentials of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors addreſſed to the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal, in all appearance to preſs the King to come into the League. We ſee there likewiſe *Clement* VII's Commiſſion to *Hubert Gambara* and *Giovanni-Baptiſta Sanga* to treat with *Henry*. In this Commiſſion the Pope ſaid, that the Circumſtances of the Times having conſtrained the Allies to conclude a League without the King of *England*'s Knowledge, they had agreed however that he ſhould be declared Protector. Wherefore he empowered his two Envoys to treat with that Monarch about his coming into the League, and to make what Alterations or Amendments in the Articles they ſhould agree upon with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought proper,

per, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them *Powers* to ſettle with him the Penſion which was to be adjudged to him as Protector of the League, if he would pleaſe to accept of the Title. But this ſame Penſion, as appears elſewhere, was to be raiſed upon the Dutchy of *Milan* and Kingdom of *Naples*, after they were conquered. Thus, on the Proſpect of an imaginary Penſion, the Pope deſigned to engage *Henry* in a War with *Spain*, and conſequently to put him to a very great and real Expence. But for once, *Henry* would not be his Cully. He knew by Experience what it was to join with the Popes on account of the Affairs of *Italy*. 1526.

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1527. powerful Army, and the King of *England* make a Diverſion from the *Low-Countries*, or at leaſt, as he was wont, furniſh Money for maintaining the War. The Eaſineſs wherewith he had ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed in the former Wars, made them depend upon his Money as a ſure Aid, though upon making a Peace or Truce they had never minded his Concerns. But the Scene was changed. *Henry*, grown more wiſe by Experience, was no longer willing to find Money to do other People's Buſineſs. Beſides, the Treaſure left him by the King his Father being long ſince exhauſted, he could come at no Money but by Means of the Parliament, who always raiſed Difficulties, or made him purchaſe their *Subſidies* with ſome extraordinary Favours. So *Francis* ſeeing him altered from what he was formerly, feared to engage too far, before he was ſure of his Aſſiſtance. He plainly perceived he was no longer inclined to aid the Emperour as uſual. But that was not enough. It was farther neceſſary to perſwade him to join in the League of *Italy*, otherwiſe the whole Charge of the War muſt fall upon *France*, already drained of Men, Money and Generals. For this Reaſon his Aim was to induce the Emperour by Means of the League, to accept of the Equivalent offered him for *Burgundy*, and to keep up the War in *Italy*, only till that Prince ſhould come to a Reſolution, or the King of *England* be fully drawn in. Upon this Account, he made the Pope and *Venetians* large Promiſes, to hinder them from being impatient; but he performed them very ill. A ſmall Body of Troops levied in *Italy*, under the Command of the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, was hitherto all that he contributed for the League whereof himſelf was the Author and Head. Mean while the Pope was extremely uneaſy at ſeeing the Slowneſs or rather Coolneſs of the two Monarchs, on whom he relied. Indeed he had no ground to complain of *Henry*, who had made him no Promiſe, and yet he ceaſed not to preſs him earneſtly to take in Hand the Defence of *the Church*, as if *the Church* could not have ſubſiſted in

in caſe the Emperour remained Maſter of *Milan*. But he received only general Anſwers. *Henry* having no mind to engage in the Affairs of *Italy*, where there was nothing to be got. In the mean time, the Pope was at an Expence which threw him into great Streights. For which reaſon he privately kept on foot with the Viceroy of *Naples* a Negotiation, with Deſign to haſten or retard it, according to the Proceedings of the Kings of *France* and *England*. In this he acted agreeably to his real Temper, which made him conſider the having always two Strings to his Bow, as the ſureſt Maxim of Politicks. But he was ſo unlucky, as that the Iſſue of his Artifices was ever contrary to his Expectations. As his ſole Aim was only to hinder the Emperour from keeping *Milan*, to that End he had a Mind the Kings of *France* and *England* ſhould exert themſelves; after which, he would have made no Scruple to forſake them, provided the Emperour had given him Satisfaction in that Point. *Francis* was in no better Diſpoſition with regard to his Allies. His View was to get his Sons out of *Spain*; and could he have ſucceeded by treating alone with the Emperour, he would not have given himſelf much trouble about the Concerns of the Pope and *Venetians*. As for the Republick of *Venice*, it was of great Conſequence to them that the Emperour ſhould not continue in Poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, and the Expence they were at to hinder it was nothing in Compariſon of the Detriment they would have received, if the Emperour had peaceably held that Dutchy. Wherefore, never ceaſing to ſollicite the Kings of *France* and *England*, they carried on the War, though faintly, expecting that the two Kings would take upon them the greateſt Part of the Charge. The Negotiation which the Pope ſtill kept on foot with the Viceroy of *Naples*, afforded the *Venetians* a plauſible Reaſon not to exert themſelves, becauſe they were afraid his Inconſtancy would render all their Endeavours ineffectual. The Emperour was no leſs at a ſtand on his Part. As he had but little Money, a vigorous

1527.

Clement *ſets on foot a Negotiation with the Viceroy of* Naples. Guicciard

The Emperour's Embaraſſment.

1527. gorous War muſt needs have annoyed him very much. And therefore, finding the King of *France* did not exert himſelf, he made no haſte to ſend freſh Supplies to *Italy*, for fear of quickning the Diligence of his Enemies. Beſides, ſince *Frondſperg*'s Arrival with the *German* Troops, he deemed himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the Dutchy of *Milan*, which was then his chief Aim. Such was the Diſpoſition of theſe Potentates in the Beginning of the Year 1527. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in *Italy* during this Year, becauſe it ſerved for Foundation to all the Events which will be ſpoken of in the Sequel.

The Duke of Bourbon *is without Money, and at a great Loſs.* Guicciard

The Duke of *Bourbon* was at a terrible Loſs for want of Money to pay his Troops. After frequent Exactions upon the Inhabitants of *Milan*, he ſaw no way to maintain his Army any longer, without running the Risk of cauſing a general Revolt in that great City which was reduced to Deſpair. On the other Hand, the *Germans* led to *Italy* by *Frondſperg*, had received no Pay ſince their Liſting. There was a Neceſſity therefore, either of paying them what was due to them, or furniſhing them wherewithal to make themſelves amends otherwiſe, or reſolve to ſee the Army diſbanded, on which the Emperour wholly relied. To ſatisfy the Troops there was no other way but to lead them into the Territories of the *Church*, of *Florence*, or of *Venice*. But the *Venetian* Towns were too well provided to afford any Proſpect of Booty from thence; eſpecially as the Duke of *Bourbon* had no Artillery. Beſides, it is very likely he was ſure the Duke of *Urbino* would not oppoſe his Deſigns, provided he would not moleſt the Republick. So determining to maintain his Army in the Pope's Territories, he left Seven or Eight Thouſand *Germans* at *Milan*, under the Command of *Antonia de Leva*, and went and joined *Frondſperg* in the *Plaiſantin*, where he ſtayed ſome time to raiſe Contributions.

He ſees no other way but to lead his Army into the Pope's Territories.

The Duke of Urbino *favours him.*

He joins Frondſperg.

War between the Pope and Viceroy of Naples.

Before the Duke of *Bourbon* left *Milan*, the Viceroy of *Naples* had brought an Army upon the Borders of the *Eccleſiaſtical State* to make a Diverſion, and force the

the Pope to recal the Troops he had ſent to the Duke of *Urbino*, ſince the Truce was expired. The Approach of this Army had obliged the Pope to raiſe Troops to defend his Dominions, not having thought fit to recal thoſe he had in *Lombardy*. Hence he ſaw himſelf engaged in an Expence he had not been uſed to. Hitherto the Popes had found means to wage War at the Charge of other People, and *Clement* VII was in hopes to do the ſame. He had granted to *Francis* a *Tenth* upon the *Clergy* of *France*, which he was to ſhare with him. Beſides that, *Francis* had promiſed to find Forty Thouſand Crowns a Month for the League, and Twenty Thouſand for the Pope in particular. But of all this he had not yet paid but Ten Thouſand Crowns. Thus the Pope found himſelf over-burdened without knowing how to get rid of his Load, ſince it was no leſs difficult to raiſe Money, than dangerous to make a ſeparate Peace at ſuch a Juncture. Mean while, *Henry* VIII being informed of his Neceſſities, and fearing he would go from the League, ſent him Thirty Thouſand Ducats, which helped to comfort him a little, and keep him in a Reſolution to continue the War.

1527.

Clement VII *is engaged in a great Expence.*

Francis *keeps not his word with him*

Henry *ſends him a Preſent.*

It is needleſs to give the Particulars of the War between the Pope and Viceroy of *Naples*. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that whilſt it was on foot, the Pope having received Advice of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s March, concluded a Truce with the Viceroy. He had ſtrong Reaſons for taking this Courſe. He was not only burdened with the Maintenance of two Armies, but he ſaw himſelf alſo every Day farther from the Hopes he had entertained with reſpect to *France* and *England*. *Francis* performed nothing of what he had promiſed, and *Henry* ſhowed no great Inclination to come into the League. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Urbino*'s Proceedings, who commanded the Army of the Allies in the *Milaneſe*, became daily more ſuſpicious. Beſides, *Florence* was in danger, and the Pope was not ſafe in *Rome* itſelf. The Conditions of the Truce were:

Truce between the Pope and Viceroy.

1527. Guicciard. That it ſhould laſt Eight Months: That the Pope ſhould pay Sixty Thouſand Ducats to the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army; *viz.* Forty Thouſand on the 21ſt of the preſent Month, and the reſt Eight Days after; and that the Imperial Army ſhould go out of the *Eccleſiaſtical State*. The Truce being publiſhed, the Pope diſbanded all his Troops, except Two Thouſand *Foot* and a Hundred *Horſe*, and laid up his Gallies before he knew the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Mind, who was in the midſt of his March to *Bologna*.

The Duke of Bourbon's *March.* The Duke's Troops conſiſted of Five Thouſand *Men at Arms*, making about Two Thouſand *Horſe*, Thirteen or Fourteen Thouſand *Germans*, Five Thouſand *Spaniards*, Two Thouſand *Italian* Foot, and a good Number of *Light-Horſe* of the ſame Nation. This Army departed from about *Plaiſance* in the Month of *February*, without Money, Proviſions, Waggons, Artillery, and ſubſiſting only by means of the Contributions they raiſed in their way. The Duke not being able to enter *Bologna*, by reaſon the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo* was got in with Twelve Thouſand Men, ſtayed ſome time in the *Bologneſe*, where his Army made a prodigious Booty. Here he was informed of the Concluſion of the Truce, to which he would not conſent, becauſe the Sum he was to have was not ſufficient to pay what was due to his Troops. Whereupon the Viceroy of *Naples*, who was at *Rome*, came to *Florence*, where the Duke ſent an Officer to confer with him. As the Viceroy's Intent was to get the Duke of *Bourbon* to accept of the Truce, in order to ſend the Imperial Army into the State of *Venice*, he agreed with the Meſſenger that the Duke ſhould withdraw in five Days; that Fourſcore Thouſand Ducats ſhould be paid him down, and Sixty Thouſand ſome Day in *May*. The Pope hearing of this new Agreement, diſbanded the Two Thouſand Men he had kept, that he might be eaſed of the Charge. But the Duke of *Bourbon*, whether he had intended to deceive the Viceroy, or whether he could not reſtrain his Army, after making as if he would attack *Florence*, ſuddenly took

The Duke refuſes the Truce concluded at Rome.

The Viceroy makes a new agreemont with him.

The D. ſuddenly marches to Rome.

the

the Road to *Rome*, leaving a long way behind him the Pope's and *Venetian*'s Army, who had thrown themſelves into *Florence*. 1527.

Great was the Alarm then at *Rome*. The Pope ſeeing himſelf without Troops and Money, knew not what Courſe to take. In this Diſtreſs, he committed the Defence of *Rome* and himſelf to *Renzo de Ceri*, who made him hope that with an Army he raiſed within the City Walls, he would ſcreen the City from being inſulted. The Pope truſting to his General's Words, would neither leave *Rome* himſelf to provide for his Safety, nor ſuffer any Thing to be carried from thence. *The Pope's Diſtreſs.*

Mean while the Duke of *Bourbon* purſuing his March by great Day's Journeys, without meeting any Obſtacle, appeared before *Rome* on the 5th of *May*. The ſame Day, making as if he would go on to *Naples*, he ſent a Trumpet to the Pope for leave to paſs through the City. Upon his being refuſed, next Morning at break of Day he approached the Suburbs by means of a very thick Miſt, and ſtormed a Breach which they had not had time to repair. But in the very Beginning of the Aſſault his Thigh-bone was broke with a Muſquet-ſhot, of which Wound he died on the Spot. The Prince of *Orange*, who was near him, throwing a Cloak over his Body, continued the Aſſault. At length, after a Two Hours Reſiſtance, the Breach was forced, and the Imperialiſts entered the Suburbs. Whereupon the Pope withdrew to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, accompanied by Thirteen Cardinals, all the foreign Ambaſſadors, and ſome other Perſons of Diſtinction. In the mean while, the Imperialiſts were employed in becoming Maſters of the *Tyber*, which was no hard Matter, conſidering the Conſternation the whole City was under. The Pope might ſtill have gone out of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and his Perſon been ſafe. But by a ſtrange Blindneſs, upon News of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Death, he was obſtinately bent, without any juſt Reaſon, to ſtay in a Place where he had neither Proviſions, nor Ammunition, nor a Garriſon ſufficient to defend *The Duke of* Bourbon *comes before* Rome. *He ſtorms the City.* *He is ſlain.* *The Breach is forced.* *The Pope retires to St.* Angelo.

1527. defend it. So many Historians have given a Description of the sacking of *Rome*, that it is needless to say any Thing of it here. One may guess easily enough what the greediness of the Plunder may cause an ill-disciplined Army without a General, such as this was, to commit. Some Historians have been pleased to cast the whole Blame of the Rapine and Cruelty that was committed on this Occasion, upon the *Protestants* in *Frondsperg*'s Troops. But the most Part have made no such Distinction, but are agreed that the *Spaniards* had no greater Regard for the *Holy City* than the *Germans* *.

Sacking of Rome. *May* 12.

Oversight of the Allies. Guicciard.

If the Army of the Allies had closely followed the Imperialists, they might have fallen upon them whilst they were most intent upon the Plunder, and in all Appearance would have come off with Success. But if we may believe *Guicciardini*, the Duke of *Urbino* ordered it so that the Army came not before *Rome* till towards the End of *May*, and then started so many Objections against attempting to relieve the Castle of St. *Angelo*, that the Generals agreed to leave the Pope to get off as well as he could. The Allies retiring on the 1st of *June*, *Clement* capitulated on the 6th, having first sent for the Viceroy of *Naples* to treat with him. But the Army having chosen the Prince of *Orange* for General, had no great Confidence in the Viceroy, neither would they be guided by his Counsels. The Pope therefore was forced to sign with the Prince of *Orange* and the Chief Officers of the Army, the following Capitulation :

The Pope capitulates. June 6.

Articles of the Capitulation.

That the Pope should pay the Army four Hundred Thousand Ducats, *viz.* one hundred Thousand down, fifty Thousand in two Days, and two Hundred and fifty Thousand within two Months, assigning for that Purpose a Tax upon the whole *Ecclesiastical State*.

That

* They ransacked the City without Distinction of Places, for the Space of six or seven Days, killing above five Thousand Men, and committing all Manner of Rapine and Cruelty. *Herb. p.* 82.

That he ſhould deliver into the Emperour's Hands the Caſtles of St. *Angelo*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Citta Caſtellana*, *Parma*, *Plaiſance* and *Modena*. 1527.

That the Pope with the thirteen Cardinals ſhould remain Priſoners in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, till a Hundred and fifty Thouſand Crowns were paid, which done, they ſhould be conducted to *Naples* or *Gaeta*, there to wait the Emperour's Pleaſure.

That the Chevalier *Gregorio Caſali* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *Renzo de Ceri*, and all the reſt that had fled to the Caſtle, except the Pope and the thirteen Cardinals, ſhould have Liberty to go where they pleaſed.

That the *Colonna*'s ſhould be abſolved from all *Cenſures*.

That when the Pope ſhould go from *Rome*, he ſhould leave a *Legate*, and the Court of the *Rota* *.

The Pope remains a Priſoner.

The Capitulation being ſigned, Captain *Alarcon*, the ſame that had the Cuſtody of *Francis* I. when a Priſoner, entered the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* with three *Companies* of *Spaniards*, and as many of *Germans*, and ſtrictly guarded the Pope and Cardinals. During the Confuſion cauſed by the Pope's Impriſonment, the Duke of *Ferrara* became Maſter of *Modena*, the *Venetians* took *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, *Sigiſmund Malateſta* ſeized *Rimini*, and the *Florentines* expelling the Pope's *Legate*, recovered their Liberty.

Several Alterations.

The Imperial Army becomes uſeleſs.

Some Time after, all the Troops which were in the Kingdom of *Naples* repaired to *Rome* to ſhare in the Booty, and glean what the Rapaciouſneſs of the *Spaniards* and *Germans* might have left. The Imperial Army then at *Rome* conſiſted of 12000 *Germans*, 8000 *Spaniards*, and 4000 *Italians*. But the Plague which preſently after raged among the Troops, diminiſhed them ſo, that 'tis ſaid, when they came to

* This Court conſiſts of 12 Prelates, called Auditors of the *Rota* (8 of them *Italians*, 2 *Spaniards* 1 *Frenchman*, and 1 *German*,) who judge by Appeal of all Matters *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, between *Clergymen*. The Court takes its Name from the marble Pavement of the Room where they meet, reſembling a Wheel.

1527. go upon Action, there were not ten Thouſand Men able to bear Arms. Mean while the Eagerneſs after Plunder cauſed the Emperour's Affairs to be neglected to ſuch a Degree, that the Army remained unſerviceable till the End of the Year; whereas *Bologna* and the Towns of *la Romagna* might have been taken, which would have rendered the Emperour Invincible in *Italy*. Beſides, this Negligence afforded *Francis* Time to ſend Troops into thoſe Parts, which he would never have thought of, if the Emperour's Generals had reaped from the taking of *Rome* and the Pope's Captivity, the Advantages which they might have naturally expected for the Service of their Maſter. It is Time now to ſpeak of the Affairs of *England*, the Recital whereof has been interrupted by the Relation of this Year's Events in *Italy*, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding of what will be ſaid hereafter.

Henry *reſolves to make a League Offenſive and Defenſive with* France.

Ever ſince *Francis* had refuſed to execute the Treaty of *Madrid* he had never ceaſed to preſs *Henry* to come into the League of *Cognac*. But whether *Henry* perceived that Prince's Views, or whether he hoped by keeping fair with the Emperour, to make himſelf Umpire of the Peace, he had kept within the Bounds of the League Defenſive concluded at *Moore*. At length, finding that in all Appearance the Pope and *Venetians* would not be able to maintain the War long, he was afraid the Emperour would become Maſter of all *Italy*, and with that Addition of Power, grow too formidable to *Europe*. The Truth is, it was eaſy to ſee that to deveſt him of the Superiority he was going to acquire upon *France*, *England* would one Day be forced to exert it ſelf more than was neceſſary at preſent, to hinder his growing Power. Theſe Conſiderations were backed with the Inſtances of Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom *Francis* had taken Care to gain to his Intereſt, otherwiſe all theſe Reaſons probably would have been to no Purpoſe. So about the End of the laſt Year, *Henry* ſent to *Paris* Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, to acquaint the King of *France*, that he

he was ready to join in a League Offenſive with him, and to give him the Princeſs *Mary* his Daughter in Marriage. *Francis* gladly embracing the Overture, the Negotiation was begun at *Paris* by the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in Ordinary, and *Fitz-Williams*. But as ſeveral Difficulties occurred which depended upon the King of *England*'s Determination, *Francis* thought it more proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to *London* and conclude Matters there. He made Choice for that Purpoſe of *Gabriel d' Aigremont*, or *de Gramont* Biſhop of *Tarbe*, and the Viſcount of *Turenne*, with whom he joined the firſt Preſident of *Roan*, and the Lord *de Vaux*, who were already in *England*. Theſe Ambaſſadors concluded with Cardinal *Wolſey*, appointed Commiſſioner to negotiate with them, three Treaties, which were ſigned the 30th of *April* 1527, when the Duke of *Bourbon* was marching to *Rome*, 1527. *Several Treaties.* April 30. Act. pub. XIV. 195, &c.

The firſt Treaty ran :

That the two Kings ſhould jointly ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperour, with Offers about the Ranſom of the two Hoſtages, and to demand the Payment of what was due to the King of *England*. 1. *Treaty.*

That if he rejected the Offers, or gave no Anſwer within twenty Days, the two Kings ſhould proclaim War againſt him.

Another Article of this Treaty contained a mutual Engagement for the Marriage of *Francis*, or his Son the Duke of *Orleans* with the Princeſs *Mary*, at the King of *France*'s Option, and upon ſuch Terms as ſhould be agreed on when the Time came. In all Appearance this Treaty was to be made publick, in order to induce the Emperour to give over his Claim to *Burgundy*, and reſt ſatisfied with the Equivalent offered him.

By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed :

That in Caſe the Emperour rejected the Propoſals which ſhould be made him, or deferred giving an Anſwer, 2. *Treaty.*

1527. Anſwer, all Commerce ſhall be forbidden with his Subjects, by the two Kings, allowing them however forty Days to withdraw their Effects.

That the two Kings ſhould make War upon the Emperour in the *Low-Countries*, with an Army of thirty Thouſand *Foot*, and fifteen Hundred *Men at Arms*, and that two Thirds of the *Foot*, and all the *Horſe* ſhould be furniſhed by the King of *France*.

That they ſhould fit out a Fleet with fifteen Thouſand Men, whereof the King of *France* ſhould find ten Thouſand.

That if the King of *Portugal*, or any other Prince or *State*, ſhould ſide with the Emperour, they ſhould be declared Enemies to both the Kings.

That the Pope and *Venetians* ſhould be deemed included in the League, provided they would continue the War in *Italy*.

That the King of *France* ſhould endeavour to perſwade the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Gueldres*, to make War upon the Emperour.

That the two Kings ſhould uſe their joint Endeavours to encourage *John de Zapol* to aſſert his Right to the Crown of *Hungary*, in caſe he had not already made an Alliance with the *Turk*, that the Emperour's Brother *Ferdinand* might be kept employed in thoſe Parts.

That the League ſhould be notified to the Princes of *Germany*, and the two Kings try to order it ſo that they ſhould not aſſiſt the Emperour.

The Subſtance of the third Treaty was:

1. That the Treaty ſhould annul nothing of that of *Moore* which was in Force.

2. That there ſhould be perpetual Peace between *Francis* and *Henry* and their reſpective Subjects.

3. That neither of them ſhould give neither Aid nor Advice to any Perſon whatever, that ſhould attack the Dominions of the other.

4. *Henry*

4. *Henry* renounced for himſelf and Succeſſors, all Right and Title to the Kingdom of *France*, and in general, to all that *Francis* was actually poſſeſſed of. 1527.

5. In Conſideration whereof, *Francis* bound himſelf and Succeſſors, to pay to *Henry*'s Succeſſors an annual Penſion for ever, of fifty Thouſand Crowns every Year, at two Payments, namely, on the 1ſt of *May*, and the 1ſt of *November*, and that the Payment of the Penſion ſhould commence on the firſt of the two Days which ſhould happen after *Henry*'s Death, without Deduction of what ſhould remain to be paid after *Henry*'s Deceaſe, of the two Millions ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Moore*.

6. Moreover *Francis* bound himſelf to give yearly to *Henry* fifteen Thouſand Crowns worth of Salt of *Bruage* *, over and above the fifty Thouſand Crowns afore-mentioned.

7. That to prevent the Objection which might be ſtarted hereafter, viz. *That a King can't bind his Succeſſors*, the two Kings ſhould ſee to get the Treaty confirmed by the *States* of their Realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable Law.

8. That the Treaty ſhould be approved and confirmed by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and other great Men of the two Kingdoms, whoſe Names were inſerted in this Article, under Forfeiture of all their Goods, and by the Parliament of *Paris*, *Tholouſe*, *Roan*, *Bourdeaux*, as well as by all the *Courts of Juſtice* in *England*.

Alteration in the ſecond Treaty on Account of the ſacking of Rome.

The News of the ſacking of *Rome* and the Pope's Captivity arriving a little after the Concluſion of theſe Treaties, the two Kings thought fit to alter the Article of the Second, about carrying War into the *Low-Countries*, and to agree to act only in *Italy*. But as the Tranſportation of the *Engliſh* Troops to *Italy* could not

* A Town in *Saintonge* famous for its *Salt-Pits*, about eight Leagues from *Rochel*. The Salt in this Diſtrict brings in the King of *France* 14,000,000 of *Livres per Annum*.

1527. not be done without great Difficulty and Loſs of Time, they agreed that the King of *France* ſhould undertake the War alone, for a certain Sum *, which *Henry* was to pay him monthly, till the End of *October*. This laſt Treaty was ſigned the 29th of *May*, about three Weeks after the taking of *Rome*.

Henry's Demands upon the Emperour. In purſuance of the firſt of the three Treaties of *April* the 30th, *Henry* ſent Sir *Francis Pointz* to *Spain*, to demand of the Emperour, that as by their former Treaties, the War with *France* was carried on at the common Charge, he would give him half the Booty taken at *Pavia*, and one of the two Hoſtages he had received from the *French* King. *Pointz* was accompanied with *Clarenceux* King at Arms, but incognito, that he might be ready to do his Office, when there ſhould be occaſion. The Emperour eaſily perceived that the King of *England* ſought only a Pretenſe to quarrel. But as it was for his Intereſt to delay the Time, he told the Ambaſſador he would ſend his Anſwer to the King his Maſter by an Expreſs.

Lautrec marches to Italy. Whilſt the Ambaſſador was on his Way to *Spain*, *Francis* and *Henry* hearing what had paſſed in *Italy*, thought proper that Cardinal *Wolſey* ſhould go and confer with *Francis* at *Amiens*, in order to concert Meaſures ſuitable to the Poſture of Affairs. Shortly after *Francis* ſent away *Lautrec* with the Forces deſigned for *Italy*.

Wolſey confers with the King of France. Cardinal *Wolſey* ſetting out from Court the 3d of *July*, arrived at *Calais* on the 11th *1, from whence he went to *Abbeville*, and ſtayed there till *Francis* came to *Amiens*. He was received upon his entering the *French* Territories with the ſame Reſpect as would have

* 32222 Crowns *de ſoleil*, to be deducted out of what *Francis* owed him. *Herbert*, *p.* 83.

*1 He was met at *Boulogne* by *Monſ. de Byron* with 1000 Horſe, and after by *John*, Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the Chancellor of *Alenſon*, who accompanied him firſt to *Montreuil*, and then to *Abbeville*. His own Equipage conſiſted of near 1000 Horſe. *Herb.*

have been paid to the King of *England*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Francis*'s *Letters-Patents* empowering the Cardinal, *his great Friend*, to releaſe the Priſoners, where-ever he came, what Crimes ſoever they were guilty of, except High-Treaſon, Rapes, and the like, and to grant them a Pardon by his *Letters Patents*. 1527. Act. Pub. XIV. 202.

Whilſt the Cardinal was at *Abbeville* he received a *Memorial* from the Emperour, containing his Anſwer to the Offers the King of *France* had made to the Viceroy of *Naples*. We have already ſeen that he rejected theſe Offers at firſt with diſdain, and would not hear the leaſt Word about them. But the Situation of his Affairs being altered by the League between *France* and *England*, he believed it would be better to get rid of this Buſineſs by a Peace, than run the hazard of maintaining the War alone againſt ſo many powerful Enemies. It was therefore with a View to procure a Peace, that he ſent this Anſwer to the Cardinal, wherewith he imagined he had reaſon to hope, the King of *France* and *Henry* would be ſatisfied. *The Emperour's Memorial as to a Peace.*

As this *Memorial* is exceeding proper to clear the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, it will not doubtleſs be unacceptable to inſert the Subſtance of it.

" The Emperour began with proteſting, that by " what he offered in this Memorial, he intended by " no means to derogate from the Treaty of *Madrid*, " but in the Points only which were contrary to it. " He added, that as to the Hoſtages, the King of " *France* was not ignorant of the Reaſon of their be- " ing in *Spain*, and that it was in his Power to get " them from thence. Then he ſet forth the Offers " *Francis* made to the Viceroy of *Naples*, containing " the four Articles following :

The

1527.

The King of FRANCE's *Offers to the Emperour.*

" I. That he would execute the Treaty of *Ma-*
" *drid*, provided that *Franciſco Sforza* was reſtored to
" the Dutchy of *Milan*.

" II. That he would give the Emperour in lieu
" of *Burgundy*, two Millions of Gold payable, to
" wit, a good Sum in Hand, when Queen *Leonora*
" ſhould be delivered to him, and the reſt at a Day
" they ſhould agree upon, and then his Sons ſhould
" be reſtored; unleſs the Emperour had rather have
" the whole Sum at once, and deliver at the ſame
" Time the Queen and the two Hoſtages.

" III. That he would pay the King of *England*
" what was due from the Emperour.

" IV. He demanded that the Emperour ſhould
" increaſe Queen *Leonora*'s Dowry in Proportion to
" the Sum he was to receive, ſince he could do it
" without any Charge to himſelf.

The EMPEROUR's *Anſwer.*

" The Emperour replied to theſe four Articles by
" the eight Declarations following:

" I. That what ſhould be agreed upon ſhould not
" be prejudicial to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except in
" ſuch Things as ſhould be altered by Conſent.

" II. That the Emperour's Right to *Burgundy*
" ſhould remain entire, as it was before the Treaty
" of *Madrid*.

" III. That all the Articles of the Treaty of *Ma-*
" *drid*, except ſuch as were mentioned in theſe Of-
" fers, ſhould ſtand as they did.

" IV. The Emperour in his fourth Declaration
" ſaid, that he hoped the King of *England*, and the
" Lord Cardinal would cauſe the Sum of two Milli-

" ons

" ons of Gold offered by the King of *France* to be 1527.
" augmented. However, if that could not be done,
" it ſhould be underſtood, that this Sum was over
" and above what the Emperour owed the King of
" *England*, as well on account of Money lent, as on
" the Score of the Bond of Indemnity he had given,
" which Sums the King of *France* had taken upon
" himſelf in the Treaty of *Madrid*. Beſides like-
" wiſe the Reſtitution of the late Mr. *de Bourbon*'s E-
" ſtate, it being reaſonable that his Heirs ſhould par-
" take of the Benefit of the Treaty. *Item*, That
" the King of *France* ſhould punctually perform his
" Part of all the reſt of the Articles in the Treaty of
" *Madrid*, before his Sons left *Spain*, the Emperour
" not being able, after what had paſſed, to depend
" upon any Thing, if the Hoſtages remained not in
" his Power till the Treaty was fully executed.

" V. That conformably to the Treaty of *Madrid*,
" what ſhould be agreed upon ſhould be confirmed
" by the *States* General of *France*, and approved and
" ratified by the Parliaments. Or if in caſe it could
" not be done by the *States* General, that at leaſt
" it ſhould be ratified by the *States* of each Province.

" VI. The Emperour declared that he could not
" ſend the Queen his Siſter to *France* till every
" Thing was accompliſhed, and then the Queen and
" Hoſtages ſhould be ſent together.

" VII. That as for Duke *Sforza*, the Emperour
" would appoint impartial Judges to decide his Af-
" fair; and if he was found guilty of no Crime for
" which he deſerved to be deprived of his Dutchy,
" he ſhould be reſtored. But if he happened to be
" condemned, the *State* of *Milan* ſhould remain in
" the Emperour's Diſpoſal, according to Juſtice and
" Equity.

" VIII. That the King of *England* ſhould be Gua-
" rantee of the Treaty which ſhould be made, and
" by his *Letters-Patents* ſhould ingage to aſſiſt at his
" own Charge, with a certain Number of Troops,
him

1527. " him of the two Parties that ſhould keep the Trea-
" ty, againſt him that ſhould not obſerve it.

" Beſides theſe eight Conditions which the Empe-
" rour called *Declarations*, he demanded moreover in
" his *Memorial*, that the King of *France* ſhould make
" him amends for the Expence he had been at on the
" Score of the Leagues he had made with him, and
" whereof he was the ſole Author, empowering the
" King of *England* to ſettle the Sum.

" Finally he ſaid, That he queſtioned not but the
" King of *England*, who had a perfect Knowledge
" of what had paſſed between the two Parties, would
" not cauſe the King of *France*'s Offers to be increaſed,
" and that my Lord *Legate*, whom the Emperour
" always looked upon as his Friend, would ſtrive al-
" ſo to hinder the ſame to the utmoſt of his Power:
" That however he was ſo inclined to Peace, that in
" caſe the King of *England* deſired he ſhould make
" any farther Conceſſions than what were contained in
" the eight foregoing Declarations, he would do more
" for his ſake than for any Prince's in the World.
" That he ſhould be very glad if all the Potentates of
" *Europe* ſhould know the great Value he put upon
" his Friendſhip, and aſcribe to him the whole Glory
" of having procured a Peace. This *Memorial* was
" dated at *Villadolid* the —— of *July* 1527.

Remark on this Memorial. If one cloſely examines this Anſwer of the Emperour's, it will evidently appear that he accepted without Condition or Exception the *French* King's Offers, in Terms denoting that it was he that gave, rather than received Law, and that by his Declarations he only obviated the Cavils which might be made. As to what he demanded farther, it was under ſuch Reſtrictions, that he ſeemed willing to ſtand to the King of *England*'s Determination, which at ſuch a Juncture was the ſame Thing as the giving it up when he demanded it. There was but one ſingle Point in which he could not think of yielding, namely, the Duke of

of *Milan*'s Affair. But this was a Point newly ſet on Foot by the King of *France*, and no ways relating to the Treaty of *Madrid*, which contained nothing like it. Nevertheleſs it was plain enough that if the Peace had ſtuck at that Article, he would have given it up too, ſincé he reſerved a Way to come off with Honour. And that was to cauſe *Sforza* to be declared innocent, in the way himſelf had propoſed to the Pope. Perhaps *Francis* would have accepted the Peace, on the Terms offered in the *Memorial*, if the Emperour had come to that Reſolution at firſt. But after he had made theſe Offers to the Viceroy of *Naples*, the Scene was very much altered, as he had entirely gained *Henry* to his Intereſt, and as after the taking of *Rome*, it was to be feared the Emperour would become Maſter of all *Italy*. Mean while, there was a Neceſſity either of accepting or rejecting the Emperour's Offers, which were juſt the ſame *Francis* had made to the Viceroy of *Naples*. But as it was not *Henry*'s Buſineſs to return an Anſwer, ſince the Affair concerned not him but indirectly, he contented himſelf with ſending the *Memorial* to the King of *France*, who having no longer the ſame Deſire to make Peace, got off in this Manner. He demanded in the firſt Place, that *Sforza* ſhould be reſtored without Condition. Secondly, that his Sons ſhould be delivered up before he recalled his Forces out of *Italy*, where *Lautrec* was arrived, offering to depoſite three Hundred Thouſand Ducats in the Hands of the King of *England*, as a Security for the Performance of his Word. There could not be a plainer Evidence, how little deſirous he then was of executing the Treaty of *Madrid*, though juſt the ſame Terms were demanded of him, as himſelf had offered a little after his Deliverance. He intended, after having withdrawn his Hoſtages, to have the Execution of the Treaty in his own Power, under Colour of offering to depoſite for Security, three Hundred Thouſand Ducats in the Hands of a Prince devoted to him, and who, by a private Treaty, was bound to make his Intereſt his own.

1527.

Henry *ſends the* Memorial *to the King of* France. *Reply of* Francis I. Bellay. *p.* 1333.

1527. The Emperour, unwilling to be caught in ſuch a Snare, offered on his Part to depoſite the ſame Sum in the Hands of the King of *England*, as a Pledge that the Hoſtages ſhould be reſtored. But his Offer being rejected, the Buſineſs ſtuck there, and nothing but War was thought of. Mean while the Emperour deſiring to let all the World ſee that it was not long of him that a Peace was not concluded, returned the Ambaſſadors of *England*, of the Pope, and of the *Venetians*, the ſame Anſwer he had ſent to Cardinal *Wolſey*. They all ſeemed very well ſatisfied with it, and ſaid they did not queſtion but their Maſters would accept a Peace on theſe Terms, and ſend Orders to conclude it. But they knew not that the Kings of *France* and *England* had altered their Minds, and taken a new Reſolution.

Francis's *Conference with* Wolſey.

If *Francis* and Cardinal *Wolſey* were to confer together at *Abbeville*, it was not to find out a way to make Peace, but rather to take Meaſures on Suppoſition, that a War with the Emperour was infallible. *Francis* being come to *Abbeville* on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the Cardinal went to wait on him, and after they had conferred together, they concluded on the 18th three Treaties, which properly were only Supplements, Explanations, and Reſtrictions of the three former ones.

Three new Treaties. Act. Pub. XIV. 203. *&c.*

By the firſt it was agreed:

I. That as he had left it to the King of *France*'s Choice to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, or to leave her for the Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond Son, the Duke ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs when they ſhould both be of Age. That then only, and not before, ſhould be ſettled the Marriage-Articles concerning the Dowry, the Education of the Duke of *Orleans* in *England*, and the like. Moreover, that whether the Marriage ſhould be conſummated, or whether the two Kings ſhould think fit to diſpoſe of their Children otherways, their Friendſhip ſhould remain firm and inviolable, the Marriage being to be conſidered only as a Supplement

ment to the Treaties of the 30th of *April*, and not as part of these Treaties. A. 1527.

II. That the Treaty concluded at *Moore* should remain in full Force.

III. That the Project of the Interview of the two Kings should be laid aside on account of the Season and Circumstances of Affairs.

IV. As by the Treaty of the 29th of *May*, it was agreed, that the King of *England* should contribute a certain Sum for the War of *Italy*, it was concluded by this, that in Case the Emperour accepted the Offers the two Kings should make him by their Ambassadors, the said Contribution should cease without any Prejudice to the Treaty of Peace: but if he rejected them, the Treaty of League Offensive and Defensive should subsist, on Condition that during this Campaign the King of *England* should be reckoned to have discharged his Part of the Treaty, by the Contribution he should give for the War with *Italy*.

V. That the King of *England* should form no Demands upon the King of *France* on the Score of the Charge he should be at for the War of *Italy*.

VI. That to prevent all Disputes, without inquiring into the number of Troops which the King of *France* should maintain in *Italy*, the King of *England* should pay for the Month of *June* last, twenty Thousand Crowns, for the Month of *July* last, thirty Thousand Crowns, and Thirty-two Thousand for each of the three following Months: On Condition however, that if in these three last Months the *English* Commissaries found in the Army of *Italy*, a less Number of Troops than what the King of *France* was to maintain, the Contribution should be abated in Proportion. Moreover, if a Peace was made during these three last Months, the Contribution should cease the Day the Peace should be concluded.

By the second Treaty, which concerned only Trade, *Francis* bound himself to give the *English* Merchants such Privileges as should be agreed upon hereafter.

1527.

By a third Treaty the two Kings were bound,

First, Not to consent to the calling of a General Council during the Pope's Captivity.

Secondly, To receive no *Bull*, *Brief* or *Mandate* from the Pope till he was set at Liberty.

Thirdly, That till the Pope should resume the Government of the *Church*, whatever should be determined in *England* by the Cardinal *Legate*, assisted by the principal Members of the *Clergy* *, and in *France* by the *Clergy* of the *Gallican* Church, should be punctually performed.

Wolsey *returns to* England.

These Treaties being concluded, *Francis* I. ratified them, and swore to the Observance of them before he went from *Abbeville*. Cardinal *Wolsey* did the same Thing in his Master's Name, by Virtue of his Full-Powers and Titles of his Vicar-General, which he had received for that Purpose. Then he returned to *England* to give the King an Account of the Success of his Negotiation *1.

Henry's *fresh Demands upon the Emperour.*

Henry having taken the Resolution to proclaim War against the Emperour, but desiring however to conceal the real Motives, demanded of him by his Ambassadors four Things, which he knew very well he could not at that Time perform. The first was, That he should pay what he had borrowed of him, or of King *Henry* VII his Father. The second, That he should pay him the five Hundred Thousand Crowns to which he had bound himself in Case he married not the Princess *Mary*, to whom he was betrothed. The Third, that according to the Tenour of

* Called together by the King's Authority, and his Consent being first had to what should be determined. And here (says Lord *Herbert*) began the Relish our King took of governing the *Church*. *P.* 85.

*1 *Francis* not only richly presented him, but conducted him through the Town, and upon his Way about a Mile, being accompanied with the Titular King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and his prime Nobility. *Herb. p.* 85.

of their Treaty, he ſhould make him amends for his Penſion from the King of *France*, and whereof there was now due four Years and four Months. The Fourth, That he ſhould ſet the Pope at Liberty, and ſatisfy him for all the Damages his Troops had done him. The Emperour anſwered the Ambaſſadors, firſt, That he had never denied his being Debtor to the King of *England*; but that he was amazed he ſhould inſiſt ſo ſtrongly upon Payment at the preſent Juncture: That at leaſt, when Payment was demanded, one ſhould offer to deliver up the Bonds. Secondly, That he would write to the King their Maſter to acquaint him with the Reaſons why he did not look upon himſelf as liable to the Penalty of the five Hundred Thouſand Crowns for not having conſummated the Marriage. In the third Place, that he had diſpatched Orders to *Italy* to ſet the Pope free. He ſaid nothing about making amends for the Penſion, becauſe in all Appearance he conſidered it as included in the Article of the Debts to which he owned himſelf bound, as indeed nothing was more reaſonable. 1527. *The Emperour's Anſwer.*

The Emperour's Replies were not capable of ſatisfying *Henry* who only ſought an Occaſion of Quarrel. On the other Side, *Francis* having called together the Chief Men, that is to ſay properly, Perſons devoted to him, ſet before them all the Steps he had made towards a Peace with the Emperour, and one may eaſily gueſs that he was not very careful to explain what the Emperour might alledge againſt him. Having repreſented the Matter juſt as he pleaſed, he ſaid, he was ready to return to Captivity, if it was judged that he was obliged thereto in Honour or Conſcience. The Aſſembly unanimouſly replied, That his Perſon belonged to the Realm, and that it was not in his Power to diſpoſe of it according to his Pleaſure: That moreover he could not alienate the Provinces of the Crown; but if the Emperour would accept of a Ranſom for the two Princes he had in Hoſtage, they offered the King two Millions of Gold to re- *Aſſembly of the Chief Men of* France. Mezerai. *The Aſſembly's Opinion.*

1527. deem them. A Man must have voluntarily shut his Eyes, not to see what was the Drift of this Juggle entirely managed by the Court. Nevertheless the King believing after this Decision, that he might with a safe Conscience go to War with the Emperour, thought only how to get his Sons by Force of Arms. He still hoped however that the Dread of a War would induce the Emperour to abate something of the Treaty of *Madrid*. This was not with respect to *Burgundy*, since he could not be ignorant that the Emperour had accepted the Equivalent which had been offered him. But he was in Hopes by means of the War to procure a new Treaty to be made, which should annul that of *Madrid*. Thus many Princes play with their *Words* and *Oaths*, and seek to blind their own, or at least the Eyes of the World, without any Person about them daring to tell them the Truth. The Emperour kept his Word no better on his Part, with regard to the Dutchy of *Milan*; and *Henry* VIII made no scruple to break his League with the Emperour, as he had before violated that with *Francis*. Princes never want Pretences when they have a Mind to break a Treaty. But the Publick is not always imposed upon, though frequently they make as if they were. In all Appearance, the Sovereigns themselves are not so blind but they see the Irregularity of their Conduct, though backed by the Dissimulation of the Publick, they affect a great Security. But the Time comes at last when Posterity, less prepossessed, does Justice to all the World, and calls Things by their proper Names.

Francis's Aim.

Charles, Francis and Henry act with insincerity.

Francis and Henry send one another their Orders of Knights of St. Michael and the Garter. Act. Pub. XIV. 227, 233.

Francis willing to keep up the Friendship he had contracted with *Henry*, sent him the *Order* of St. *Michael* by *Anne de Montmorency* * one of the *Knights*. This

* *Anne de Montmorency Grand Maitre* arrived the 20th of *October*, with six Hundred *Horse* at *London*, and after Audience had been given, they were on *November* 10th, entertained by our King at *Greenwich* with a most sumptuous Feast, and with a *Comedy*, in which his Daughter the Princess *Mary* acted a Part. *Herb. p.* 85.

This Lord had Power to diſpenſe with *Henry*'s Oath in Whole or in Part, as the new Knight ſhould think fit, or even to be contented with his bare Word. *Henry* was pleaſed to ſwear to obſerve all the Statutes of the *Order* of St. *Michael* which were not contrary to thoſe of the *Garter*, or any other *Order* he had already received. Then he ſent the *Order* of the *Garter* to *Francis*, by *Arthur* [*Plantagenet*] Viſcount *Liſle*, natural Son to *Edward* IV, and *Francis* took the uſual Oath of the *Order* with the ſame Reſtrictions. The *French* Ambaſſador, who arrived not in *England* till about the End of *October*, was received with ſuch Magnificence, that *du Bellay*, who accompanied him, aſſures us, he had never ſeen the like. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was received in the ſame manner in *France*, there having been all along between *Francis* and *Henry* an Emulation which frequently put them upon needleſs Expences. But it was moſt inconvenient for *Francis* by reaſon of his continual Wars with the Emperour, wherein *Henry* concerned himſelf no farther than he pleaſed. Nay, he paid the very Contribution for the War of *Italy*, by way of Deduction from the Sums owed him by *Francis*, as appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Thus *Francis* was forced to diſburſe all the Money employed in that War, of which I muſt now relate the Sequel. 1527.

Affairs of Italy.

Clement VII was ſtill in Confinement in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, till he ſhould be able to pay the Sums exacted of him. As he had but little Money, he could only pay Part of what he had promiſed, and therefore his Impriſonment was longer than he expected at firſt; they in whoſe Cuſtody he was, not being willing to take his Word. The Emperour had not Advice of the ſacking of *Rome* and the Pope's Impriſonment till about the Beginning of *June*, and it was above a Month before he came to any Reſolution. As he did not queſtion but the Thing would make a great Noiſe in the World, he was willing to ſee before he determined what he would do, how the Kings of *France* and *England* would take it, that he might proceed

1527. ceed accordingly. On the 2d of *August* he wrote to *Henry* to excuſe himſelf concerning the Outrages committed by his Troops at *Rome*, and the Violence exerciſed againſt the Pope's Perſon, wherein he proteſted he had no Hand. At the ſame Time he demanded his Advice about what was to be done on this Occaſion, as if he ſtill deemed him his good Friend and Ally. But it was only to gain Time till he received *Francis*'s Anſwer to the *Memorial* he had ſent to Cardinal *Wolſey*. On the other Hand, the Pope, though narrowly watched, had found Means to write to *Henry*, and get the thirteen Cardinals who were confined with him to do the ſame, deſiring his Protection, and entreating him to uſe his beſt Endeavours to free them from the ſad Condition they were in. *Henry* upon receipt of theſe Letters, ſent Orders to his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to demand of the Emperour the Pope's and Cardinals Liberty: To which the Emperour anſwered in general Terms, that he would do all that lay in his Power for the King of *England*'s Satisfaction. Mean while he was thinking of having the Pope conveyed to *Spain*, in hopes of making a better Bargain with him than if he left him in *Italy*. Of this Cardinal *Wolſey* gave *Henry* notice by a Letter from *Abbeville* of the 29th of *July*.

Letter to Henry *from the Pope and impriſoned Cardinals.*

The Emperour tries to ſet Francis *and* Henry *at Variance.*

It is certain *Henry*'s Inſtances in the Pope's Behalf put the Emperour at a great ſtand. He found that *Francis* and *Henry* would not fail to join their Counſels and Forces againſt him, under Colour of labouring for the Pope, and this Union could not but break all his Meaſures with reſpect to his Affairs in *Italy*. He believed therefore that before all Things he ſhould try to ſet them at Variance, by ſhowing Jealouſies and Suſpicions between them. One of his Expedients to this End, was to propoſe to the Cardinal a Match between the Duke of *Richmond*, natural Son to *Henry*, and *Iſabella* Princeſs of *Portugal*, with whom he offered in Dower the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Cardinal acquainted the King with it by a Letter of the 31ſt of *July*, telling him withal, that the Offer

fer was not much to be depended upon; but however that it was the beſt Way to ſeem to liſten to it, becauſe it was neceſſary to keep up yet ſome Correſpondence with the Emperour. This related without doubt to the Buſineſs of the Divorce which I ſhall ſpeak of preſently. And indeed by a Letter of the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, the Cardinal informed the King, that it was reported in *Spain* that he intended to divorce the Queen: but that it was requiſite to ſend Orders to his Ambaſſadors at *Madrid* to ſtifle the Rumour as much as poſſible. That to this End, they might ſay it had no other Foundation than the Biſhop of *Tarbe*'s Scruples on the Score of the Princeſs *Mary*'s Marriage with the Duke of *Orleans*, as if there was room to queſtion the Princeſs's Legitimacy. The Emperour made uſe of another way to divide *Francis* and *Henry*, by trying to win Cardinal *Wolſey* by advantagious Offers. But for this once he could not ſucceed, whether *Wolſey* was already too far ingaged with *Francis*, or whether he was bent to be revenged of the Emperour, who had twice deceived him, or whether in ſhort, the Buſineſs of the Divorce was now reſolved upon, in which Caſe it was not poſſible for him to engage to take in Hand the Emperour's Intereſts. 1527.

A Rumour in Spain *of* Henry's *intending to part with his Queen.* Herbert.

The Emperour tries to bribe Wolſey.

As ſoon as *Francis* heard of the ſacking of *Rome*, he perceived it was no longer Time to uſe Artifice, and that it was neceſſary to ſend a powerful Aid to *Italy*, otherwiſe the *Venetians* would infallibly ſtrike up a Peace with the Emperour. The Truth is, there was no likelihood that they could or would bear alone the Burden of the War. Wherefore his firſt Care was to make a new Treaty with them, for each Party's bringing into the Field ten Thouſand Men, and for raiſing ten Thouſand *Swiſs* at the common Charge. The *Venetians* deſired nothing better than to be ſupported by *France*, becauſe they juſtly dreaded that the Army which had ſacked *Rome* would be employed againſt them. Indeed if the Duke of *Bourbon* had been alive, or had the Viceroy of *Naples* had any Influence over the Army, there is no Queſtion but

Francis *joins in a League with the* Venetians.

1527. but they would have attacked the *Venetians*, who were the only Enemies the Emperour had in *Italy*. But luckily for them, the Imperial Troops being wholly taken up with the Plunder of *Rome*, without thinking of any other Undertaking, the Plague which broke out among them, ſwept away two Thirds of the Soldiers. In ſhort, the Diſtemper carrying them off in Heaps, they left *Rome* and diſperſed themſelves about the neighbouring Country. After which, having ſacked *Terni* and *Narni*, and extorted Money from *Spoleto*, the *Germans* parted from the *Spaniards* and returned to *Rome*. Thus Diſcord ariſing in the Army, which ill obeyed the Prince of *Orange*, though themſelves had choſen him for General, they projected nothing to improve their Victory for the Emperour's Benefit. On the contrary, by their Negligence they gave *Francis* Time to ſend Troops to *Italy*, under the Command of *Lautrec*, who had been declared General of the League he had juſt concluded with the *Venetians*. As for the Duke of *Urbino*, he continued in the *Milaneſe* with Part of the *Venetian* Army.

The Plague rages among the Imperialiſts.

Lautrec *General of the League.*

Lautrec arrived in *Piedmont* in *July*, with Part of the Army he was to command. The Marquiſs of *Saluzzo* was ordered to go and join him with the *Italians* he commanded, and the *Swiſs* were to come preſently after. Whilſt he was employed in Conqueſts of little Moment, waiting the joining of all his Forces, *Andrea Doria*, who had quitted the Pope's Service, and commanded the *French* Gallies, to which he had joined eight others of his own, found Means to reduce the City of *Genoa* under *Francis*'s Dominion. This was a good Beginning which ſeemed to promiſe Succeſs in the reſt of the War, eſpecially as *Lautrec* having drawn together his whole Army conſiſting of Twenty-five Thouſand Men, became Maſter of *Vigevano*, *Alexandria* and *Pavia*. *Sforza* and the *Venetians* preſſed him very much to beſiege *Milan*; but he ſhowed them the poſitive Orders he had to march to *Naples*. The King of *France* took Care how he employed his Army to conquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, which

He arrives in Piedmont.

Doria *reduces* Genoa *under the Dominion of* France.

which by the Treaty of the League was to be given up to *Sforza*, after which the *Venetians* would give themſelves but little Trouble about his Attempt upon *Naples*. Beſides, he was ſtill in Hopes, that by agreeing the Emperour ſhould keep *Milan*, he might recover his Sons, whereas by reſtoring *Sforza* he ſhould deprive himſelf of that Means. *Lautrec* then began his march to the Kingdom of *Naples*, but with that Slowneſs and affected Delays, that it was evident he had private Orders not to make too much haſte. The Truth is, it was at the Time *Francis* expected the Emperour's final Anſwer to the Offers made him by his and *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors. *Lautrec* halted a long Time at *Parma* and *Plaiſence*, which Places had opened their Gates to him. In the mean while the Duke of *Ferrara* ſided with *France*, as well on account of *Lautrec*'s March, who might have eaſily ravaged his Country, as of *Francis*'s Offer to give in Marriage to *Hercules* his Son, *Renée* of *France*, ſecond Daughter of *Lewis* XII. The Duke of *Mantua* preſently after followed his Example.

1527.

Lautrec *marches to* Naples *very ſlowly.*

The Dukes of Ferrara *and* Mantua *ſide with* France.

Sardi.

Mean while the Emperour ſeeing the ill Effects of the Pope's Captivity had diſpatched the General of the *Order* of St. *Francis* to the Viceroy of *Naples*, with Orders to ſet the Pope at Liberty. The General having found the Viceroy ſeized with a Diſtemper whereof he died in a few Days, delivered the Orders to *Hugo de Moncada* to put them in Execution. The Emperour had given general Inſtructions that the Pope ſhould be bound to pay the Arrears due to the Army, and to give Security that after he was ſet free, he ſhould forſake the League. But as it was no eaſy Matter for the Pope to find Security, or to raiſe the Money to pay the Army, the Negotiation was ſpun out to a great length. Mean while he continually ſollicited *Lautrec* by private Meſſengers to approach *Rome* in order to facilitate his Deliverance. But *Lautrec* had poſitive Orders which hindered him from making haſte: However his March though ſlow was of good Service to the Pope. *Moncada* ſeeing that

Negotiation for the Pope's Liberty.

1527. that the Kingdom of *Naples* was going to be invaded, and that it was not poſſible to lead thither the Imperial Army which was at *Rome*, without giving them ſome Money, concluded at laſt a Treaty with the Pope to this Effect:

Treaty for the Pope's Deliverance. Guicciard.

I. That the Pope ſhould not oppoſe the Emperour in the Affairs of *Naples* or *Milan*.

II. That he ſhould grant the Emperour a *Cruſado* in *Spain*, and a *Tenth* in the reſt of his Dominions.

III. That the Emperour ſhould keep *Civitâ Vecchia*, *Oſtia*, *Citá Caſtellana*, and the Caſtle of *Furli*.

IV. That the Pope ſhould pay down to the *German* Troops, 67000 Crowns, and 33000 to the *Spaniards*.

V. That in a Fortnight after, he ſhould pay them a certain Sum, and within three Months all the reſt that was due to the Emperour, amounting to above 350,000 Crowns.

VI. That till the two firſt Payments ſhould be made, the Pope ſhould be conducted to ſome ſafe Place out of *Rome*, and give Hoſtages.

The Pope eſcapes to Orvieto.

The Treaty being ſigned, and the Cardinals of *Ceſis* and *Orſino* delivered in Hoſtage, it was agreed that on the 10th of *December* the Pope ſhould be taken out of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and conducted to a Place appointed. But as he was afraid of being detained a good while longer, becauſe he was not in Condition to perform the Treaty, he made his Eſcape in diſguiſe the Night before, and went and ſhut himſelf up in *Orvieto*.

As ſoon as *Lautrec* heard that the Pope was at Liberty, he reſtored to him the City of *Parma*, and marched to *Bologna*, where he ſtayed three Weeks expecting freſh Orders from the King. Some Days after he received a Letter from *Clement* VII, acknowledging he was indebted to him for his Liberty, letting him know withal, that having been forced to grant the Imperialiſts whatever they were pleaſed to demand

of

of him, he did not think himſelf bound to keep his Word. 1527.

It was whilſt the Pope was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, that *Henry*'s Divorce was ſet on Foot; a remarkable Affair, if ever there was one, as well in it ſelf, as on account of the Parties concerned, and chiefly for the Conſequences it was attended with. It was not thirty Years ſince *Lewis* XII put away his Wife without any Difficulty, and without his Divorce making much Noiſe in the World. *Henry* VIII had a Mind to do the ſame Thing; and though he went upon much more plauſible Reaſons, he met with inſuperable Obſtacles, which he could not get over but by an extraordinary Method which opened a Way to the Reformation in *England*. This is what diſtinguiſhed *Henry* VIII's Divorce from ſo many others, which Hiſtorians have very ſlightly touched upon. The Writers upon this Subject being either *Catholicks* or *Proteſtants*, have conſidered it variouſly. The *Catholicks* have drawn Arguments from thence againſt the Reformation in *England*, and repreſented *Henry*'s Divorce as the next and immediate Cauſe of the change of Religion; whereas the *Proteſtants* affirm, it was only the Occaſion of it. Three *Engliſh* Authors eſpecially have given an Account of the Divorce, beſides many others of the ſame Nation, or Foreigners who have ſpoken of it in their Works. *Sanderus*, or rather *Sanders*, Author of *the Origin and Progreſs of the* Engliſh *Schiſm*, makes it his Buſineſs to cry down *Henry* VIII, and ſhow that the Reformation in *England*, which he Terms *Schiſm*, ſprung wholly from *Henry*'s Paſſion for *Ann Bullen*. He fancied by that to give a mortal Wound to the Reformation, and cauſe the World to think that a Superſtructure raiſed on ſuch a Foundation could not be the Work of God. My Lord *Herbert* in his Hiſtory of *Henry* VIII, contents himſelf with a bare Recital of the Events of this Reign, whereof the Divorce is one of the Principal, without reaſoning much upon them, leaving his Readers to make Inferences from the Facts he relates. Doctor *Burnet*

Beginning of Henry's *Divorce.*

Reaſon why this Divorce made ſo much Noiſe.

Remarks on Sanders *and* Herbert *and* Burnet.

1527. *Burnet* intending to write the History of the Reformation of *England*, made it his chief Aim, in speaking of *Henry*'s Divorce, to show that although it was the Occasion of the Reformation, it was so only by Accident. For which Reason he sets himself to refute the palpable Lies *Sanders* has stuffed his History with. He has succeeded so well that no honest Man can for the future acknowledge *Sanders* for a Writer worthy of Credit.

The Sequel of my History obliges me to speak in my Turn of this famous Divorce. I should be inclined to refer the Reader to the excellent History of the Reformation of *England* just mentioned, known to all the World, and to which it is difficult to make any Additions. But this would be laying too great a Burden on the Readers to oblige them to recall to Mind what they have read in that History, or to peruse it again. Wherefore I shall chuse, in pursuing the Thread of my History, to relate this Event, which is as it were the Hinge whereon many other Matters turn, which that illustrious Author had Occasion only just to mention, but which I must more fully enlarge upon, because our Ends are different. His Aim in speaking of the Affairs *Henry* VIII had with the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *France*, was to clear the History of the Reformation; and mine is, not to meddle with religious Matters any farther than they relate to the other Affairs of this Reign.

Henry *resolves to divorce Queen* Catharine.

Henry had been married eighteen Years to *Catharine of Arragon*, and had by her three Children, whereof one was living, when he formed the Design to put her away. He alledged, as the main Reason, his Scruples of Conscience for marrying his Brother's Widow. But as it is affirmed that these Scruples troubled him not till he was in Love with *Ann Bullen* one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, it is inferred from thence, that his Scruples about the Validity of his Marriage sprung from his new Amour, and had it not been for that, would never have come into his Head.

Head. Accordingly ſome labour to make appear that his Divorce had no other Foundation than his Love for that Lady. Others again endeavour to prove that his Love and his Scruples had nothing to do with one another. For my own Part, I ſhould think it needleſs to accuſe or juſtify *Henry*, with Regard to the Concerns of Religion, if there was not ſome Neceſſity to clear this Matter with reſpect to the Hiſtory. I call clearing the Matter, the ſhowing that it is not poſſible to give a certain Judgment about it. But before all Things, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the Perſon who as it is pretended, was the prime Cauſe of the King's Divorce, and of all the Conſequences thereof. 1527.

It is not poſſible to know whether Henry's *Love was the cauſe of the Divorce.*

Ann Bullen (*a*) was of a good, though not a noble Family. Sir *Thomas Bullen* her Father married a Siſter of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, and had by her *Ann*, who was born according to *Cambden* in 1507, about two Years before *Henry* VIII mounted the Throne. *Thomas Bullen* her Father was twice Ambaſſador to *France*, firſt in 1515, and again in 1527. He was made Viſcount *Rochford* in 1525, and afterwards Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond* *. *Ann* his Daughter being but ſeven Years old was carried over to *France* in 1514, when *Mary* the King's Siſter went and conſummated her Marriage at *Abbeville*, with *Lewis* XII. That Queen being married again ſhortly after to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and returning to *England*, *Ann Bullen* was left behind in *France*. It is pretended that from that Time ſhe entered into the Service of *Francis* I's Queen, though ſhe was but eight Years of Age; but it is not ſaid in what Quality ſhe ſerved. It is certain, a Girl of her Age was not capable of doing much Service. Wherefore one may preſume that her Beauty, Genteelneſs, or the Livelineſs of her Wit, made Queen

An Account of Ann Bullen.

(*a*) Her true Name was *Ann Bolleyn*, as it is always ſet down in the *Publick Acts*. The *Engliſh* write *Bollen*, and the *French Boulen*.

* His Mother was one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*.

1527. Queen *Claude* desirous to keep her about her Person. *Cambden* affirms, she retained her in her Service to the Day of her Death, which fell out in *July* 1524, and says not that *Ann* ever went to *England* all that while. But *Du Tillet* and *Du Ploix*, *French* Authors, assert that she came over to *England* in 1522. My Lord *Herbert* says the same Thing; but without citing any particular Author, he contents himself with saying, it appears from History. *Cambden* affirms, *Ann* stayed in *France*, not only till Queen *Claude*'s Death, but that after she had lost her Mistress, she was taken into Service by the Dutchess of *Alenson*, *Francis*'s Sister. But he says not when she quitted it. Others affirm that Sir *Thomas Bullen* brought his Daughter to *England* when he returned from his Embassy. One cannot understand here his Embassy of 1515, since it is agreed on all Hands that *Ann* was in Queen *Claude*'s Service after the Departure of Queen *Mary*, and that she continued several Years in the Court of *France*. They must mean therefore his Embassy of 1527. But in all Appearance *Bullen* was not sent to *France* till *September* 1527, since his sole Commission was to see the Treaty of the 30th of *April* of the same Year sworn to, which Treaty *Francis* ratified not till the 18th of *August*, as appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. But as before his Departure the Business of the Divorce was already commenced, it may be affirmed that the King's Love for his Daughter was of a later Date than his Resolution about the Divorce, if it be true that *Ann* came back to *England* with her Father, towards the End of the Year 1527. Indeed it may be objected, that two *French* Authors assert, that *Ann* went over to *England* in 1522, and that it was then the King fell in Love with her. But it may be replied first, that it is pretty strange that these two Historians who wrote not till long after the Fact, should light upon Memoirs of the Journey of a *Maid of Honour*; especially as they cite nothing to support their Testimony. Secondly, supposing it were so, they don't say *Ann* stayed in *England*.

Uncertainty about Ann Bullen's *Return to* England.

Act Pub. XIV. 218.

England. Conſequently they deſtroy not *Cambden*'s Teſtimony, who affirms *Ann* was in Queen *Claude*'s Service to 1524, and afterwards in the Dutcheſs of *Alenſon*'s. But if it is true that *Ann* took a Journey to *England* in 1522, and the King then fell in Love with her, it cannot be ſuppoſed ſhe ſhould return to *France*, becauſe the Rupture between the two Crowns happening that Year, it is not likely that in Time of War, an *Engliſh* Woman ſhould go and ſerve a Queen of *France*. Beſides, if the King was then in Love, would he have ſuffered *Ann* to go out of the Kingdom? It muſt be therefore that *Cambden* or the two *French* Authors were miſtaken. This is a Point not to be eaſily determined. 1527.

But there is a Matter of Fact which paſſes for certain, *to wit*, that *Ann Bullen* being twenty Years old, was taken into Queen *Catharine*'s Service as *Maid of Honour*. Now this muſt have been in 1527, ſeeing ſhe was born in 1507. This alſo is the Time to which the Beginning of the King's Love may moſt properly be fixed. But ſtill this is only a Conjecture which, were it well grounded, would be a ſufficient Proof that the King's Divorce was not an Effect of his Paſſion, ſince it was determined before the End of the Year 1526. My Aim in this Inquiry is to ſhow that the Time of *Ann Bullen*'s return to *England* is very uncertain, and the Beginning of the King's Affection no leſs ſo. How then can one affirm ſo boldly as ſome do, that his Love for *Ann Bullen* inſpired the King with the Thoughts of annulling his Marriage with *Catharine*? We muſt ſee now whether it be eaſier to diſcover the Time when *Henry* reſolved to ſue for his Divorce.

At what Time Henry reſolved to ſue for his Divorce.

When *Henry* VII concluded his Son's Marriage with *Catharine* Prince *Arthur*'s Widow, Archbiſhop *Warham* told him plainly, that the Match was contrary to the Law of God, which the Pope could not diſpenſe with. The King no doubt was touched with this Remonſtrance. The very Day the Prince his Son entered upon his fourteenth Year, he cauſed him

1527. to make againſt his Marriage a Proteſtation in private, though before truſty Witneſſes, declaring that he was conſtrained to give his Conſent. After that the King on his Death-Bed ſtrictly charged the Prince not to conſummate his Marriage with *Catharine*. Maugre all this, *Henry* VIII being come to the Crown, eſpouſed the Princeſs contrary to *Warham*'s Opinion, to which he preferred that of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He had by her three Children, two Princes and a Princeſs, of whom the two firſt died ſoon after their Birth. He affirmed afterwards, that he conſidered the untimely Death of his two Sons, as God's Curſe on his Marriage, eſpecially when he ſaw the Queen had done breeding. It happened afterwards that *Charles* V, who was contracted to the Princeſs *Mary*, refuſed to marry her, upon the Council of *Spain* queſtioning the Princeſs's Legitimacy. After that, when a Marriage was negotiating between *Mary* and King *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans*, the Biſhop of *Tarbe* the *French* Ambaſſador, made the ſame Demur, maintaining that the Princeſs could not be deemed born in Wedlock, notwithſtanding *Julius* II's Diſpenſation.

All theſe Things were more than enough to raiſe Scruples in the King's Mind about his Marriage. But although in an Aſſembly of Lords which he called afterwards, to lay before them his Reaſons for a Divorce, he affirmed that the Biſhop of *Tarbe*'s Demur inſpired him with the firſt Thoughts of inquiring into the Matter, it appears however that his Scruples begun ſooner. For in a Letter of his afterwards to *Grynæus*, he told him he had abſtained from the Queen ever ſince the Year 1524.

But ſuppoſing one could diſcover at what Time *Henry* begun, either of his own Head, or by the Suggeſtions of other People, to be troubled with theſe Scruples, it would ſignify nothing with reſpect to his Reſolution about the Divorce, which in all Appearance was taken much later. *Polydore Virgil* ſays, *Longland* Biſhop of *Linclon*, and *Confeſſor* to the King, laboured to poſſeſs him with a Notion of the Neceſſity of

of the Divorce by Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Order; but he mentions not the Time. All the Hiſtorians affirm, that the King had recourſe himſelf to *Thomas Aquinas*'s Works to clear his Doubts, and cauſed the Biſhops to be conſulted upon that Score. But none of them ſay at what Time this was done. It is well known that Secretary *Knight* was diſpatched to *Rome* about this Affair in *July* 1527; but then the Rumour of the King's meditating a Divorce had already reached the Court of *Spain*, as appears by the Cardinal's Letter to the King from *Abbeville*. It is alſo very probable that before he engaged in this Buſineſs, *Henry* had conſidered of it ſome Time before. One can hardly ſuppoſe a Reſolution of this Nature to be taken up lightly, or when taken, to be executed out of Hand, without thoroughly weighing the Difficulties, or waiting for a favourable Juncture. *Henry* ſaid himſelf, that the Biſhop of *Tarbe* put him upon thinking to annull his Marriage. But if it be true, as ſome affirm, that the Biſhop ſpoke only as directed by Cardinal *Wolſey*, it may be preſumed that the Project of the Divorce was formed ſome Time before, and this Ambaſſador made to ſpeak purely to have a Handle to ſet the Affair on Foot. This is what ſeems to me extremely probable. Indeed there is no likelihood that the Ambaſſador, after having thus queſtioned *Mary*'s Legitimacy, would have concluded the Marriage of the King his Maſter, or of the Duke of *Orleans*, with that Princeſs, had he not acted in concert with the Court of *England*. Theſe then are my Thoughts of the Matter, which I ſubmit to the Reader's Judgment. 1527.

Conjecture upon this Subject.

Ever ſince *Francis* was freed from his Captivity he had never ceaſed to preſs *Henry* to join with him in a League Offenſive againſt the Emperour. But *Henry* continually refuſed, without giving him the leaſt Proſpect of ſucceeding. And yet Lord *Herbert* tells us, that about the End of the Year 1526, *Henry* of his own accord ſent an Ambaſſador to *France* to propoſe the very League *Francis* ſo eagerly deſired, and

1527. to offer him his Daughter *Mary* in Marriage. This Proceeding gives Occaſion to believe that he had already reſolved upon the Divorce, and that foreſeeing how much the Emperour would be againſt it, he had a Mind to raiſe him Troubles which ſhould oblige him to court his Friendſhip. Upon this Suppoſition one may naturally conjecture that he propoſed the Marriage of his Daughter with the King of *France*, only to convince the Emperour the more fully that he really intended to join in ſtrict Union with *France*. But at the ſame Time it is very likely that he informed *Francis* of the Obſtacle which would occur in the Execution of this pretended Project, namely, the divorcing the Mother of the Princeſs which he was meditating. This Conjecture is confirmed by the Coldneſs wherewith theſe two Monarchs treated about the Marriage. In the firſt Place, *Henry* left it to the King of *France*'s Choice, to have *Mary* himſelf, or to leave her to his ſecond Son, as if this Alternative were much the ſame Thing. In the next Place, when *Francis* declared he would leave *Mary* to the Duke of *Orleans*, the treating more fully about the Marriage was put off to another Time. In the third Place, in the Treaty which *Francis* and the Cardinal concluded at *Abbeville*, they took care to inſert this Clauſe: *That although the Marriage ſhould not take Effect, the Treaty however ſhould ſubſiſt.* In fine, though *Knight* was now at *Rome*, or on his Way thither, when the Treaty of *Abbeville* was concluded, we don't find that *Francis* ever complained to *Henry* that he had offered him a Princeſs whom he was labouring to baſtardize by proſecuting his Divorce with the Queen her Mother. On the contrary, he aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his Power to obtain what he ſued for. But he muſt needs have looked upon the Offer as an Affront, had he not gone Hand in Hand with him. If this Conjecture has any Foundation, it may be inferred from thence, that the Reſolution touching the Divorce was taken at leaſt about the End of the Year 1526, though the putting it in Execution was defered till

till the Middle of the next Year. But in that Caſe, 1527
it would therefore be true that the King had determined upon the Divorce before his falling in Love with *Ann Bullen*, who in all Appearance, returned not to *England* till the Month of *October* 1527.

From what has been ſaid it may be gathered, that in order to affirm with any likelihood, that *Henry*'s Paſſion for *Ann Bullen* was the Cauſe of his Divorce with *Catharine*, the following Queries muſt be decided in Favour of that Opinion: At what Time did *Ann Bullen* return to *England*? When did the King's Love for her firſt begin? When was it that he came to a Reſolution about his Divorce? But upon all theſe Things one can properly form only Conjectures as we have ſeen. What is certain, is, that between the Reſolution about the Divorce, and the Beginning of the King's Love was no great Diſtance of Time. There we muſt ſtop. But it is carrying Matters too far, to lay it down for certain, becauſe of the nearneſs of Time that *Henry* took in Hand the Proſecution of his Divorce with *Catharine*, on purpoſe to marry *Ann Bullen*. What is more, I ſay, ſuppoſing there was no Difficulty about the Times, but that they exactly agreed together, yet as to what paſſed in the King's Breaſt, it would be all Conjecture.

I have dwelt a little on this Point, becauſe the illuſtrious Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation ſeems to me to leave it ſomething in the dark. Beſides, I thought it requiſite to curb the over-confident, by informing the Readers what is true, and what doubtful in the Matter. We ſee it in many Hiſtories, and hear it every Day poſitively affirmed, as a Thing not to he doubted, that *Henry*'s Love for *Ann Bullen* was the ſole Cauſe of his Divorce with *Catharine of Arragon*, though, as I have juſt made appear, one can only ſpeak of it by Conjecture, and though Conjecture it ſelf does not countenance that Notion. But that *Henry* VIII is to be conſidered as a Prince incapable of having been hurried on by his Paſſion even to the ſacrificing *Catharine of Arragon*

1527. to *Ann Bullen*. Why ſhould he have been more ſcrupulous with reſpect to *Catharine*, than he was with regard to *Ann* herſelf, whom he made no Conſcience of ſacrificing to a third Wife, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. He was a Prince of a fiery Temper, who could bear no Oppoſition to his Will. The Flatteries of his Subjects, and the extravagant Praiſes continually beſtowed on him by the Sovereigns who ſtood in need of him, had poſſeſſed him with ſuch a Conceit of his own Merit, that he imagined his Actions ought to have been made the Standard of good Senſe, Reaſon and Juſtice. Wherefore when a Man ſays that his Love for *Ann Bullen* contributed very much to cauſe him eagerly to puſh the Buſineſs of his Divorce, of which otherwiſe the Difficulties would perhaps have diſheartened him, he ſays nothing repugnant to his Character. One muſt only be careful not to lay down for undoubted Truth, what is but bare Conjecture.

Motives of the Divorce alledged by Henry. Burnet.

But without reflecting any longer upon the King's ſecret Motives, and diving into the Thoughts of his Heart, which lie hid from human Eyes, let us content our ſelves with what he publiſhed himſelf. In the firſt Place, he ſaid that he was troubled in Conſcience about his Marriage with *Catharine*, and indeed he had but too much reaſon to be ſo. The Wonder is, that he was not troubled about it ſooner. He had married his Brother's Widow, and found it forbidden by the Law of *Moſes*. It is true, he had the Pope's Diſpenſation. But he could not be ignorant that many learned *Divines* were of Opinion that the Pope could not diſpenſe with the Laws of God. This was enough to give him very juſt Scruples. As ſoon as theſe Doubts came into his Mind, he was willing to try to clear them, and he found in *Thomas Aquinas* what he had perhaps read many Times without obſerving firſt, that the Laws in *Leviticus* are Moral and Eternal: Secondly, that the Pope cannot diſpenſe with the Laws of God, upon this Reaſon, that to diſpenſe with a Law, one muſt be Superiour

He labours to inform himſelf about his Doubts.

[or

[or Equal *] to him that enacted it. This Deciſion of a *Divine* for whom he had a great Eſteem, having confirmed his Scruples, he deſired Archbiſhop *Warham*, who had formerly declared againſt the Marriage, to conſult the Biſhops of *England* upon this Matter. Some affirm that *Longland* his Confeſſor cheriſhed his Doubts by the private Orders of Cardinal *Wolſey*, which is not unlikely. The Queen was Aunt to the Emperour, with whom *Wolſey* had reaſon to be diſpleaſed. Beſides the Favourite loved not the Queen herſelf, becauſe ſhe could not help ſhowing how much ſhe was offended, that a *Biſhop*, a *Cardinal*, a *Legate* of the *Holy See*, ſhould lead ſo ſcandalous a Life. But however that be, preſently after the Archbiſhop preſented to the King a Writing under the Hands and Seals of all the Biſhops, wherein they condemned his Marriage as contrary to common Decency, and the Law of God. Only *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* refuſing to ſet his Hand, it is ſaid the Archbiſhop made another write his Name unknown to him. But the Biſhops were not the only Perſons that were of this Opinion. Since *Luther*'s Works began to appear, abundance of People in *England* were come off from the High-Conceit they had been poſſeſſed with of the *Papal* Power. As therefore the Validity of the King's Marriage was wholly founded on *Julius* II's Diſpenſation, it was pretty publickly diſputed, whether the Diſpenſation could authorize a Marriage ſo notoriouſly repugnant to the Law of God. Nay many who were otherwiſe great Sticklers for the Court of *Rome*, could not reliſh the Doctrine of the Pope's being able to diſpenſe with the Laws of God. All theſe Things conſpired either to breed or confirm the King's Scruples.

1527. * Burnet.

Wolſey helps to cheriſh his Scruples.

The Biſhops condemn his Marriage with Catharine.

The People are of the ſame Mind.

But his Scruples of Conſcience was not the only Thing *Henry* alledged to juſtify his Deſign. He pretended that although he ſhould be regardleſs of his Salvation, or able to overcome his Scruples, the Good of his People required that he ſhould labour

Reaſons of State alledged by the King.

1527. beforehand to prevent an Inconvenience which was eaſy to be foreſeen. He had but one Daughter, and in all likelihood ſhould never have any more Children, if his Marriage were not annulled. If therefore after his Deceaſe the Validity of his Marriage with *Catharine* ſhould come to be queſtioned, he foreſaw that *England* would be involved again on the Score of the Succeſſion to the Crown, in Troubles from whence ſhe was but juſt freed. *Mary* his Daughter, the King of *Scotland* his Nephew, the Queen Dowager of *France*, could equally pretend to the Crown, upon very plauſible Reaſons. *Mary* could plead againſt ſuch as ſhould alledge her being born of an unlawful Marriage, that the Pope had granted a Diſpenſation. The King of *Scotland*, who was next Heir after her, could maintain that the Diſpenſation was not valid. The Queen Dowager the King's Siſter, could alledge that the firſt was Illegitimate, and the ſecond a Foreigner. Theſe ſeveral Claims might eaſily kindle a Civil War in *England*, where it was but too viſible each would have a Party, not to mention the foreign Succours they might depend upon. *Henry* imagined therefore there was but one way to avoid this Inconvenience, and that was to annull his Marriage and take another Wife, by whom with God's Bleſſing, he might have Iſſue-Male. He to whom the Secrets of all Hearts are open, can only know for certain, whether this Thought was inſtilled into him by the Danger he foreſaw, by his Averſion to the Queen, or by the Love he had entertained for *Ann Bullen*. But however, independently of the ſeveral Motives which have been aſcribed to him, it is certain there was great Danger of the Kingdom's being one Day expoſed to a Civil War, if the King continued to his Death in his preſent State, and he ſaw no Way to come out of it but by annulling his Marriage. It is true, he foreſaw great Oppoſition from the Emperour the Queen's Nephew, who was then very powerful. But on the other Hand, as that Monarch had himſelf ſhown on that

Reaſons putting him in hopes of ſucceeding.

that account Scruples which hindered him from eſpouſing *Mary*, *Henry* was in hopes he would not obſtinately maintain what he had himſelf queſtioned. Beſides the preſent Juncture ſeemed very favourable for his Purpoſe. The Pope, who was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, ſeemed to have no Proſpect of being reſtored to his former State, but by the help of *France* and *England*, and *Henry* did not in the leaſt queſtion but *Francis*, who ſtood in need of him, would forward his Proceedings to the utmoſt of his Power. As to the reſt, he never doubted the Pope's Authority, reckoning that *Clement* VII could revoke the Diſpenſation granted by *Julius* II. Nay Cardinal *Wolſey* warranted the Buſineſs ſhould be done, whether he had already won the Pope, or whether he imagined that *Clement* in the Circumſtances he was in, could deny the King nothing. So it was reſolved the Suit ſhould be moved in the Court of *Rome* to get the Marriage annulled. 1527.

Reaſons to be laid before the Pope.

The beſt Reaſon that could be alledged was, that *Julius*'s Diſpenſation was contrary to the Divine Laws, and that alone ought to have been ſufficient. But it would have been imprudent to begin with diſputing the Prerogative of the *Roman* Pontiffs, when a Favour was to be aſked of the Court of *Rome*. Recourſe muſt therefore be had to another Expedient, which was to find Nullities in *Julius's Bull*, and to make appear that it was procured by falſe Surmiſes, and untrue Suggeſtions, which rendered the *Bull* revocable, even according to the Proceedings of the Court of the *Rota*. And this was no very hard Matter. The *Bull* was grounded upon *Henry*'s and *Catharine*'s Requeſt, who ſet forth that their Marriage was neceſſary to preſerve Peace between *England* and *Spain*. And here were found two Reaſons for annulling the *Bull*. The firſt, that *Henry* being then but twelve Years Old, could not be deemed to have any political Views, whence it was inferred, that the Requeſt was none of his own. The ſecond, that the Suggeſtion was falſe, ſince as Matters then ſtood between

Nullities in Julius's *Bull.*

1527. tween *Spain* and *England*, the Marriage was not at all neceſſary to keep Peace between the two Crowns, and therefore *Julius* II had been impoſed upon. Another Nullity was found, inaſmuch as the *Bull* having no other Foundation but the maintaining Peace and Amity between *Henry* VII, and the King and Queen of *Spain*, this Reaſon ſubſiſted not when the Marriage was conſummated, ſince *Henry* VII and *Iſabella* were dead before. In fine, it was alledged that *Henry* VIII having proteſted againſt his Marriage before conſummation, had thereby renounced the Liberty granted him by the *Bull*, and therefore another *Bull* was neceſſary to render the Marriage valid. But all theſe Reaſons were produced only to afford the Pope a Handle to revoke *Julius*'s Diſpenſation. For if the Diſpenſation's being contrary to the Divine Law, was not the real Foundation of ſuing for the Divorce, nothing would have been more eaſy for the Pope, than to quiet the King's Conſcience, by confirming whatever had been done by a new *Bull*.

Knight is ſent to Rome about the Divorce.

Mean while as the Pope's Compliance was not at all doubted of in his preſent Circumſtances, the King ſent Doctor *Knight* Secretary of State to *Rome*, to deſire him to ſign four *Inſtruments* drawn up in *England*. The firſt was a Commiſſion to Cardinal *Wolſey*, to try and decide the Affair with ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops. The ſecond was a *Bull Decretal*, declaring the King's Marriage with *Catharine* void, becauſe *Arthur*'s with the ſame Princeſs was conſummated. By the third, the Pope granted the King a Diſpenſation to marry another Wife. By the fourth, he bound himſelf never to repeal any of the three foregoing *Acts*.

He ſends a Memorial to the Pope.

Knight ſat out from *England* in *July*, much about the Time the Cardinal began his Journey to go and confer with the King of *France*. But as the Pope was Priſoner, and guarded by a *Spaniſh* Captain, it was impoſſible for *Knight* to have an Audience. He found Means however to convey to him a Memorial, containing the Sum of his Commiſſion, to which the Pope returned a favourable Anſwer. He made believe

lieve he would grant all the King's Demands, though the Emperour had already required him by the General of the *Franciſcans*, not to do any Thing in that Buſineſs without communicating it to his *Miniſters*. By the way, this is a clear Evidence that *Henry* had reſolved a good while before to ſue for his Divorce, ſince the Emperour had Time to hear of it, and acquaint the Pope with it. As it was not practicable for *Knight* to treat with the Pope in Perſon, the Matter was carried no farther at that Time. At length the News of the Pope's going to be releaſed reaching *England*, Cardinal *Wolſey* wrote to Sir *Gregory Caſſali* * the King's ordinary Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to order him to join with *Knight*, and preſs the Pope to grant the King's Deſire. This Letter was worded in very ſtrong Terms, and ſhowed how deſirous the Cardinal was that the Divorce ſhould take Effect. It was dated the 25th of *December* 1527, the Cardinal not knowing yet that the Pope had made his Eſcape on the 9th of the ſame Month *1.

1527.

Wolſey's Letter to Caſſali.

Clement VII being retired to *Orvieto*, *Knight* went to him, and talked with him about the Affair. The Pope owned he had received his Memorial, and promiſed again to do all that lay in his Power for the King's Satisfaction, but prayed him not to be too haſty. His Circumſtances then were ſuch, that he did not know yet whether he ſhould ſtand in need of the King of *England*, or whether the Emperour would agree Matters with him. Wherefore he wanted to gain Time, that he might proceed as ſhould beſt ſuit with his Intereſt. But for that Reaſon, and becauſe the King's Orders were urgent and poſitive, *Knight* would not put off his Negotiation. He earneſtly preſſed the Pope, who promiſed at laſt to ſign the

Knight *and* Caſſali *talk with the Pope;*

who tries to gain Time.

He promiſes to do what the King deſires.

* The Family of the *Caſſali* being three Brothers, were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, both at *Rome*, *Venice*, and other Places. *Burnet*, *p.* 44.

*1 The Letter is dated the 5th of *December*, the Original whereof is yet extant in the *Cotton. Libr. Vitel*, B. 9. See *Burnet's* Collection, N. 3d. B. II. Vol. I.

1527. the *Acts*, on Condition no uſe ſhould be made of them, till the *French* and *Germans* were driven out of *Italy*. *Knight* willingly accepted of the Condition, imagining when the *Inſtruments* ready ſigned were in the King's Hands, he would proceed upon them when he pleaſed. But it was no eaſy Matter to over-reach the Pope. Whilſt he feigned to have no other View but to ſatisfy the King, he was only contriving how to gain Time, being ready to ſacrifice him if he found his Account better elſewhere. He ſet all his Wits therefore at work, to ſpin out the Affair by Ways and Means the King miſtruſted not. To that End, he told *Knight* that before the *Inſtruments* were executed, he ſhould be glad to talk with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*.

But he finds means to delay the Performance of his Promiſe.

The Pope having thus given his Word, *Knight* and *Caſſali* fancied they had nothing more to do but to prepoſſeſs in the King's Favour the Cardinal whom the Pope had a Mind to adviſe with. They were at no great Pains to ſucceed, ſince beſides Ten Thouſand Ducats which they had in Hand to reward ſuch as ſhould do them Service, they were empowered to make what farther Promiſes they ſhould think fit in the King's Name. The Cardinal having examined the *Inſtruments* ſent from *England*, found very great Faults, particularly in the *Legate*'s Commiſſion, and took upon him to draw up one more perfect. Which done, *Knight* and *Caſſali* went to the Pope and preſſed him to ſign. He did not abſolutely refuſe, but ſaid that the Emperour having required him not to do any Thing in that Buſineſs without imparting it to him, it was neceſſary to find out ſome Expedient to excuſe ſo haſty a Proceeding: That to that purpoſe *Lautrec* ſhould be made to march towards *Orvieto*, and Matters ſo ordered, that the *French* General ſhould preſs him in his Maſter's Name to give the King of *England* Satisfaction. *Lautrec* being then at *Bologna*, to get him to march to *Orvieto*, there would have been Occaſion for Orders from the Court of *France*, which would have taken up too much Time. Wherefore *Henry*'s

Henry's Agents rejected the Expedient, their Aim being to finish the Business before the Emperour had notice of it. At length the Pope, finding himself very much pressed, put into their Hands the Commission for Cardinal *Wolsey*, with the *Bull* of Dispensation for the King, and promised to send to *England* the *Bull Decretal* to null the Marriage. But here the Pope made use of a Stratagem which the Agents it may be did not sufficiently consider. He dated the two *Instruments* at the Time he was Prisoner in the Castle of St. *Angelo*. So when the King had them in his Power, he thought not fit to make any use of them, lest it should be objected that the Pope had granted them only with Design to obtain his Liberty by the Assistance he expected from *England*. Besides all *Acts* executed by a Prisoner may be deemed Null and Void, whereof the Treaty of *Madrid* was a late Instance. Thus how urgent soever the King was to terminate the Affair, he found at the close of the Year 1527, that he was but just where he began. 1527. *The Pope's Artifice to gain Time.*

Clement VII had Time during his Captivity, to reflect seriously upon his past Conduct, which had been very unsuccessful, because he had swerved from the Maxims of his most able Predecessors. He had preposterously ingaged in a War with the Emperour; whereas *Alexander* VI, *Julius* II, and *Leo* X, after having sowed Dissention among the Princes, left them for the most Part to decide their Quarrels, and then sided with the strongest; or if they engaged in a War, it was commonly at other People's Expence. But for this once, it had happened to *Clement* VII, that after draining his Treasure in maintaining abundance of Troops, he had lost *Florence*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Rome* it self, with the best Part of the *Ecclesiastical* State, and seen himself in Prison and exacted upon. This was enough to make him wiser, and put him upon taking another Course. As soon as the Ambassadors of *France*, *England*, and *Venice*, saw him screened at *Orvieto* from the Outrages of the Imperialists, they pressed him to declare against the Emperour. They imagined 1528. *The Pope resolves to keep fair with the Emperour;*

1528. imagined that if he could not aſſiſt the League with *Temporal* Arms, at leaſt he would be able, by help of *Spiritual* ones, to embroil the common Enemy, whom he ſeemed to have no Reaſon to regard. But he himſelf conſidered this Affair in a different Light. Sad Experience having taught him that he had been the Cully of his Allies, he reſolved to be no longer guided by their Self-intereſted Counſels. So without letting them know his Mind, he contented himſelf with telling them that his joining in the League would only draw upon him freſh Miſchiefs, without doing them any good; That beſides it was neceſſary for the Benefit of Chriſtendom, that there ſhould be a Mediator to labour to procure Peace, and that was all he could do in the State he was reduced to. Nevertheleſs he gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould be able to take other Meaſures, if *Lautrec* approached to oblige the Emperour's Troops to abandon *Rome*. This indeed was his ſole Aim, to rid the *Eccleſiaſtical* State of that Foreign Army, that he might be at Liberty to take the Courſe moſt ſuitable to his Intereſt.

He refuſes to join in the League.

Lautrec marches towards Naples.

At laſt *Lautrec* departing from *Bologna* on the 9th of *January*, took the Road to *Naples*, having firſt diſpatched the Prince of *Vaudemont* and *la Trimouille* to the Pope, to preſs him to declare. But *Clement* found Means to excuſe himſelf, without however a poſitive Denial. He beheld, as I may ſay, all *Europe* in Motion, and he was willing to ſee the Iſſue of the War, that he might take juſter Meaſures than he had done before. So do what they could, it was not poſſible to bring him to that Declaration. He only made helieve, that if *Francis* and *Henry* would cauſe *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, to be reſtored to him, he would ſide with them. This was a Benefit he would very fain have drawn from their Inſtances, without being barred from finding ſome other Subterfuge, to prevent his declaring after having recovered theſe two Places. Mean while he was deviſing Means to treat ſecretly with the Emperour, from whom he expected greater

Reaſons why the Pope would not act againſt the Emperour.

greater Matters than from his Allies. The Truth is, his chief Aim being to reſtore the Houſe of the *Medicis* to the Government of *Florence*, he plainly perceived that he could not compaſs his Ends but by the Emperour's Help, ſince the Allies were concerned to ſupport the *Florentines* who were become Parties of the League. But it would haye been Imprudent in him to declare for the Emperour at a Time when that Monarch was weak in *Italy*, and when ſo powerful an Army was upon the March to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*. It was therefore neceſſary for him to wait till the Event of the War enabled him to reſolve with Safety. This was the true Reaſon which put him upon uſing abundance of Shifts, to try to diſpleaſe neither the Emperour, nor the King of *France*, nor the King of *England*. If inſtead of unadviſedly engaging in a War, he had before taken this Courſe, he might have ſold his Favours at any rate: At leaſt he would not have had the Mortification to ſee himſelf impriſoned in *Rome* it ſelf. 1528.

Francis and Henry proclaim War againſt the Emperour.

But though the Pope refuſed to declare, the Kings of *France* and *England* were not the leſs eager in the Purſuit of their Projects. On the 21ſt of *January* 1528 their Ambaſſadors in *Spain* demanded the Emperour's Leave to retire, and next Day *Clarenceux* and *Guienne*, Heralds, one of *England*, the other of *France*, proclaimed War againſt him. This was done with a great deal of Solemnity, the Emperour being ſeated on his Throne, attended by all his Grandees. He returned an Anſwer to each apart, but in a very different Manner. Speaking to the *Engliſh* Herald, he made uſe of civil and honourable Terms, plainly denoting he was not at all pleaſed with having the King his Maſter for an Enemy. He complained however that *Henry* had uſed him ill, in deſigning to give him in Marriage a Princeſs whom he propoſed to baſtardize, ſince he was ſuing to be divorced from the Queen her Mother. But he threw all the Blame on the boundleſs Ambition of Cardinal *Wolſey*. He ſaid that the Cardinal would have had him employ his Arms

The Emperour anſwers.

1528. Arms in *Italy* to make him Pope, and thought himſelf injured, becauſe he would not diſturb the Peace of Chriſtendom for his Sake. As to the Sums of which *Henry* demanded Payment, he denied that he had ever refuſed to diſcharge the Debt. But he added, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors not having brought with them the Original Contracts, nor being ſo much as empowered to give an Acquittance, *Henry* was in the wrong to complain on that Head. As to the Indemnity he demanded, he was very ſenſible that the King of *France* had taken it upon him in the Treaty of *Madrid*. As for the Penalty of five Hundred Thouſand Crowns, in Caſe he refuſed to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, he replied, that it was not his Fault; That he had demanded her of the King her Father, by Ambaſſadors ſent on Purpoſe, and that *Henry* had refuſed to ſend her; That beſides, before that Time *Henry* had offered her to the King of *Scotland*. In ſhort, That he could not lawfully claim that Sum, before he had proved that he had himſelf performed all the Articles of the Treaty of *Windſor*. Such was the Emperour's Anſwer to the Declaration of War made by *Henry*'s Herald. In his Anſwer to the *French* Herald, he ſpoke not with ſo much Regard and Caution. He plainly accuſed *Francis* of having broke his Word with him, and charged the Herald to put him in Mind of the Meſſage he ſent him by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* his Ambaſſador, *That it would be better for them to decide their Quarrel by ſingle Combat*, but that he had never received any Anſwer. In all Appearance, the Ambaſſador had not thought fit to deliver that Meſſage to the King, ſince he ſeemed extremely ſurprized when he heard it from the Herald's Mouth. In a few Days after he ſent the ſame Herald to the Emperour, with a Challenge under his own Hand, wherein he gave him the Lie in Form, and required him to *aſſure him the Field* to fight him Hand to Hand. The Challenge was dated *March* 27, 1528. The Emperour ſent his Anſwer by one of his Heralds, who was charged to tell him by Word of Mouth very diſ-

agreeable

agreeable Things. The Herald coming to *Paris*, could not obtain, without great Difficulty, leave to put on his Coat of Arms when he entered the City. The King expected him on his Throne, with a great Number of Princes and Lords about him. But he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, before the King interrupted him, and demanded whether he had brought the *Security of the Field*. The Herald deſired leave to go on with what he had to ſay from the Emperour; the King refuſed to hear him, ſaying, he had required only the *Security of the Field*, and that all the reſt was to no Purpoſe. Thus ended this Affair which had made a great Noiſe in the World. The two Monarchs gave publick Marks of their Courage, by their reſpective Challenges, and yet it was no very hard Matter to prevent them from deciding their Quarrel in a Way ſo uncommon to great Princes. 1528.

Hugo de Mendoſa the Emperour's Ambaſſador at *London*, having heard what had paſſed in *Spain*, would have retired. But Cardinal *Wolſey* ſent him Word that *Clarenceux* had gone beyond his Inſtructions in proclaiming War againſt the Emperour, and ſhould be puniſhed at his Return. Whereupon the Ambaſſador ſent an Expreſs to inform the Emperour of what the Cardinal had ſaid. *Clarenceux*, who was ſtill in *Spain*, ſurprized that he ſhould be made accountable for what he had expreſs Orders, demanded and obtained an authentick Copy of the Ambaſſador's Letter. Upon his Arrival in *England* he went to the King, before he had ſpoke with the Cardinal, and ſhowed him the Letter, with three others writ with the Cardinal's own Hand, whereby he gave him expreſs Orders to declare War againſt the Emperour. *Henry* aſtoniſhed at his Miniſter's Preſumption, flew out into a great Paſſion with him before the whole Court. Nay, he would perhaps have entirely diſgraced him, had he not been with-held by the Conſideration of the Buſineſs of the Divorce, wherein he could not do without him. He made him however undergo a terrible Mortification, by cauſing the Affair to be examined in

Cold Aſt of Wolſey, *which drew on him the King's Anger.* Herbert.

1528. the Council. This Inquiry would doubtleſs have been fatal to the Miniſter, if the King had been pleaſed to bring the Thing to an Iſſue; but he was contented with the Cardinal's Proteſtation that he had done nothing but what he thought conformable to his Majeſty's Intentions.

The Cardinal aſſembles the Great Men, and tries to juſtify the War againſt the Emperour.

The Emperour's Anſwer to *Clarenceux* being made publick in *England*, by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors means, the Cardinal was afraid it would cauſe ill Effects among the People, conſidering the Weakneſs of the Motives alledged by the King for undertaking the War. For this Reaſon he called together in the *Star-Chamber* all the great Lords then at Court, where he made a Speech to them, aggravating as much as poſſible the Injuries the King had received from the Emperour, and the Reaſons he had to demand Satisfaction by Arms. But let him ſay what he could, though every one outwardly applauded him, what the Emperour had ſaid to the Herald made a deeper Impreſſion than all the Arguments the Cardinal could alledge. The People openly exclaimed againſt a War which was going to ruin the Kingdom, for the ſake of gratifying the Favourite's Paſſion. Nay, ſome went farther than bare Murmurs. As the Trade with the *Low-Countries* was interrupted by the Declaration of War, and as the Merchants would buy no more Cloth which they could not put off, the Clothiers riſe up in Arms. Whereupon the Cardinal ordered the Merchants to buy Cloth as uſual, threatening in Caſe of Refuſal to do it himſelf and deal with the Foreigners. But they made a Jeſt of this Threat and continued obſtinate, reſolving not to render themſelves liable to inevitable Loſſes out of Complaiſance for him. An Embaſſy from the Governeſs of the *Low-Countries* to the King whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, freed the Cardinal from the Trouble he was under. The Ambaſſadors acquainted him, that if the King pleaſed to conſent to a Truce with the *Low-Countries* for the mutual Benefit of Trade, the Governeſs would readily agree to it. This Overture being

The People Murmur.

Mutiny of the Clothiers.

The Cardinal threatens them in vain.

Embaſſy from the Low-Countries. Herbert.

Truce between England *and* Flanders.

being brought to the Council, it was reſolved, in ſpite of the *French* Ambaſſadors Oppoſition, to agree to a Truce for eight Months, which was ſigned the 8th of *June*. 1527. b. Act. Pub. XIV. 28.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the Affairs of *Italy* were in ſuch a Poſture as gave *Francis* room to expect *Lautrec*'s Expedition in the Kingdom of *Naples* would be crowned with Succeſs, though afterwards it ended very unfortunately for him. *Lautrec* going from *Bologna* the 9th of *January*, arrived the 10th of *February* on the Borders of *Naples*, and marching into *Abruzzo* became Maſter of that Province, and afterwards of Part of *Apulia*. It was not without extreme Difficulty, that the Prince of *Orange* obliged the Imperialiſts to quit *Rome*, where for ten Months together, they exerciſed all ſorts of Rapine and Violence. Though the Imperial Army went not from *Rome* till the 17th of *February*, they got before *Lautrec*, who had taken a round-about way in order to procure Money, which he ſtood in great need of, the King of *France*, according to Cuſtom, not having ſent him what he had promiſed. The Imperialiſts being poſted at *Troya*, he went and offered them Battle: But as they thought proper to retire to *Naples*, he purſued his March, and arrived in the Beginning of *May* before that Capital, which he beſieged in form according to his Orders. Sixteen *French* Gallies commanded by *Andrea Doria*, eight more under the Conduct of *Philippino Doria* his Nephew, with Twenty two *Venetian* ones, were to block up *Naples* by Sea, whilſt *Lautrec* with thirty Thouſand Men beſieged the City by Land. But when he opened the Siege he had only *Philippino*'s eight Gallies. Thoſe of *Venice* came very late, and *Andrea Doria* who was diſpleaſed with the King of *France*, and had thoughts of entering into the Emperour's Service, detained the ſixteen Gallies at *Genoa*, under divers Pretences. Mean while, a Sea-Fight which *Philippino* gave the Imperialiſts, wherein *Moncada* was ſlain, and the Marquiſs *del Vaſto* taken Priſoner, made *Lautrec* hope he ſhould reduce

Iſſue of the War of Naples. Guicciard.

Lautrec *beſieges* Naples.

1528. *Naples* by Famine, though himſelf was in want of all Things in his Camp. His Hopes were increaſed by the Arrival of the two and twenty *Venetian* Gallies which joined with thoſe of *Philippino*. The Buſineſs now was to ſee who could bear Famine longeſt, the Beſiegers or Beſieged, who were alike in want of Proviſions. But the *French* had beſides Scarcity, a very great Diſadvantage, inaſmuch as the Plague made terrible Ravage among them, and diminiſhed their Number continually. At length *Andrea Doria* having agreed with the Emperour, recalled his Nephew *Philippino* with his eight Gallies. Shortly after the *Venetian* Gallies being obliged to go upon the Coaſt of *Calabria* to provide themſelves with Biſket, the Beſieged took that Opportunity to convey into the City abundance of Proviſions, whilſt *Lautrec* remained in a very bad Condition without Victuals or Money, with an Army grievouſly afflicted with the Plague. Moſt of his general Officers were dead, or ſick, and to compleat the Misfortune, he was himſelf ſeized with the Peſtilence, which carried him off on the 16th of *Auguſt* *. The Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, who took upon him the Command of the ſhattered Army, having at laſt determined to raiſe the Siege, got with much ado to *Averſa*, where he was immediately beſieged, and in a few Days forced to capitulate, ſurrendering himſelf with all the principal Officers of his Army into the Hands of the Imperialiſts. Thus the fine Army *Lautrec* had led before *Naples* was entirely diſperſed. And moreover *France* had juſt loſt *Genoa*, *Andrea Doria* having taken it in the Emperour's Name, after which, purſuant to his Agreement with that Monarch, he reſtored his Country to Liberty, and eſtabliſhed a Government which is ſtill in being at this Day. Thus the Affairs of *Italy* which in the Beginning of the Year

The Plague in the French *Army.*

Lautrec's Death.

The Siege raiſed, and Army diſperſed.

Doria *reſtores* Genoa *to Liberty.* Hiſt. de Gen.

* Of the Plague died alſo Sir *Robert Jerningham* Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber both to King *Henry* and *Francis*, who had the Command of 200 Horſe in the Army, paid by our King. *John Carew* his Lieutenant had his Company, but he died of the ſame Diſeaſe. *Herb.* p. 98.

Year had ſo promiſing an Aſpect for *Francis*, were ſo entirely altered that he had hardly any Thing left in that Country. 1528.

Continuation of the Divorce. Burnet.

The Knowledge of what paſſed in *Italy* this Campain will be of no little Service to diſcover the Motives of the Pope's Proceedings in the Buſineſs of the Divorce. *Henry* deemed the Affair as good as ended, when he heard that the Pope had left it to be decided by Cardinal *Wolſey*. But when after much Difficulty, he had obtained this Commiſſion for the Cardinal, with a *Bull Decretal*, declaring the Marriage void, and a Diſpenſation to marry again, he found for all that he was never the nearer yet. The Commiſſion was dated at the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, whilſt the Pope was a Priſoner, which rendered it entirely null, and conſequently there was a Neeeſſity of having it renewed. The *Decretal* had never a Clauſe to hinder the Pope from revoking it if he thought fit. In fine, the Diſpenſation was only conditional, in Caſe the King's Marriage with *Catharine* ſhould be declared void. Beſides, there were certain Reſtrictions inſerted leaving the Pope at Liberty to repeal it. For Inſtance, he granted the Diſpenſation, *as far as might be without offending God. Notwithſtanding any Prohibitions of the Divine Law, or other Conſtitutions and Ordinances whatever to the contrary, as far as the Authority Apoſtolical reached* (*a*). *Henry* was not a little vexed to ſee that he could not make uſe of theſe *Bulls*, without being liable to be moleſted. Nevertheleſs in the belief he was in that all this was owing to Inadvertency, he ordered Sir *Gregory Caſſali* his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to demand *Bulls* leſs liable to Diſpute. *Caſſali* ſpoke of it frequently to the Pope, but he could get no poſitive Anſwer from him. Only the Pope finding himſelf preſſed, told him as a Secret, that he adviſed the King to proceed, and get his Marriage nulled, by Virtue of the Commiſſion given the *Legate*, but with

The Pope's Artifice to amuſe the King.

Herbert *under the Year.* 1529.

Henry *ſends to demand other* Bulls.

Pope's Advice to the King.

(*a*) Lord *Herbert* gives not this *Bull* as Authentick, but as very Probable.

1527. as little noiſe as poſſible, and then marry the Woman he had a mind to. He grounded this Advice upon its being much eaſier to confirm a Thing when done, than to permit him to do it. He charged *Caſſali* however not to let the King know that this Suggeſtion came from him. *Henry* looked upon this Advice as a Snare of the Pope's. He conſidered that it was not poſſible to have ſuch a Cauſe tried without Noiſe, ſince it was neceſſary the Queen ſhould be heard, otherwiſe the Sentence would be evidently void. In the next Place, had he done what he was adviſed to, he would have been entirely at the Pope's Mercy, who according to the Opinion of the *Canoniſts*, would have had it in his Power to refuſe to confirm the *Legate*'s Sentence, as well as the Marriage which ſhould be contracted in purſuance thereof. So the Matter being taken into Conſideration, it was thought properer to apply directly to the Pope and require new *Bulls*. Purſuant to this Reſolve, the King ſent *Stephen Gardiner* Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Secretary, and *Edward Fox* *, to manage the Affair. Their Inſtructions were to demand for the Cardinal a new Commiſſion to judge the Cauſe, with Powers to null the King's Marriage, if he thought proper, and yet to declare the Daughter born in it legitimate; To preſs the Pope to give him a Promiſe under his Hand, not to revoke the Legate's Commiſſion; To demand a *Bull Decretal* to null the King's Marriage, and a Diſpenſation to eſpouſe another Wife without any Reſtriction. In ſhort, the Envoys had Orders to acquaint the Pope that the Cardinal had not adviſed the King to the Divorce, and to diſplay the extraordinary Merit of the Lady the King intended to eſpouſe. This was *Ann Bullen*, as may eaſily be gueſſed, ſince the King no longer made a Secret of his Love for her. It was very proper to tell the Pope that the Cardinal was not Author

Gardiner *and* Fox *ſent to* Rome *to haſten the* Bulls.

Their Inſtructions.

* *Gardiner* was looked upon as the ableſt *Canoniſt*, and *Fox* (the Kings Almoner) as the beſt *Divine* in *England*. Burnet, Vol. I. P. 52.

Author of the Counſel which put the King upon ſuing for a Divorce, ſeeing he was required for Judge: And yet the Letters he ſent by *Gardiner* and *Fox*, and which are in the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, are clear Evidences that he was infinitely deſirous the Thing ſhould take Effect. Finally, it appears that the King had a Mind ſtill to keep fair with the Queen and the Emperour her Nephew, ſince he required that the *Legate* ſhould have Powers to declare *Mary* Legitimate. It may be too this was an Effect of his Affection for her. 1528.

The Pope's artful Management.

When *Gardiner* and *Fox* came to *Orvieto*, *Lautrec* was upon his March to *Naples*. But his Progreſs was yet ſo inconſiderable, that it was hard to judge what the Iſſue of his Undertaking would be, eſpecially as the Imperialiſts were now departed from *Rome* in order to go and diſpute his Paſſage. Nay, it was likely there would be a Battle, and as the Event was doubtful, the Pope took Care how he incurred the Emperour's Reſentment, in caſe his Arms happened to be victorious. And therefore, to gain Time he ſent the King a Letter in *Cypher*, as if he meant to acquaint him with a Secret, and yet it was not poſſible to gueſs by it what his Intention was. This Letter not being very well taken, the Envoys had Orders to inſiſt upon their Demands. But at that Time the Face of Affairs was ſomething changed. *Lautrec* had now made Conqueſts in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Prince of *Orange*, unable to ſtop his March, was retired to the Metropolis, which in all probability was going to be inveſted. It would therefore have been very imprudent to diſoblige *Henry*, when the King of *France* his Ally was juſt upon the Point of becoming very powerful in *Italy*. So *Clement* being at a great ſtand at ſo nice a Juncture, had recourſe to his uſual Artifices to try to gain Time. He feigned to deſire nothing ſo much as to ſatisfy *Henry*, though he was reſolved in his own Mind to do nothing to any Purpoſe in his Favour. His Aim was to become Maſter of the Buſineſs of the Divorce, and ſpin it out till the

His Intereſt and Projects.

1528. Iſſue of the War ſhould determine him to content either the Emperour or the King. The Intereſt of his *Houſe* required that he ſhould have a Regard for the Emperour, becauſe it was by his Means that he hoped to reſtore the *Medicis* to *Florence*. That of his *See* was no leſs important. *Henry* demanded that he ſhould revoke a Diſpenſation granted by a Pope his Predeceſſor, upon the Suppoſition that the ſaid Pope had not Power to grant the ſame, that is, properly ſpeaking, that he ſhould declare the *Roman Pontiffs* had hitherto aſſumed a Prerogative they had no Title to. This was a Step very difficult to be taken at a Time when great Part of *Germany* had thrown off the Pope's Dominion, and when nothing was every where heard but Complaints and Murmurs againſt the exorbitant Power they had uſurped. Wherefore *Clement*'s real Deſign was to amuſe the King with the Hopes that he would forward his Divorce, till it ſhould be in his Power to oppoſe it without Danger. There is no Occaſion therefore to look for any other myſterious Cauſe of the Pope's Proceedings, as will more plainly appear in the Sequel. As for the Arguments and Authorities alledged on both Sides, with reſpect to the main Point in queſtion, from the *Holy Scriptures*, the *Fathers*, and the *Canons*, they were only ſo many Amuſements which were extremely ſubſervient to the Pope's Deſigns, but made little or no Impreſſion on his Mind.

The Pope gives Wolſey *a new Commiſſion.*

Clement VII, being in this Situation, made no Scruple outwardly to grant the King whatever he required. On the 23d of *April* 1528, he ſigned a *Bull*, appointing Cardinal *Wolſey* Judge of the Cauſe, jointly with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or any other *Engliſh* Prelate he ſhould think fit to pitch upon, and gave him as ample Powers as the King deſired. But beſides the Inconveniences afore-mentioned in the *Decretal* and *Diſpenſation*, the King's Counſel found two more in Cardinal *Wolſey*'s new Commiſſion. The firſt was, That there was no Clauſe to tye up the Pope from revoking it. The Second, That the appointing for ſole Judge

Judge of the Cauſe, a Cardinal devoted to the King and actually his *Prime Miniſter*, would be a manifeſt Nullity. Theſe Conſiderations obliged the King to deſire the Pope that he would join another *Legate* with Cardinal *Wolſey*, and poſitively promiſe not to revoke the Commiſſion. As when this was demanded *Lautrec* was before *Naples*, and no body doubted but he would become Maſter of the City, as well as of all the reſt of the Kingdom, the Pope granted whatever was deſired. He appointed therefore by a *Bull* dated at *Orvieto* the 6th of *June*, *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal of *York*, and *Lorenzo Campegio* Cardinal Biſhop of *Salisbury* for his Legate's *a Latere*, giving them the ſame Powers he had granted to *Wolſey* alone, appointing them his Vicegerents in the Affair of the Divorce, and committing to them his whole Authority (*a*). He gave likewiſe on the 23d of *July*, the Promiſe under his Hand which the King demanded. In a Word, he put into *Campegio*'s Hands a *Decretal*, nulling the King's Marriage, expreſſed in the very Terms which had as it were been dictated to him. One would think *Henry* could deſire nothing more. But all the cunning Fetches of the Court of *Rome* were not yet known in *England*. The Pope had no other Deſign but to gain Time in order to ſee the Iſſue of the *Naples* Expedition. To that End it was that he always placed his Favours to the King at a good Diſtance from each other. *Wolſey* was made ſole Judge of the Affair of the Divorce the 13th of *April*, *Campegio* was declared his Aſſociate about the End of the ſame Month, in a Conſiſtory: But the *Bull* was not drawn up till the 6th of *June*. His Promiſe not to revoke the Commiſſion was not ſigned before the 23d of *July*. In all Appearance, the *Decretal* was not drawn up till *Auguſt*, and *Campegio* began not his Journey till after *Lautrec*'s Death, or perhaps after the raiſing the Siege of *Naples*;

1528.

The King deſires the Pope to join another Legate with Wolſey.

Another Commiſſion for Wolſey *and* Campegio. Act. Pub. XIV. 237.

The Decretal *committed to* Campegio

(*a*) *Campegio* was perhaps named for *Legate* in the Month of *April*, as Doctor *Burnet* ſays, but his Commiſſion bears date the 6th of *June*.

1528. *ples*; that is to ſay, when the Pope was no longer in dread of *France*, and when it was more neceſſary than ever to keep fair with the Emperour. So that one may almoſt venture to affirm, that when *Campegio* departed from *Rome*, the Pope was reſolved not to grant the Divorce. It was however requiſite that he ſhould ſtill ſeem willing to ſatisfy *Henry*, that he might not give himſelf up to the Emperour's Mercy, with whom he was determined to agree, and nothing was more capable to procure him advantagious Terms, than his ſeeming Union with *France* and *England*. This moſt certainly was the Secret of the Pope's Policy, and the real Motive of all the Artifices he practiſed in this Affair. In purſuance therefore of the Reſolution he had taken, he gave the following Inſtructions to his *Legate*. Firſt, to ſpin out the Affair as long as poſſible. Secondly, not to give Sentence upon the Divorce before he received his Commands in writing. Thirdly, he expreſsly enjoined him not to ſhow the *Bull* to any Perſon but the King and Cardinal *Wolſey*, nor to part with it out of his Hands, without his Order, on any Pretence whatever.

Inſtructions to Campegio

Campegio ſetting out with theſe Inſtructions, arrived not in *England* till *October*, ſix or ſeven Months after he was appointed *Legate*. Whilſt he was on the Road, the Emperour's Miniſters at *Rome* ſtarted a freſh Obſtacle to the Divorce, by the pretended Diſcovery of a *Brief* of *Julius* II, confirming the *Bull* of Diſpenſation for *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catharine*. But there was this Difference between the *Bull* and the *Brief*, that the Pope ſaid in the *Bull*, *The Marriage was perhaps conſummated*, whereas in the *Brief*, the Word *Perhaps* was left out. They inferred from thence, that *Julius* II was not ſurprized, ſince he looked upon *Catharine*'s firſt Marriage as conſummated. But this *Brief*, of which they only gave an Authentick Copy, without ſhowing the Original to the King's Miniſters, was not, very probably, propoſed but purely to ſpend Time in examining it. And indeed there were two Reaſons, among many others, which manifeſtly proved it

He retards his Journey as much as poſſible.

The Imperialiſts produce a forged Brief *to retard the Affair.*

it to be a Forgery. The firſt was, that this *Brief* granted at *Catharine*'s Requeſt, ſuppoſed that Princeſs's Marriage with *Arthur* to have been conſummated, and yet ſhe had ſworn to the contrary. And upon that very Thing had her Agents grounded the Validity of *Julius*'s Diſpenſation. The ſecond Reaſon was ſtronger yet, and that was, the *Brief* was dated the 26th of *December* 1503. Now as in the Date of the *Briefs*, the Court of *Rome* begins the Year the 25th of *December*, being *Chriſtmas-Day*, this Date anſwered to the 26th of *December* 1502 of the vulgar Year, that is ten Months before *Julius* II was Pope. 1528. *Proofs of its being a Forgery.*

Campegio being arrived in *England*, began his Legateſhip with gravely exhorting the King to live in good underſtanding with the Queen, and not to proſecute the Matter any further. This was taken very ill from a *Legate* who was thought to be ſent to *England* purely to judge the Cauſe in Favour of the King. After that, he talked juſt the Reverſe to the Queen, endeavouring to perſwade her that it was her Duty to comply with the King's Deſire, and even gave her to underſtand it would be in vain to oppoſe his Will. But whether the Queen was told beforehand what ſhe was to ſay, or whether ſhe naturally ſpoke her own Thoughts, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was the King's Wife, and would be ſo till ſhe was parted from him by the Pope's Sentence. *Campegio* not having been able to prevail with the King or Queen, affirmed he could not proceed without freſh Orders, as if his whole Commiſſion amounted only to the making theſe Exhortations. But it was ſix Months firſt before his Inſtructions came. Mean while, he kept the King in hopes of obtaining in the End what he deſired, and even inſinuated that himſelf was ſatisfied of the Juſtice of his Cauſe. To amuſe him the better, he ſhowed him the *Bull* he had brought along with him, and gave the Cardinal his Collegue a ſight of it likewiſe. But when he was preſſed to ſhow it to ſome Lords of the Council, he replied, he had very poſitive Orders to let no Perſon ſee it but the King and *Wolſey*. *Henry* ſurprized

Campegio *exhorts* Henry *to keep* Catharine,

and Catharine *to deſiſt from her Marriage.*

He feigns to want freſh Orders.

He ſhows the Decretal *to the King and* Wolſey.

1528. ſurprized and full of Indignation at ſuch a Proceeding, complained of it to the Pope, who, far from blaming his *Legate*, anſwered, He had done very well to follow his Orders: That the *Decretal* was granted on Condition that no body ſaw it but the King and Cardinal *Wolſey*; and on purpoſe to prevent *Wolſey*'s Ruin, which otherwiſe he had been made to believe would be infallible: That in fine, the *Bull* was not to be publiſhed but in caſe the *Legates* ſhould give Sentence for the King.

The Pope approves his Conduct.

The Pope reſolves to agree with the Emperour. Guicciard

Whilſt *Campegio* amuſed *Henry* in *England*, the Pope was taking Meaſures to conclude his Treaty with the Emperour, and ſeeking Pretences to leave the Kings of *France* and *England*, of whom he no longer ſtood in awe, ſince the *Naples*-Expedition miſcarried. He complained that theſe two Monarchs had not kept their Word with him, in cauſing *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be reſtored to him according to their Promiſe. By that he would inſinuate, that it ought not to be thought ſtrange that he made no haſte to ſatisfy *Henry*, ſince that Prince neglected to do him Juſtice by the Hands of the *Venetians* *. He would fain have made it believed, that the Buſineſs of the Divorce ſtuck only on that account, and wanted to have theſe two Places in his Power before he agreed with the Emperour. But, with what Caution ſoever he proceeded, the Negotiation he kept on Foot in *Spain* could not be ſo concealed, but *Francis* and *Henry* had ſome Intelligence of it. They complained of it by their Ambaſſadors; but he conſtantly denied he had any deſign not to ſtand Neuter. Mean while, under colour of removing theſe ill-grounded Suſpicions, he diſpatched to *England* one *Campana*, to give the King freſh Aſſurances of his good Intentions. But withal, he ſent by him expreſs Orders to Cardinal *Campegio*, to burn the *Bull Decretal*, and put off the Sentence of the Divorce as long as poſſible.

Difficulties to the Affair of the Divorce increaſe. Burnet. Herbert.

* The *Venetians* had taken *Cervia* and *Ravenna* from the Pope, and *France* and *England* had promiſed to interceed and uſe their Intereſt with the *Venetians* to reſtore them.

poſſible. *Campegio* obeyed immediately the firſt of theſe Orders; and as for the ſecond, he never ceaſed finding freſh Pretences to delay Proceedings. 1528.

At laſt *Henry* vexed to ſee ſo many affected Delays, and plainly perceiving they came from the Pope, ſent, about the End of the Year, Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* to *Rome*, to try to find out the true Cauſe. They had likewiſe ſeveral other Commiſſions. Firſt, to ſearch the Pope's Records for the pretended *Brief* above-mentioned. Secondly, to propoſe, as of themſelves, ſeveral Expedients, to put a ſpeedy End to the Buſineſs of the Divorce, and to conſult, under feigned Names, the *Canoniſts* of *Rome*, whether they were practicable. Thirdly, in caſe they ſaw the Pope overawed by the Emperour's Threats, they had Orders to offer him a Guard of Two Thouſand Men. Laſtly, if this had no effect, they were to counter-balance the Emperour's Menaces with others from the King. They found the Pope very much frighted, or feigning to be ſo, at the Emperour's Miniſters Threats to have him depoſed for a Baſtard. His Anſwer therefore to the Offer of the Two Thouſand Men for a Guard was, that it would not be capable of putting him out of Danger, but rather cauſe him to be the more ſuſpected. He took care how he put himſelf in the King's Power, at the time he was thinking to break entirely with him. The two Envoys plainly ſeeing that the Pope inclined to the Emperour's Side, told him roundly at laſt, "That if he continued to deny the King "their Maſter the Satisfaction he demanded, he might "depend upon it *England* would be loſt to him: "That the *Engliſh* were but too much inclined already "to withdraw their Obedience from the *Holy See*; "and upon the leaſt Encouragement from the King, "they would openly publiſh what they kept as yet "conceal'd in their Hearts: That the King their Ma"ſter, and the King of *France*, were powerful and "very great Friends; and therefore the Pope would "run a great Hazard, if on Purpoſe and without any "Reaſon he ſhould go and make theſe two Monarchs "his

Vannes and Brian ſent to Rome.

Their Inſtructions.

The Pope's Anſwer.

The Envoys threaten him.

1528. " his Enemies: That although the *Naples*-Expedition " had miſcarried, he could not be ſure the ſame thing " would happen, when that Conqueſt ſhould be un- " dertaken again; nay, it was eaſy to ſee, by the " hazardous State the Emperour's Affairs were in, " what the Iſſue would be another time: That if out " of an over-Complaiſance for the Emperour, he " dealt ſo unjuſtly by the King of *England*, as to re- " fuſe him what Equity itſelf and the Law of God " required, he muſt likewiſe expect no Favour or " Regard, when the Face of Affairs ſhould be alte- " red: That he ought to conſider, the King of *Eng-* " *land* had engaged in this War purely to free him out " of Priſon, and if inſtead of making a grateful Re- " turn, he ſhould go and join in a League with his " Enemy, all *Chriſtians* would abhor his Ingrati- " tude". All this was not capable to divert the Pope from his Deſign, and yet he would have it believed that he was unreſolved what Courſe he ſhould take. He replied with a Sigh, That he was between the Hammer and the Anvil, and which way ſoever he turned his Steps, he ſaw nothing before him but Precipices; and therefore he placed all his Hopes in the Protection of God, who would not forſake his *Church*: That as to the reſt, he had done for the King of *England* more than he could reaſonably expect, in committing the Trial of the Cauſe to two Legates, who were both devoted to him: That not content with this, he preſſed him to do more ſtill, and to overlook the Rules obſerved by the *Church* on the like Occaſions, and ſacrifice to him publickly the Emperour, the Archduke his Brother, Queen *Catharine*, the Honour, Dignity and Intereſt of the *Holy See*: That this was asking too much, and the King ſhould allow at leaſt that the Affair ſhould be decided by the Legates, who were appointed for that Purpoſe: That it was not his fault if Matters were delayed; and in caſe it was owing to *Campegio*'s Negligence, he had acted contrary to his Orders. This Anſwer was a plain Indication enough of what the Pope had in his Thoughts.

He feigns to be unreſolved.

Thoughts. Accordingly the Envoys gave the King to underſtand that he muſt expect nothing from the Pope; and that the only Courſe he had to take was to get the *Legates* to give a ſpeedy Sentence. The Truth is, the Pope was now reſolved to agree with the Emperour, and if he ſhowed any farther Regard for *Henry*, it was only to avoid an open Rupture with him, for fear the Emperour ſhould take Advantage of it in the Treaty they were concluding together. 1528. *The Envoys ſend the King word he had nothing to expect from the Pope.*

The Expedients *Brian* and *Vannes* were commiſſioned to propoſe, were; 1. Whether if the Queen *vowed Religion*, the King ſhould have liberty to marry again? 2. Or if the King ſhould vow Religion as well as the Queen, whether the Pope would diſpenſe with his Vow, and allow him to take another Wife whilſt the Queen was alive? 3. Or whether the Pope would grant him a Diſpenſation to have two Wives? But it does not appear how theſe Points were decided. As for the *Brief* which the Imperial Miniſters had produced, there was not the leaſt Footſteps of any ſuch Thing among the Pope's Records, of which the *Engliſh* Envoys had good Certificates. In this manner paſſed the whole Year 1528, at the Cloſe whereof the King found he was no nearer than at the Beginning, except that he had ſtill ſome Proſpect of Hope from *Campegio*, who all along pretended to be entirely for him. One may affirm that *Francis*, by neglecting to aſſiſt *Lautrec*, proved the Cauſe of the Turn which the Affair of the Divorce took, ſince he thereby gave the Pope room to ſide with the Emperour. *Expedients propos'd by the King.* *True Cauſe of the Pope's Delays.*

Whilſt the King's Thoughts were wholly taken up with his Divorce, Cardinal *Wolſey* was very intent upon his Colleges. As the Pope made the King very uneaſy by his affected Delays, he endeavoured to gratify him another way, by granting his Favourite whatever he deſired on the Score of his Foundations. We find among *the Publick Acts* of the Year 1528, Ten or Twelve *Bulls*, as well for ſuppreſſing ſeveral ſmall Monaſteries, as for other Things relating to the two Colleges, the Endowment whereof the Cardinal had *Several Monaſteries ſuppreſs'd for Wolſey's Colleges.* Act. Pub. XIV. 240.

ſo

1528. ſo much at Heart. Wherefore, knowing how fair an Opportunity preſented to obtain private Favours from the Pope, he forgot not to make uſe of it. Had he ſtayed a Year longer, he would have run the Riſk of leaving the Work unfiniſhed.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan.

I have ſaid nothing this good while of the Affairs of *Scotland*, becauſe there has been no Occaſion to ſpeak of them. But as they took a new Turn during the Courſe of this Year, it is neceſſary briefly to relate what had paſſed in that Country. The Earl of *Angus*, *George Dowglaſs* his Brother, and their Uncle *Archibald*, had ſtill the King's Perſon in their Power, and governed in his Name. This did not hinder however Queen *Margaret*, who had got her Marriage with the Earl of *Angus* annulled, and was married again to *Henry Stewart*, from having ſtill a ſtrong Party in *Scotland*. But as her Party could not act openly without being liable to be deemed Rebels, ſeeing the King was in the Hands of the *Dowglaſs*'s, the Queen made uſe of another Expedient to compaſs her Ends: Which was, to perſuade her Son, by means of ſome Perſons who went between them, to make his Eſcape and withdraw to *Sterling*. The Contrivance ſucceeded according to her Wiſh. *James* ordered it ſo, that he eſcaped from the Earl of *Angus*, and retired to *Sterling*, where he iſſued out Orders that the *Dowglaſſes* ſhould no longer be acknowledged for Regents, and withal he forbid them the Court. This Order was notified to the Earl of *Angus*, whilſt he was marching to recover the King's Perſon in his Power. As he had but few Troops, and was not in Condition to enter *Sterling* by Force, where ſeveral great Men had run to the King's Relief, he obeyed and retired.

James *aſſumes the Reins of the Government before he was of Age.*

Shortly after, the King called a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 4th of *September*, and repaired thither himſelf to hold it in Perſon. The *Dowglaſſes*, perceiving what was preparing againſt them, attempted to ſurprize *Edinburgh*, and to become Maſters of the King's Perſon with deſign to break up the Parliament. But being repulſed, they were forced to retire. Whereupon

upon the Parliament confiſcated their Eſtates to the King. But they continued however in Arms, and made Incurſions even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*. 1528.

Truce for five Years between England *and* Scotland.

Henry being informed of what paſſed in *Scotland*, and fearing the young King might ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced againſt him, thought it adviſeable to ſend Ambaſſadors to make a Peace, ſeeing a War with *Scotland* could not but be very inconvenient to him in his preſent Circumſtances. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed. Only a Truce for five Years was concluded at *Berwick*, and ſigned the 14th of *December*. It was agreed by a ſeparate Article, that the *Dowglaſſes* might take refuge in *England*, on Condition they delivered up to their Sovereign the Places they held in *Scotland*, and in caſe they entered the Kingdom, and committed any Diſorders, *Henry* ſhould be reſponſible as if done by his own Subjects.

The Dowglaſſes *retire into* England.

1529.

How the Pope and Francis *ſtood affected to the Emperour.*

Ever ſince the Pope had determined to make up Matters with the Emperour, his feeding the Allies with Hopes, was purely in order to make the better Bargain with that Monarch. On the other Side, *Francis* ſuſpecting the Pope's Intentions, perceived likewiſe that nothing but a Peace would help him to his Sons, and upon that account he kept up a ſecret Negotiation with the Emperour. But at the ſame time, he promiſed mighty Matters to the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, Duke of *Milan*, and the Pope himſelf, that he might let the Emperour ſee, in caſe he did not make haſte and agree, it would be too late perhaps when he had a mind to it. About the ſame time, the Emperour had certain Advice, that the *Turks* had great Preparations in Hand to invade *Hungary*, and penetrate even into *Germany*. So finding that a Diverſion in *Italy* muſt needs have been a great Clog to him at ſuch a Juncture, he was the more inclined to Peace. Theſe Diſpoſitions in the principal Parties could not in the End but produce the Peace which all the World impatiently expected. Mean while, the War was carried on, though faintly in the Kingdom of *Naples* and the Dutchy of *Milan*, where the *French*

1529. and *Venetians* had kept ſome Places; but it was eaſy to ſee that nothing deciſive would happen there.

In the mean while the Pope was wholly intent upon his own private Affairs. His Aim was not only to be reſtored to *Florence*, but alſo to become Maſter of *Peruſa* and *Ferrara*, and recover *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, which the *Venetians* had taken from him during his Captivity. Under colour of uſing his Intereſt to procure a general Peace, he had diſpatched a Nuntio to *Spain*, to conclude a private Treaty with the Emperour. During the Negotiation, the Buſineſs of the Divorce went not forward. *Clement* VII was fully bent to ſatisfy the Emperour, and by that *Henry* loſt more and more the Proſpect of ſucceeding in his Purſuit. Mean while, a violent Diſtemper, which ſeized the Pope in the Beginning of the Year 1529, had like to have very much changed the Face of Affairs. Cardinal *Wolſey* having notice of the dangerous State the Pope was in, had ſent an Expreſs to *Gardiner*, to conjure him to omit nothing that he thought capable of helping him to the Papacy. *Henry* himſelf had writ to ſeveral Cardinals in his behalf, and the King of *France*, who was not yet ſure of a Peace, had ſecured him all thoſe of his Faction. 'Tis pretended that *Wolſey* would have been certain of more than a Third of the Votes, in caſe the Pope had died. Indeed that was not ſufficient to make him Pope: but it was enough to hinder any other from being ſo. This Matter was even carried ſo far, that the King had ordered his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, that if in ſpite of the Cardinals of *Wolſey*'s Faction, another Perſon ſhould be going to be elected, they ſhould manage it ſo, that theſe Cardinals ſhould proteſt againſt the Proceedings in the *Conclave*, and then withdrawing to a Place of Safety, ſhould themſelves come to a new Election. I don't know whether the Ambaſſadors would have found it an eaſy Matter to procure ſo abſolute a Reſignation to the King's Pleaſure. However, one cannot wonder *Henry* ſhould be ſo very deſirous of helping his Miniſter and Favourite to the Papacy.

The Pope falls ill. Herbert. Wolſey *takes ſome Steps to attain to the Papacy.*

The King uſes all his Intereſt for him.

But

But one cannot ſee without Amazement, that a Prince who was called *Protector of the Church*, and *Defender of the Faith*, ſhould not ſcruple to endeavour deſignedly to form a *Schiſm* in the Church to gratify his Paſſion. As for Cardinal *Wolſey*, nothing in his Conduct is to be wondered at: Since it is certain, he was a Perſon ready to ſacrifice every Thing to his Ambition. The Pope's Recovery put an end to all theſe Cabals, which however could not be ſo private but that they came to his Knowledge. This made him look upon Cardinal *Wolſey* as a dangerous Rival, and one capable of ſupplanting him if an Opportunity offered, by uſing for Pretence the Flaw in his Birth. 1529.

The Pope's Management to put off the Affair of the Divorce. Herbert. Burnet.

When *Clement* VII was fully recovered, the Proceedings for the Divorce were continued upon the ſame Foot as before. The Pope gave hopes that the Buſineſs ſhould be decided in *England* for the King, by a Sentence of the *Legates* which he would himſelf confirm to make it more authentick. His Aim was to gain time, and order it ſo, that there ſhould appear to be no Miſunderſtanding between him and the Court of *England*, before he ſhould have concluded his Treaty with the Emperour, becauſe it was a Means to help him to ſell his Favours the dearer. To that End, and to hinder *Henry* from being out of Patience, he had put into *Gardiner*'s Hands a *Brief*, whereby he engaged not to revoke the Powers given the *Legates*. But beſides that the *Brief* was expreſſed in ambiguous Terms, he knew very well no Sentence would be paſſed without his poſitive Orders. This Management of the Pope's, which he continued with a great deal of Art, afforded the King ſome Proſpect of bringing him to his Intereſt. To ſucceed the better, he got the King of *France* to ſend to the Pope the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, with Orders to ſollicite earneſtly the Deciſion of the Affair. He would have been very glad that of his own accord the Pope ſhould have granted a *Bull* to annul his Marriage, and diſpenſe with his taking another Wife, or at leaſt that he ſhould have given the Legates ſuch a Commiſſion as it ſhould not

1529. be in their Power to judge otherwise than in his Favour. The Pope, pleased at his being so intent upon his own Projects, fed him continually with hopes of Success. But withal, he expressed great Fear of what the Emperour might do against him, and made use of that Pretence to delay the Favour he seemed to intend to grant. In every Thing else he was always ready to content the King. The Bishoprick of *Wincheſter* being vacant by the Death of *Richard Fox*, and *Henry* desiring him to bestow it on *Wolsey*, the *Bulls* for that Purpose were drawn up out of Hand. It is true, they were rated at Fifteen Thousand Ducats. But *Wolsey* would not give but Six Thousand, alledging that he needed them not, since the King had already granted him the Temporalities of the Bishoprick. This shows plainly what it was he considered in his Church-Preferments. But no wonder, since the Pope himself made no scruple to own in his *Bull* that he conferred the Bishoprick on the Cardinal, on purpose to help him to bear the Expence his high Rank obliged him to.

The Pope gives Wolsey *the Bishoprick of* Wincheſter.

The Pope's Pretence to delay the Divorce.

Whilst these Things were doing, the Emperour hastened as much as possible the Conclusion of his Treaty with the Pope, being resolved to grant whatever he required, rather than give him Occasion to join with his Enemies. Before the Pope was sure of this Agreement, Policy required that he should keep the Emperour in fear that the Matter of the Divorce would be determined to the King of *England*'s Satisfaction. Consequently, it was his Interest that the Affair should remain undecided, to the End he might let the Emperour see that it depended on the Issue of the Negotiation which was carrying on at *Barcelona*. But when he had just brought him to his own Terms, he began insensibly to seek Pretences to break through his Engagements with *Henry*. So the Restitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* was again insisted upon, the Pope feigning to believe that if *Henry* had desired it, he should have had these two Cities before now, and pretending to be angry with him on that Score. On the other

other Hand, the Emperour knowing the Pope's Mind, proteſted, in Queen *Catharine*'s Name, againſt whatever ſhould be done in *England* in the Affair of the Divorce, declaring that ſhe would not admit of the two Legates, as one was notoriouſly devoted to the King, and the other the Biſhop of *Salisbury*. The King's Miniſters uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade the Pope to reject the Proteſtation. But he replied, he could not do it without ſhowing himſelf too partial to the King, ſince a Proteſtation was no Prejudice to the Cauſe itſelf. That it would be a very ſtrange Thing to refuſe a Queen the Right of proteſting, which the meaneſt Perſon could claim. All this added to many other Circumſtances, and to certain Advices that the Pope was treating with the Emperour, took from the *Engliſh* Miniſters all Proſpect of obtaining any Thing at his Hands. Wherefore, they writ to the King that they were only amuſed; and if the Proceſs was not ſpeedily decided in *England*, it would be in danger of being brought to *Rome*. Whereupon, the King reſolved to proceed before the *Legates*, and not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon any longer by deceitful Promiſes. Nevertheleſs, when they came to examine the *Inſtrument* whereby the Pope had bound himſelf not to revoke the Legates Commiſſion, they found it worded in general or ambiguous Terms, which left him at liberty to do what he pleaſed. So to know whether he acted with Sincerity when he ſigned that *Inſtrument*, *Gardiner* was ordered to repreſent to him, that the Paper on which it was written by the Careleſſneſs of the Courier being all wet, and the Words almoſt quite defaced, the King deſired he would ſign another. But *Clement* found ſome Excuſe not to do it. Wherefore the King, being ſatisfied that he had nothing to expect from the Court of *Rome*, where the Emperour's Intereſt was too great, recalled *Gardiner* and *Brian*, and ſent *Bennet* to *Rome*, only to hinder as much as lay in his Power the *Avocation* of his Cauſe. *Bennet* carried a Letter from the two Legates, directed to the

1529. *Proteſtation in Queen Catharine's Name.*

Henry *reſolves to try his Cauſe before the Legates.*

He tries in vain to over-reach the Pope.

Letter from the two Legates to the Pope.

1529. Pope and Cardinals, wherein they ſaid, That the main Point in the Cauſe they were to judge, conſiſted in knowing whether *Julius* II had Power to grant a Diſpenſation, or whether he had gone beyond his Authority: That ſeeing the Queſtion was only to decide about the Power of the Head of the Church, it was too much for them as they conceived, and therefore they were of Opinion that the Pope would do well to *avocate* the Cauſe: That they doubted not but the King would conſent to it, provided he had ſome Aſſurance, it ſhould be decided in his Favour. It is hard to conceive what made Cardinal *Wolſey* ſign ſuch a Letter ſo directly contrary to the King's Intereſt. For though the Legates ſeemed to ſuppoſe his Conſent, yet it was evident that the Reaſon of the *Avocation* ſubſiſted whether the King conſented or not. Conſequently they afforded the Pope a plauſible Pretenſe to avocate the Cauſe, which the King dreaded of all Things. Was *Wolſey* over-reached by *Campegio*, or did he ſacrifice his Maſter's Intereſt? It is difficult to believe either of theſe; and yet Hiſtorians affirm, that one of the principal Cauſes of his Diſgrace was a Letter of his to the Pope, which came to the King's Knowledge by *Bennet*'s Means, and it might very well be this. Indeed he was inexcuſable if he ſigned it without the King's Conſent; and on the other Hand, it cannot be conceived that the King ſhould be ſo blind as not to ſee the Conſequence of ſuch Advice.

Remark on the Letter with reſpect to Wolſey.

The Legates ſit to hear the Cauſe.

Though *Campegio* came to *England* in *October* laſt Year, it was now the End of *May*, and nothing done towards the Tryal of the Cauſe which brought him thither. The King having ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by the Pope, whoſe Intereſt it was to gain Time, had been all along in Expectation of obtaining a *Bull* to null the Marriage, without being obliged to go through the uſual Forms of a Proceſs. But at length his Agents letting him know that his Expectations were in vain, he reſolved to proceed before the *Legates*. To that End, on the 31ſt of *May*, he granted them a Licenſe to execute the Pope's Commiſſion.

Act. Pub. XIV. 295.

miſſion. They met the ſame Day, and appointed Aſſiſtants to examine the *Papers* and *Evidences*. From the very firſt Seſſion, it appeared that *Campegio* intended to ſpin out the Proceſs to a great length, ſince after the Commiſſion was read, he ordered the King and Queen to be cited to appear the 18th of *June*. This was too long a Term, if there had been any Deſign to diſpatch the Affair, eſpecially as the Parties were in *London* it ſelf, or in one of their Palaces near the City. Though *Wolſey* was the ſenior Cardinal, he let *Campegio* preſide, to ſhow he intended to act without Partiality. So from the firſt Day to the laſt, *Campegio* did all, without its appearing that *Wolſey* ever oppoſed the affected Delays of his Colleague between the Seſſions. I ſhall not enter any farther into the Particulars of this famous Proceſs, which may be ſeen at large in the excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*, known to all the World, but content my ſelf with relating in general the moſt remarkable Circumſtances.

1529. *Artifices of* Campegio *to ſpin out the Affair.*

Wolſey *lets* Campegio *preſide.*

In the ſecond Seſſion the Queen's Proctors excepted againſt the two *Legates*. But the Exception not being deemed valid, ſhe had a further Day given her to the 21ſt *. On that Day, the King and Queen appeared in Perſon. But the Queen, without ſaying any Thing to the Legates, went and kneeled down before the King, and made a very moving Speech, concluding with demanding of him Juſtice and Compaſſion; which done ſhe withdrew, and would never again appear, nor ſuffer any Body to defend her Cauſe *1,

Proceedings in the Proceſs.

* On the 18th of *June*, the Citation being returned duly executed, *Richard Samſon* Dean of the Chapel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appeared as the King's Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Perſon, and excepted againſt the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging the Cauſe was already avocated by the Pope, and deſired a competent Time to prove it. The Legates aſſigned her the 21ſt, and adjourned the Court till then. *Bur. p.* 72.

*1 When the King and Queen were called on, the King anſwered, *Here*; but the Queen riſing from her Seat, kneeled down and ſaid to the King, "She was a poor Woman and a Stranger in his "Domi-

1529. As soon as she was gone out, the King declared he was very well pleased with the Queen, and in suing to be divorced from her, he acted purely from a Motive of Religion and Conscience *. Adding, that his Scruples about his Marriage sprung from those of the Bishop of *Tarbe*, and were confirmed by the Opinions of all the Bishops of *England*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* confirmed what the King said, touching the Bishops. But *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* denied he ever set his Hand to the Writing which was presented to the King. Mean while, the Queen was cited again to appear the 25th of *June*; but instead of appearing, she sent in her Appeal in form from whatever had been or should be done hereafter. Nevertheless she was declared *Contumax*. The same Day, the Process was reduced to twelve Articles, upon which Witnesses were to be examined. The main Article was, Prince *Arthur*'s consummating his Marriage with *Catharine*, which the Queen had denied with an Oath, and which notwithstanding was proved by the Testimony of several Persons, as far as a Thing of that Nature can be. These Proofs consisted in the Age, Health, and vigorous Constitution of the Prince, and in his Discourses next Morning after the Wedding. So that *Arthur* or *Catharine* must necessarily not have spoken the Truth,

Act. Pub. XIV. 299. 300.

The Queen appeals from the Proceedings of the Legates.

" Dominions, where she could expect neither good Council nor " indifferent Judges; she had long been his Wife, and desired to " know wherein she had offended him: She had been his Wife " 20 Years and more, and had born him several Children, and e- " ver studied to please him, and protested he had found her a " true Maid, about which she appealed to his own Conscience. If " she had done any Thing amiss, she was willing to be put away " with Shame. Their Parents were esteemed very wise Princes, " and no doubt had good Councellors and learned Men about them " when the Match was agreed: Therefore she would not submit " to the Court, nor durst her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and " assigned by him, speak freely for her. So she desired to be ex- " cused till she heard from *Spain*." That said, she rose up, and making the King a low Reverence, went out of Court. Her Council were the Bishops of *Rochester* and St. *Asaph*, and Dr. *Ridley*. Bur. Vol. I. p 73.

* He cleared likewise Cardinal *Wolsey* from being the first Mover of the Matter, as had been suspected. *ibid.*

Truth, the one out of Vanity, or the other out of Intereſt *. 1529.

Whilſt they were buſy in *England* about the Proceſs, the Emperour's Miniſters were earneſtly preſſing the Pope to avocate the Cauſe to *Rome*, and *Henry*'s as vehemently ſollicited the contrary. What is more, both Sides threatened to depoſe him, on account of his being a Baſtard. The Pope feigned to be terrified by theſe Menaces, and his ſeeming Fear to declare for either, afforded him a Pretenſe to remain undetermined, till he ſhould receive Advice of the Concluſion of his Treaty with the Emperour. At length the agreeable News being come, he reſolved to avocate the Cauſe, before the publiſhing of the Treaty, leſt it ſhould be thought that it was one of the ſecret Articles. Weak Precaution to wipe out, or prevent ſuch a Suſpicion. *The Pope receives News of the Concluſion of his Treaty with the Emperour.*

This Treaty, which was ſigned at *Barcelona* the 29th of *June*, ran, That the Emperour ſhould reſtore the Family of the *Medicis* to *Florence*, on the ſame Foot as formerly: That he ſhould cauſe *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be given back to the Pope: That he ſhould put him in Poſſeſſion of *Modena* and *Reggio*, ſaving the Rights of the Empire: That he ſhould aid him to become Maſter of *Ferrara*: That *Franciſco Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to *Milan*, if he was Innocent; but if he was found Guilty, the Emperour ſhould not diſpoſe of the Dutchy to any Prince the Pope ſhould not like: That the Pope and Emperour ſhould employ *Conditions of the Treaty.*

* Particularly *Robert* Viſcount *Fitzwater*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Anthony Willoughby*, depoſed, that they heard Prince *Arthur* ſay publickly, *I have been this Night in the midſt of* Spain. The King's Council it ſeems inſiſting moſtly on the Conſummation of the Marriage, it led them to ſay many Things that were indecent; of which the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* complained, and ſaid they were Things deteſtable to be heard; but Cardinal *Wolſey* checkt him, and there paſſed ſome ſharp Words between them. Lord *Herbert* has given the Subſtance of all the Depoſitions, *p.* 115. compl. Hiſt. The Place appointed for hearing and determining the Cauſe, was a great Hall in *Black-Friars* in *London*, (commonly called the *Parliament-Chamber.*) ibid.

1529. employ their *Temporal* and *Spiritual* Arms againſt the *Hereticks* of *Germany*: That *Alexander de Medicis* ſhould eſpouſe *Margaret* the Emperour's natural Daughter: That the Pope ſhould grant the Emperour a fourth of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Revenues in his Dominions, to wage War with the *Turks*: That he ſhould abſolve all thoſe that were any ways concerned in the taking and ſacking of *Rome*. What could the Pope have expected more, ſuppoſing he had been victorious in the late War? But the Emperour believed he could not purchaſe the Pope's Friendſhip too dearly, who might have created him a great deal of Trouble ſtill, if he ſhould have joined with *France*, *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*.

The Pope avocates the Cauſe to Rome.

The Pope having concluded his Treaty with the Emperour, told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors himſelf on the 9th of *July*, his Reſolution to avocate the Cauſe to *Rome*. They did all they could to diſſwade him from it, repreſenting to him that the *Holy See* was going to loſe *England* without any hopes of Recovery. But it was all to no Purpoſe. By his late Treaty with the Emperour, the Family of the *Medicis* was to be reſtored to the Government of *Florence*. This alone was enough to outweigh in his Mind, all the Dangers to which he expoſed the *Holy See*; ſo great was his Affection for a Family from whence he was deſcended, though not born in Wedlock. So on the 15th of *July* he ſigned the *Bull* of Avocation. Next Day he notified it to *Caſſali* the King's Ambaſſador in Ordinary, and to *Bennet* who had been ſent to him laſt. He alledged in excuſe of the Avocation, ſeveral Reaſons which might have been of ſome Weight in the Beginning of the Proceſs, on ſuppoſition he had been entirely Impartial, but which had loſt all their Force, after the Steps he had taken, and the Concluſion of his Treaty with the Emperour. Three Days after he diſpatched a Meſſenger with the *Bull* of Avocation to *England*, where Proceedings went on very ſlowly by the Artifices of Cardinal *Campegio* who preſided in the Affair.

He ſends a Courier to England.

The

The Queen, who had been cited for the 25th of *June*, as has been ſaid, not having appeared that Day, ſhe had farther Time given her to the 28th, and cited again to appear by the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, though in vain. On the 28th ſome Depoſitions were read, after which the Seſſion was adjourned to the 5th of *July*, when by reaſon of certain *Holidays* kept at *Rome*, the Seſſion was put off till the 12th. The Court met again on the 12th, the 14th, the 17th, the 21ſt, and the 23d. As there was nothing more to do but to pronounce the Sentence, every Body thought all would be ended this laſt Seſſion; but People were ſtrangely ſurprized when they heard Cardinal *Campegio* adjourned the Court to the 1ſt of *October*. He alledged for Reaſon, that it was the Time of the great Vacation at *Rome*, and that he was indiſpenſably obliged to comply with that Cuſtom.

1529. *Continuation of the Proceſs.*

Campegio's *Delays.* Act. Pub. XIV. 300.

He adjourns the Court to the firſt of October.

Thus did that Legate, who was in the Pope's Secrets, make a Fool of the King, much in the ſame Manner as the Pope had done at *Rome* for near two whole Years, ſince the Affair had been on Foot. *Henry* was as much inraged as ſurprized at the Legate's Proceedings; but he wiſely diſſembled his Surpriſe and Reſentment. Shortly after he plainly ſaw to what all theſe affected Delays tended, when he came to know that in ſpite of his Engagement, the Pope had avocated the Cauſe. The *Bull* of Avocation being arrived, he would not have it notified to him, but gave the Legates to underſtand that he was content they ſhould obey the Pope's Orders. It was not without Reaſon that he did not care to have the *Bull* notified to him. He was cited in it to appear at *Rome* within forty Days, which he could not have done without acting contrary to the Laws of the Land, which forbid the obeying ſuch Citations, and the carrying Cauſes to a foreign Court. Upon this Foundation it was that he had all along inſiſted that the Proceſs ſhould be determined in the Kingdom. Beſides that, *Cenſures* were denounced againſt him in the *Bull* in Caſe he obeyed not the Citation, as might have

The Bull *of Avocation comes to* London.

The King is cited to Rome.

1529. *The Pope revokes his Cenſures.* Act. Pub. XIV. 346.

have been done againſt a private Perſon. Some Time after, the Pope made him a ſort of Reparation, by revoking theſe *Cenſures* by a *Brief* wherein he proteſted they were inſerted contrary to his Intention. But as to the Citation it ſelf, he contented himſelf with prolonging the Day to *Chriſtmas*.

Remark on Cardinal Wolſey's *Behaviour*

The Figure Cardinal *Wolſey* made during the pretended Determination of the Proceſs was very extraordinary. Of all the Men in the World he was the proudeſt and moſt haughty; he was ſenior Cardinal to his Collegue, and yet he gave Place to him in every Thing, and let him do whatever he pleaſed, without ever oppoſing his Opinion. If the Buſineſs had ſucceeded according to the King's Deſire, his Behaviour would doubtleſs have been praiſed. But Matters going wrong, it was not poſſible for the Cardinal to avoid the Suſpicion of having betrayed his Maſter's Intereſts, or at leaſt of having ſerved him very ill. *Henry* himſelf thought ſo, though he did not ſoon ſhow ſo much. On the other Hand, *Ann Bullen*, who had all along took the Cardinal for her Friend, could not recover out of her Aſtoniſhment when ſhe was informed of what had paſſed. The King had removed her from Court whilſt the Legates were taken up with the Proceſs; but ſhe was ſent for again the Moment the *Bull* of Avocation was come. 'Tis pretended that ſhe did not a little contribute towards confirming the King's Suſpicions of the Cardinal. She was perſwaded if *Wolſey* had pleaſed, the Affair would have taken another Turn; but that he had altered his Mind in that reſpect. Whether her Opinion was well-grounded, or whether the Vexation to ſee herſelf ſo far from her Hopes, exaſperated her againſt the Cardinal, ſhe looked upon him as an Enemy deſerving her whole Vengeance. So finding the King diſpoſed to give Ear to whatever any one would ſay againſt his Miniſter, ſhe omitted nothing that could help to ruin him. In this ſhe was aſſiſted by ſeveral Perſons of the higeſt Rank, who had no Reaſon to love that proud Prelate.

It

1529.

The King is extremely uneasy. Burnet.

It is easy to guess how much *Henry* was vexed to see himself on a sudden at such a Distance from his Aim. The Pope had joined in a League with the Emperour, which was properly the Course he should have taken. *Francis* I. from whom he expected a powerful Aid in Case of Need, had just concluded at *Cambray* a Treaty with the Emperour, whereby he engaged not to assist that Prince's Enemies. In a Word, Queen *Catharine* remained obstinately bent not to close with any Expedient which might debarr her of being his Wife. On the other Hand, *Henry*'s Love for *Ann Bullen*, which he had pleased himself with the Hopes of gratifying by a lawful Marriage, helped not a little to augment his Vexation. He did not know which way to get rid of the Queen, who by her Obstinacy had very much lessened that Esteem and Affection he had always had for her. With his Mind full of these sad Thoughts, and uncertain what to determine, he resolved to take a Progress into some of his *Counties*, to try to dispel his Melancholy.

He takes a Progress.

Dr. Cranmer *opens him a way to get over his Troubles.*

During his Journey, he went and lodged one Night at *Waltham*, where *Edward Fox* and Secretary *Gardiner* happened to lie at a Gentleman's House who had two Sons committed to *Thomas Cranmer*'s Care. *Cranmer* was a Doctor of *Divinity*, who having been *Professor* at *Oxford* *, had lost his Place upon his being married. He had travelled into *Germany*, where he had read *Luther*'s Works, and embraced his Doctrine, but with more Moderation than was usually seen in the first Disciples of that Reformer. Whilst they were at Supper, *Cranmer* being at Table with *Fox* and *Gardiner*, the Conversation ran upon the Business of the Divorce; and as the Master of the House had informed

* He was bred up at *Jesus*-College in *Cambridge*, where he commenced *Doctor* in 1523. He was born at *Aslakton* in *Nottinghamshire* 1489, being Son of *Thomas Cranmer* Esq; a Gentleman of a very antient Family. He had nothing to do with *Oxford* before he was carried there to be burnt.

1529. formed the two Courtiers of *Cranmer*'s Worth and Capacity, they desired him to give his Opinion of that Matter. *Cranmer* at first modestly declined it, but they pressed him so much that he could not excuse himself. So having stated the Question, he said he saw no better way to extricate the King out of his Troubles, than to procure in Writing, the Opinions of all the Universities in *Europe*, and of the most eminent *Divines* and *Civilians*. That one of these two Things would follow, either the *Universities* and the *Learned* would judge *Julius the Second*'s Dispensation sufficient, or they would deem it invalid. That in the first Case, the King's Conscience would have reason to be easy, and in the second, the Pope would not venture to pass Sentence contrary to the Opinion of all the learned and able Men in Christendom. *Fox* and *Gardiner* relishing this Advice, imparted it to the King, who taking the Author's Meaning immediately, cried out, overjoyed, *That he had got the right Sow by the Ear*, an Expression which by its Coarseness showed how much the King was pleased with the Expedient. At the same Time he sent for *Cranmer*, who having explained more at large what he had but just hinted at Table, gained his Esteem to such a Degree, that from that Moment he was ordered to follow the Court. This is the same Doctor who will quickly be seen to make a considerable Figure in *England*, and lay the first Foundations of the Reformation of that Kingdom.

The King entertains a great Esteem for Cranmer.

Campegio *returns to* Rome.

The King being returned from his Progress, Cardinal *Campegio*, whose Commission was revoked, took his Audience of leave, as having nothing more to do in *England*. *Henry* had so much Command of himself as to take no manner of notice of his Proceedings, but looked pleasantly enough upon him. But just as the Cardinal was going to embark, the Custom-House Officers searched all his Baggage, under Colour of looking for contraband Goods. In all likelihood the King hoped to find the *Decretal Bull* which he had seen in his Hands, not knowing

They search his Baggage.

knowing it was burnt *. *Campegio* loudly complained of this Inſult, and writ to the King to demand Satisfaction, as for an Affront done to the Legate of the *Holy See*. *Henry* coldly anſwered, that his Cuſtom-Houſe-Officers had done their Duty in executing the Orders long ſince eſtabliſhed with regard to Perſons going out of the Kingdom: That he was amazed he ſhould talk of his being Legate when he was recalled, and much more that being Biſhop of *Salisbury* he ſhould be ſo far ignorant of the Laws of the Land as to dare to take upon him that Title without his Licenſe. *Campegio* perceiving by this Anſwer, that the King intended not to give him Satisfaction, thought himſelf very happy in being ſuffered to depart. 1529. *He complains of it in vain.*

The Cardinal had good Reaſon to wiſh himſelf out of the Kingdom. How fair ſoever the King might carry it towards him, he could not be ignorant how angry People were with him, after having ſeen, ſome Days before his Departure, how Matters were like to go with his Collegue Cardinal *Wolſey*. The 9th of *October* the Attorney-General had preferred a Bill of Indictment againſt *Wolſey*, as guilty of breaking the Statute of *Præmunire*. The 18th of the ſame Month the King ſent and demanded the *Great Seal* of him, though it was given him for Life. For which Reaſon the Cardinal made ſome Scruple to deliver it; but he obeyed a ſecond Command, and in a few Days the King gave the *Great Seal* to *Thomas More*, a Perſon univerſally eſteemed on the Score of his great Integrity. The Cardinal had no ſooner delivered the *Great Seal*, but the Attorney-General preferred other Articles of Impeachment againſt him. The King having given *Cardinal* Wolſey's *Fall.* *He is impeached.* *The King takes the* Great Seal *from him.* Act. Pub. XIV. 349. ibid. P. 348.

* It is thought they ſearched alſo for ſome Love-Letters of the King's to *Ann Bullen*, which ſome way or other were conveyed out of the King's Cabinet, and ſent to *Rome*. They now lie in the *Vatican*. *Burnet* ſaw them in the Library, and knowing *Henry*'s Hand too well not to be convinced they were writ by him, got Dr. *Fall* to copy them for him. They were very ill writ, the Hand is ſcarce legible, and the *French* ſeems Faulty. *Burnet*, Vol. III. p. 42.

1529. given him leave to appoint Attornies to answer for him, he chose two who appeared for him, and protested in his Name, that he did not know the obtaining of the *Bulls*, whereof he was accused, was contrary to the Laws of the Land, and prejudicial to the Prerogative Royal. As for the Particulars wherewith he was charged, they said, he confessed them all to be true, and cast himself entirely upon the King's Mercy. He was accused twice, as I said, *viz.* on the 9th and the 18th of *October*, and both Times he was found guilty, and declared out of the Protection of the Laws. In all Appearance he was Indicted first for obtaining several *Bulls* without the King's express License, and the second Time for exercising in *England* the Office of *Legate a Latere*, without the King's *Letters Patents* to that End, contrary to the Intent of the Law.

He is put out of the Protection of the Law.

Inventory of the Cardinal's Goods.

As soon as the Cardinal was out-lawed, the King commanded him to leave *York-Place*, and retire to a Country-House belonging to him as Bishop of *Winchester*. Then he ordered an *Inventory* of all his Goods to be taken, which contained immense Riches, acquired by many Acts of Injustice. 'Tis said that of fine *Holland* alone, there were found in his House a Thousand Pieces. One may guess at the rest by this Specimen. Some Time after he caused a very humble Petition to be presented to the King, praying a Protection for his Person, without which he said he was exposed to the Insults of the meanest Enemy that had a Mind to abuse him. The King granted him one *November* the 17th, with a Power to answer for himself in all *Actions* that should be entered against him for the future. Moreover he left him the Archbishoprick of *York*, and the *See* of *Winchester*. It is a hard Matter to account for the King's Behaviour with respect to the Cardinal, since at the very Time that he seemed most incensed against him, he sent him a certain Ring which was a sign agreed upon between them of the Continuance of his Affection for him. The Cardinal who was then on the Road to his Country-House near *Win-*

Cavendish

The King grants him a Protection.

p. 351.

He seems inclined to Mercy.

Wincheſter *, was ſo tranſported with Joy at the ſight of the Ring, that he alighted from his Horſe and fell upon his Knees in the Dirt to receive it. But his Hopes were not long-lived. His Enemies, who had the King's Ear, took ſo much Pains to exaſperate him againſt him, that at laſt his Affair was brought before the Parliament. 1529.

Wolſey's Affair brought before the Parliament.

Lord *Herbert* has inſerted in his Hiſtory the Forty-four Articles of Impeachment preſented to the King againſt the Cardinal by the *Houſe of Lords*, which differ much from thoſe that *Hales* the Attorney-General had preferred either in the *Star-Chamber* or elſewhere. *Hales* had accuſed him of breaking the *Statute of Præmunire*, and exerciſing the Office of *Legate a Latere*, without the King's Licenſe. In that he proceeded according to the Tenour of the Statute of *Præmunire*, which ran, that no Perſon ſhould be exempt from the Penalty, but thoſe to whom the King ſhould be pleaſed to grant his *Letters Patents*. Now as the Cardinal had not taken Care to have a Licenſe in form, he was liable to the Penalty, according to the Rigour of the Law. But in the Articles of the *Houſe of Lords* there was no ſuch Thing. And indeed it would have been contrary to Equity to accuſe the Cardinal of exerciſing the Authority of *Legate* without the King's Permiſſion, ſince every Body knew the King had conſented to it, though not in the manner preſcribed by the Law. The Attorney-General did well to keep to the Letter of the Law, purſuant to the Duty of his Office. But it would have been wrong in the *Houſe of Peers* to take Advantage of the want of a Formality to deſtroy one of their Body. So the Articles which the Lords exhibited, ran upon Crimes which had no relation to the *Statute of Præmunire*. The Cardinal was chiefly accuſed of abuſing his *Legatine* Power, contrary to the Oath he had taken when he was admitted to the Exerciſe of it: Of unjuſt Pro-

Difference between the Articles of the Houſe, and the Attorny General's Indictment.

* It was not near *Wincheſter*, but at *Eſher* or *Aſhur* near *Hampton-Court*, that he was ordered to withdraw to.

1529. ceedings as Chancellor: Of making himſelf, on ſeveral Occaſions, equal with the King: Of iſſuing out divers Orders of Moment without the King's Knowledge: Of acting arbitrarily on ſome Occaſions, as if he had been the Sovereign, not the Miniſter. All the reſt of the Articles were of the ſame Nature, and ran upon the ill Uſe he had made of his Power, as *Legate*, *Chancellor*, *Prime Miniſter* and Favourite. But I cannot paſs over in Silence one which ſeems very extraordinary: Which was, that the Cardinal knowing he had *the Great-Pox* upon him, had the Confidence to approach the King's Perſon daily, frequently whiſpering in his Ear, without fearing to infect him with his Breath. Theſe Articles being ſent down to the *Commons*, *Thomas Cromwell* Member of Parliament, and the Cardinal's Servant, took upon him his Defence in ſuch a Manner, as did him a great deal of Honour, and was one of the principal Cauſes of his Riſe afterwards. It is true, he undertook not to clear him of the Crimes he was charged with, but only to ſhow he was not guilty of High-Treaſon, as the Houſe of Peers pretended, wherein he ſucceeded to his Wiſh.

Art. VI.

Thomas Cromwell *ſpeaks for him in the Houſe of Commons.*

Remarks on the Peace of Cambray.

It is neceſſary now to ſpeak of the Peace of *Cambray*, which I only juſt mentioned by the way. The Differences between *Charles* V and *Francis* I. concerned all *Europe* to ſuch a Degree, that it is very difficult to underſtand the Hiſtories of the other States, if one has not a clear Notion of the Affairs of theſe two Monarchs. *Francis* laboured, during the firſt Part of the Year 1529, to negotiate a Peace with the Emperour. After his ill Succeſs in the War of *Naples*, he plainly ſaw there was no other way to recover his two Hoſtages. He knew the Pope kept on Foot a ſecret Negotiation in *Spain*, and that it lay in the Emperour's Breaſt to make Peace with all the States of *Italy*, by reſtoring *Sforza* to *Milan*. So, although *France* and *England* ſhould have uſed their utmoſt Endeavours, in all likelihood it would have ſerved only to haſten yet more the Peace of *Italy*. But the King of *France* was not ſo much as ſure of being able to bring *Henry*

to

to act, who was desirous to keep fair with the Pope and Emperour, in hopes of obtaining their Consent by gentle Means, sooner than by Force of Arms. Besides, though he was bound to contribute pretty large Sums towards the War, yet he payed them only in Paper, by Receipts of what was due to him from *Francis*. So, properly speaking, this was no Help to *France*, which the former Wars had drained of Men and Money. *Francis* had therefore no business to stand in suspense. It was necessary for him to make Peace at any rate. However, to get as good Terms as possible, he amused the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, with mighty Promises, for fear they should be beforehand with him, and left, after they had made their Peace with the Emperour, his Condition would become worse. He gave them to understand that he was resolved to lead in Person a strong Army to *Italy*. He continued this Game till he had concluded the Treaty of *Cambray*, wherein he left them to the Emperour's Mercy. In all appearance, *Henry* was the only one of his Allies that knew his Mind. The Emperour was not ignorant of the Posture of the *French* King's Affairs, and no doubt would have made it turn more to his Account, had not the Invasion which the *Turks* were preparing against *Hungary* and *Austria*, and the Commotions which the *Protestants* began to raise in *Germany*, made him desirous to leave *Italy* in quiet. Besides, he saw that a Peace was the only way to break the strict Union of *France* with *England*. If these two Monarchs had joined in the League which the *Protestants* of *Germany* were projecting for their common Defence, they would have created him Troubles which might have broke all his Measures. These were the Motives that inclined the Emperour to a Peace, which however he made *France* purchase at a pretty dear Rate. *Charles* and *Francis* being in the same Mind, agreed together by secret Negotiations, upon the chief Articles of the Peace, the whole Honour whereof they were pleased to leave in outward Appearance to the Ladies. In the Month 1529.

1529. of *July*, *Margaret* of *Austria*, the Emperour's Aunt and Governess of the *Low-Countries*; and *Louisa* of *Savoy*, Dutchess of *Angoulême*, *Francis*'s Mother, repaired to *Cambray*, and signed there on the 5th of *August* a Treaty, the Substance whereof was as follows:

Chief Articles of the Peace of Cambray. Guicciard. Mezerai.

That the Emperour should give over his Claim to *Burgundy*, his Right to that Dutchy remaining however entire.

That the King of *France* should pay him Two Millions of Gold for the Ransom of his Sons, and withdraw all his Forces out of *Italy*.

That he should yield him up the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*.

That he should restore to him the Earldom of *Asti*, with whatever he held in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

That he should resign all Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

That he should marry Queen *Leonora*, with whom the Emperour her Brother would give Two Hundred Thousand Crowns.

In short, besides several other private Articles, he bound himself to restore the Heirs of the late Duke of *Bourbon* to all that Prince's Estates which had been confiscated.

Francis *deceives his Allies.*

This Treaty being ratified, it was some time before *Francis* durst give Audience to the Ambassadors of *Venice* and *Florence*, because he could not without Confusion hear their just Reproaches. At last he put them off with some poor Excuses and fresh Promises, which he performed no better than those he had made them before the Peace. It was a good Jest, that even after the Peace was concluded, the Bishop of *Tarbe* his Ambassador at *Venice*, not having timely notice of it, strenuously sollicited the *Senate* to carry on the War, upon the Prospect he gave them of a powerful Aid.

Henry's *Generosity to* Francis. Herbert.

It was something strange too, that *Henry* having proclamed War with the Emperour by a Herald, there was however no particular Treaty between them.

Henry

Henry was ſatisfied with an Article inſerted in that of *Cambray*, whereby the King of *France* bound himſelf to pay him the Two Hundred and Ninety Thouſand Crowns, which the Emperour owed him, and to redeem the Rich *Flower-de-Luce*, which the Emperour *Maximilian* had pawned to *Henry* VIII, for Fifty Thouſand Crowns. He did more; for he generouſly forgave *Francis* the firſt Sum, and made a Preſent of the ſecond to the Duke of *Orleans* his Godſon. This is a clear Evidence, that in making a Peace *Francis* I. had not dealt with *Henry* as with the Princes of *Italy*, but had convinced him of the Neceſſity he was under of concluding it. 1529.

The Emperour having agreed with *Francis* upon the main Articles of the Peace, departed from *Barcelona* before he received Advice of its being concluded, and arrived the 12th of *Auguſt* at *Genoa* with a Body of Nine Thouſand Men. The Peace of *Cambray* being made publick ſhortly after, the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Milan*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, whom the King of *France* had forſaken, ſaw no other Remedy but the Emperour's Clemency, who had it in his Power to make them pay dearly for their Attachment to *France*. The Diſcuſſion of their Affairs being referred to a Conference which the Emperour was to have with the Pope at *Bologna*, each ſent Ambaſſadors thither to take care of their Concerns. Here it was that the Emperour enjoined the *Venetians* to reſtore to the Pope *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, and to himſelf ſome Places they ſtill held in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Franciſco Sforza* was reſtored to the Dutchy of *Milan*, on Condition of paying to the Emperour Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns in Hand, and Five Hundred Thouſand in the Space of Ten Years, at Ten Payments. The Duke of *Ferrara* having offered to make the Emperour Judge and Umpire of his Differences with the Pope, his Offer was accepted, *Clement* VII thinking nothing could be more for his Advantage than to ſubmit to the Emperour's Deciſion, who was already bound by the Treaty of *Barcelona* to help

1530. *The Emperour goes to* Genoa, *and afterwards to* Bologna, *where he ſettles the Affairs of* Italy. Guicciard.

1530. help him to *Modena* and *Reggio*, and assist him to take Possession of *Ferrara*. As to the *Florentines*, it was not possible to reconcile them with the Pope. They would not hearken to an Accommodation, unless they were assured of preserving their Liberty, being resolved to defend it with the last Drop of their Blood. They offered however to purchase it with a Sum of Money. But the Pope on his part proffered them all sorts of Advantages, provided the Family of the *Medicis* were restored to *Florence*, upon the same Foot they were before the Legate was drove out. The Parties not having been able to agree, the Emperour ordered the Prince of *Orange* to besiege *Florence*, and restore the *Medicis*.

He promises to try to ruin the Protestants. Sleidan.

The Emperour having settled his Matters in *Italy*, was impatient to return to *Germany*, where the Affairs of Religion began to give him Disturbance. Some time since, the *Protestants* insisted continually upon a *Free Council* in *Germany*, which had been promised them, but without any such Design. During the late War, the Emperour had all along amused them with the Prospect of a *Council*. But no sooner was the Peace concluded, but in his Conference with the Pope at *Bologna*, he promised him to do his utmost to reduce them, without being forced to call a *Council*. Mean while, the Protestants knowing his Design, by the threatning Answer he returned to their Envoys, after the Conclusion of the Peace, were thinking of joining in a League for their common Defence, and this it was that made the Emperour uneasy, and obliged him to make haste and finish his Matters in *Italy*, in order to go and settle the Affairs of *Germany*. Before he went from *Bologna*, he received the Imperial Crown at the Pope's Hands the 24th of *February* 1530, on St. *Matthias*'s Day, which was his Birth-day, and which, on several Occasions, had been very fortunate to him. He sat out at length from *Bologna*, on the 22d of *March* 1530 for *Germany*, attended by Cardinal *Campegio*, who was to assist, from the Pope, at the Diet of *Augsburg*.

He receiv'd the Imperial Crown from the Pope. Guicciard

The

The Prince of *Orange* inveſted *Florence* according to the Emperour's Order, and was ſlain at the Siege, which the *Florentines* deſperately ſtood out. At length, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, they were forced to capitulate, but on expreſs Condition that they ſhould enjoy their Liberty, leaving it to the Emperour to ſettle the Form of their Government. But ſome Days after, the Friends of the *Medicis* having raiſed a Tumult in the City, and finding themſelves ſupported by a great Number of *Spaniſh* Officers who had entered on divers Pretences, *Clement* VII was put again in Poſſeſſion of the Government. Then the Emperour, without regarding the Article of the Capitulation, eſtabliſhed *Alexander de Medicis* his Son-in-law at *Florence*, on the ſame Foot that his Anceſtors had formerly been, and made the Sovereignty Hereditary in his Family.

1530. *Siege of* Florence. *Capitulation.*

The Medicis *take Poſſeſſion of the Government.*

Alexander de Medicis *firſt Sovereign of* Florence.

The 1ſt of *June* this Year, *Francis* received his two Sons, who were Hoſtages in *Spain*, upon paying the Emperour Twelve Hundred Thouſand Crowns in Hand, and giving Security for the reſt of the Sum. After that, he married *Leonora*, purſuant to the Treaty of *Cambray*. Had he been obliged to find ready-Money to pay *Henry* what the Emperour owed him, according to the Tenor of the Treaty, it is very probable he would not ſo ſoon have got his Sons out of *Spain*. But *Henry* proved a generous Friend, who, to enable him to recover his Hoſtages, freely gave him the Emperour's *Bonds* to reſtore them to him, as well as the pawned Jewel above-mentioned *. Moreover, he deſiſted from all Demands of the Charges he had been at to aſſiſt him, which, according to *Francis*'s own Confeſſion, to be ſeen in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, amounted to the Sum of Five Hundred Twelve Thouſand Two Hundred Twenty-Two Crowns of Gold *Sol*, both in ready-Money and Acquittances upon the Two Millions *Francis* owed him.

Francis's *two Sons are releaſed.* Guicciard. Mezerai.

Henry's *Generoſity to* Francis.

Act. Pub. XIV. 360.

* This Jewel in the Form of a *Flower-de-luce*, is ſaid to have a Piece of the Wood of the true *Croſs* in it. *Herbert*, p. 135.

1530. He clogged this his great Generoſity with one Condition only, *viz.* that in caſe *Francis* violated the Peace and Alliance they had made together, he ſhould ſtill be accountable for all theſe Sums; to which *Francis* bound himſelf by *Letters-Patents*.

By means of the Treaty of *Cambray*, the King of *France* ſaw himſelf at length in profound Tranquillity, though the late War had coſt him immenſe Sums, the Loſs of *Genoa* and *Milan*, the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, a Year's Captivity, a World of Vexations, and it may be ſomething of his Honour and Reputation. But it was not ſo with *Henry*. After having been at a vaſt Charge to ſupport the Intereſts of his Ally, he was ſtill perplexed with the Affair of the Divorce, and in danger of having to deal very ſoon with the Emperour. However, as he was naturally ſteady and unſhaken in whatever he took in Hand, all theſe Obſtacles were not able to diſcourage him, and he reſolved to ſee the Iſſue of that Buſineſs, let what would be the Conſequence. *Thomas Cranmer* being then very much in his Eſteem, he ordered him to write upon the Divorce; and the Doctor did it with univerſal Approbation. After that, he was commanded to accompany the Ambaſſadors whom the King ſent to the Pope and Emperour, to try for the laſt time to find out ſome Expedient to put an End to the Affair which gave him ſo much Trouble. Theſe Ambaſſadors found the Pope and Emperour at *Bologna*, and had an Audience of both. The Pope ſhowed an Inclination to content the King; but he durſt do nothing without the Emperour's Conſent, who openly proteſted he would never forſake the Queen his Aunt. *Cranmer* maintained his Maſter's Cauſe with great Warmth, which hindered not the Pope from making him his *Penitentiary* in *England* to pleaſe the King, whom he ſtrove to oblige in Things of little Conſequence, whilſt he did nothing for him in the main Affair.

Henry *purſues at* Rome *the Buſineſs of the Divorce.*

In

In the mean while, *Henry* purſuant to *Cranmer*'s Advice*, diſpatched able and learned Men *1 to *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, to conſult the *Univerſities* upon the Matter of the Divorce. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Opinions of the Univerſities of *Angiers*, *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Thouloufe*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Padua*, all uniform, declaring that *Julius the Second*'s Diſpenſation for *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catharine* being contrary to divine Law, could not be deemed valid. It might be objected that the Determinations of the *French* Univerſities were ſuſpicious, by reaſon of the ſtrict Union at that time between *Francis* and *Henry*. But one cannot ſay the ſame of thoſe of *Padua* and *Ferrara*, and ſtill leſs of that of *Bologna*, a City belonging to the Pope. Dr. *Burnet* having largely handled this Subject, thoſe who have a mind to examine the Matter more fully, may conſult his Hiſtory of the Reformation. It will ſuffice to obſerve here, that the Queſtion was, Whether *Henry*'s Marriage with his Brother's Widow was contrary to the Law of God, and upon that Suppoſition, whether the Pope had Power to grant a Diſpenſation. The Univerſities above-mentioned maintained that ſuch a Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, with which the Pope had not Power to diſpenſe. *Oxford* and *Cambridge* being likewiſe conſulted, decreed the ſame Thing, though not without great Oppoſition from ſome of the Members *2. It ſeems ſomething ſtrange at

1530. *Moſt of the Univerſities decide in favour of the King.* Burnet. Act. Pub. XIV. 390, &c.

Oxford *and* Cambridge *make the greateſt Scruple.*

* Though *Fox* and others affirm, that *Cranmer* was the firſt Mover of conſulting the Foreign Univerſities, yet *Cavendiſh*, one of *Wolſey*'s Family, ſays the Cardinal firſt propoſed it.

*1 To *Orleans* and *Thouloufe* were ſent Sir *Francis Brian*, *Fox*, afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*, and Mr. *William Paget*. To *Paris*, *Reginald Pool* of the Blood Royal. In *Italy*, the King's Agents were Dr. *Richard Crooke* at *Padua*, *Hieronimo de Genuai* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Gregory Caſſali* at *Rome*; Dr. *Stokeſly* at *Venice*; Dr. *Cranmer*, *Andrew* and *John Caſſali* were likewiſe employed in *Italy*.

*2 At *Cambridge* it was carried at laſt with much ado in a Convocation, that the Matter ſhould be left to a *Committee* of 29; *viz.* the Vice-chancellor, (Dr. *Edward*'s Head of *Peter-houſe*) 10 Doctors, 16 Batchellors of *Divinity*, and the 2 *Proctors*. The Majority

1530. at first Sight, that the two *Universities* of *England* should be more scrupulous in the Matter than the Foreign ones. But the Wonder ceases when one considers that these Scruples arose not from the Question it self, but from the Consequences their Determination might give Birth to. Most of the Members of the *Universities* were furiously averse to *Luther*'s Doctrine, which began to get Ground in *England*, and they were afraid of countenancing it by deciding against the Pope. Besides, they plainly saw that the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* would follow upon his Divorce from *Catharine*, and this second Marriage was the Thing they would have gladly prevented, because *Ann Bullen* was much inclined to the Reformation, and expressed a very particular Esteem for *Cranmer*'s whole Preferment, for the same Reason, they dreaded.

The Reason of it.

Henry's false Steps in the Matter of the Divorce.

The Ambassadors * who had been sent to *Italy*, returning without having done any Thing, *Henry* who till then had shown great Regard for the Pope, resolved to alter his Behaviour towards him. He might have known by Experience, that *Clement* was not to be managed but by his Interest. It is certain that if at first he had proceeded with more Vigour, and exerted himself in supporting the War in *Italy*, the Pope would never have thought of joining with the Emperour.

rity of whom voted the King's Marriage unlawful: But decided not whether the Pope had Power to dispense with such a Marriage. The King's Agents at *Cambridge*, were *Gardiner* and *Fox*. At *Oxford* the *Regent Masters* sternuously opposed the King, and the *Doctors* and *Heads* were for him. At last it was carried in a *Convocation* (from which by an Order from the Chancellor, says *Wood*, all the Masters of Arts were excluded, but according to *Burnet*, consisting of all the *Doctors* and Masters) that the Business should be decided by 33 *Doctors* and *Batchellors* of *Divinity*, who declared the Marriage of the Brother's Wife to be both contrary to the Laws of God and Nature, and put the common Seal of the University to their Decree. *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln* was the King's Agent at *Oxford*.

* The Head of this Embassy was *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond* (21 *Hen.* 8.) who refused at his Audience of the Pope at *Bologna*, to kiss his *Toe*, though he graciously stretched it out to him. *Burnet*. Vol. I. p. 94.

Emperour. A good *Engliſh* Fleet in the *Mediterranean* would have made *Francis* Maſter of *Naples*, and ſaved the City of *Genoa*. By that Means the Pope would have been ſo kept in Awe, that he would have been very glad to have always the King of *England* for his Friend. Inſtead of going this way to work, *Henry* continued idle during the whole Campain of 1528, ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by the deceitful Hopes the Pope gave him. So the *French* were driven out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Pope ſaw himſelf at Liberty to treat with the Emperour about the recovering of *Florence*, which would never have come into his Head, had the *French* been uppermoſt in *Italy*. *Henry* perceived his Overſight when it was too late to remedy it, that is, after the Pope had ſided with the Emperour, and *Francis*'s Hands were tied up by the Treaty of *Cambray*. He was left alone to ſtand againſt the Emperour and Pope, and it was very lucky for him that the *Turks* and the Proteſtants of *Germany* found the Emperour ſo much Work as to hinder him from thinking of *England*. Having therefore no other Means left to compaſs his Ends but what he could find in his own Kingdom, he began, though a little too late, to make good uſe of his Subjects Inclinations, who for the moſt part were not over-fond of the Pope. 1550.

He is at a great Loſs.

We have ſeen in ſeveral Places of this Hiſtory, how at all Times the *Engliſh* complained of the Tyranny of the Popes, and the Remedies which the Parliaments applied to that Miſchief. 'Tis true, the private Intereſt of the Kings rendered theſe Remedies in ſome Meaſure ineffectual, becauſe ſtanding frequently in need of the Popes for their Temporal Concerns, they put not the Laws in due Execution. But that altered not the Inclinations of the *Engliſh*. The Principles of the *Lollards* were ſtill deeply imprinted in the Minds of great Numbers. Beſides that, *Luther*'s Books, whereof abundance were brought into *England*, had done a great deal of Good; inſomuch that one may venture to affirm, at the Time I am ſpeaking

Diſpoſition of the Engliſh *to the Popes, contrary to the Intereſt of their Kings.*

ing

1530. ing of, the *Engliſh* in general had quite another Notion of Religion than their Anceſtors, eſpecially with reſpect to the *Papal* Authority. The three laſt Popes, *Alexander* VI, *Julius* II. and *Leo* X, had ſhown ſo little of Piety and Religion in their Behaviour, and *Clement* VII followed their Steps ſo cloſely, that it was natually inferred from thence, that it was impoſſible *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhould have given the Government of his *Church* to ſuch *Vicars*. Thus the *Engliſh* were very ready to ſhake off the Pope's Yoke, if the King, for the ſake of his own private Intereſt, had not taken Care to uphold the exorbitant Power ſo long complained of. But *Clement* VII had no ſooner left him to ſide with the Emperour, but the King's and People's Intereſt became one and the ſame. To this chiefly are to be aſcribed all the Alterations ſpoken of hereafter.

The King's and People's Intereſt becomes the ſame.

Letters of Great Men to the Pope Act. Pub. XIV. 405.

Henry having reſolved to make the Pope ſenſible of the Danger he was in of loſing *England*, if he continued any longer to favour the Emperour, he got a Letter worded in ſtrong Terms to be ſent him by the Great Men of the Kingdom, according to the Example of their Anceſtors in the Reign of *Henry* III *. They plainly told him, "That the King's Cauſe being their own, if he continued any longer to deny "them what was abſolutely neceſſary for their Quiet, "they were reſolved to apply the Remedy themſelves, which they expected from him in vain." This was enough to ſatisfy him that the Patience of the *Engliſh* was almoſt worn out, and that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed any longer by the Court of *Rome*. Indeed the Letter had not the Effect the

* Lord *Herbert* ſays, it was done by the Parliament; but that's a Miſtake, the Letter being dated the 13th of *July*, it appears by the Records there could be no Seſſion at that Time, the *Houſes* being prorogued from the 21ſt of *June*, to the 1ſt of *October*. The Letter it ſeems was ſent about to the Chief Members for their Hands, and *Cavendiſh* tells us with what Chearfulneſs Cardinal *Wolſey* ſigned it. It was ſubſcribed by the two Archbiſhops, 4 Biſhops, 2 Dukes, 2 Marquiſſes, 13 Earls, 2 Viſcounts, 23 Barons, 22 Abbots, 11 Commoners, moſt of them the King's Servants. *Herb. p.* 142.

the King expected. But however it let the Pope see how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected, and how neceſſary it was to ſpeak them fair. Wherefore he choſe to return the great Men a very ſoft Anſwer, vindicating his Conduct in reſpect to the King, in the beſt manner poſſible. Mean while he ſent for Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, the King's Ambaſſadors in Ordinary, and hinted to him that the Affair might be made up by Means of a Diſpenſation, which he would grant the King to have two Wives. This is what we learn from a Letter of the Ambaſſadors of the 18th of *September*, wherein, after acquainting the King with what the Pope ſaid, he added, That the Emperour's Miniſters too were deſirous that an End ſhould be put to the Affair by that Expedient. But *Henry* was ſo much upon his Guard againſt all the Pope's Artifices, that he never minded this Overture. His Reſolution was, either to have a *Bull* to null the Marriage, or to procure himſelf at any rate the Satisfaction he required. And therefore fearing that when he leaſt thought of any ſuch Thing, the Pope ſhould ſend to *England* a *Bull* of *Excommunication* or *Interdict*, he iſſued out a Proclamation, forbidding under ſevere Penalties, the receiving any *Bull* from *Rome*, contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown. His Deſign was to bring the Affair before the Parliament and *Clergy*, and after gaining theſe two *Bodies* to his Intereſts, to get his Cauſe determined in *England*, without giving himſelf any Trouble about what the Pope ſhould do againſt him. The main Buſineſs was to prepoſſeſs the People in his Favour. To that End he ordered to be printed and publiſhed an Abſtract of the Reaſons he had to ſue for a Divorce from the Queen, that his Reaſons being known to all the World, he might meet with the leſs Oppoſition from the Parliament. This Abſtract * contained

1530

Pope's Anſwer. Herbert. p. 143

Expedient propoſed by the Pope. ibid. p. 141.

Henry *rejects it.*

Proclamation to forbid the receiving any Bulls, &c. *Sept.* 19.

Henry *publiſhes his Reaſons for the Divorce.*

* Learned Men were appointed to compare all that had been written on the Subject, and out of all the Tranſcripts of the *Manuſcripts*, of *Fathers* and *Councils*, to collect whatſoever did ſtrengthen

1530. contained the two chief Points. The firſt was, That the King's Marriage with *Catharine* was contrary to the Law of God. The ſecond, That *Julius* II had not Power to grant a Diſpenſation for that Marriage, conſequently the Diſpenſation could not render it lawful. As this Affair was the Spring of the great Events which will be ſeen hereafter, it will not be perhaps unacceptable to the Reader to inſert here the Subſtance of the Arguments alledged on both Sides.

It was ſaid for the King, I. That the Law in *Leviticus* forbidding a Man to marry his Brother's Wife, was not a poſitive Precept which bound only thoſe to whom it was given, but obliged all Mankind without exception. That this evidently appeared, in that it is found among many others, which forbid the Crimes the *Canaanites* were polluted with. Now the *Canaanites* could not be polluted with Crimes which were forbidden only by a poſitive Law given to another Nation.

II. Another Argument was taken from what *John the Baptiſt* ſaid to *Herod* in the *New Teſtament*, *It is not lawful for thee to take thy Brother's Wife*, becauſe St. *John* could have an Eye only to the Laws in *Leviticus*, and conſequently he owned them to be the Laws of God.

III. It was ſhown from ſeveral Paſſages of *Tertullian*, and Writings of the Popes, that the *Church* always deemed the Laws in *Leviticus* as Parts of the univerſal Law of Nature and all Mankind. To this was added the Authority of divers Provincial *Synods*, of the *Conſtantinopolitan* General *Council*, of the *Council* of *Conſtance* in condemning *Wickliff*, of many *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, and of ſeveral *Schoolmen*.

IV.

ſtrengthen it. Three of theſe *Manuſcripts* are in the *Cotton.* Library. All theſe and many more were ſummed up in a ſhort Book, and printed firſt in *Latin*, then in *Engliſh*, with the Determinations of the *Univerſities* before it. See *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 97.

IV. It was proved by the Authority of Popes and *Councils*, that a Marriage is compleated by the mutual Contract of the Parties, though it be never conſummated. For that Reaſon (added they,) *Adonijah* could not marry *Abiſhag*, who had been his Father *David*'s Wife, though *David* never knew her. That upon the ſame Account *Joſeph* could not put away his betrothed Wife *Mary*, without a Bill of Divorce; a clear Evidence that their Marriage was compleat, though not conſummated. Hence it was inferred, that although Prince *Arthur* had not conſummated his Marriage, it was no leſs valid for all that. But they maintained that it was as certain as a Thing of that Nature could be, that the Marriage was conſummated. It was proved firſt by *violent Preſumptions*. Secondly, becauſe after *Arthur*'s Death, the Princeſs his Widow was ſuppoſed to be with Child, and ſhe ſaid nothing to the contrary. It is true, it might be objected that *Catharine* ſwore ſince, ſhe was never known by that Prince. But to that it was replied, that the *Canon Law* forbids the taking of Oaths, when there are ſtrong Preſumptions to the contrary. 1530.

V. *Julius*'s Diſpenſation being the ſole Foundation on which the Validity of the King's Marriage was built, it was made appear by a Croud of Witneſſes, both antient and modern, *That the Pope has no Power to diſpenſe with the Laws of God.* Nay it was affirmed, That if he diſpenſed contrary to the *Decrees* of the *Church*, it was all Uſurpation, and that ſeveral Biſhops in *England* it ſelf, had reſiſted the Popes when they took upon them to do ſo.

On the other Side, the Queen's Advocates replied to three Reaſons:

Arguments for the Queen.

I. That the Prohibitions in *Leviticus* were not Parts of the *Moral* Law, ſince God himſelf had diſpenſed with them by commanding the Brother to marry his Brother's Widow. But of what Nature ſoever the Law might be, if *Moſes* diſpenſed with it to the *Jews*, why might not the Pope do the ſame to the *Chriſtians*?

II.

1530. II. They ſaid that the Law in *Leviticus* of not taking the Brother's Wife, muſt be underſtood of not taking her while the Brother was alive; for after he was dead, by another Law, a Man was commanded by God himſelf to marry his Brother's Wife.

III. The Crime St. *John Baptiſt* reproached *Herod* with, might be Adultery, as well as Inceſt, ſince according to *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, *Herod*'s Brother *Philip* was alive when St. *John* ſpoke.

IV. The Popes daily diſpenſed, contrary to the Laws of God, with Vows and Oaths, without any one's finding Fault. Beſides, they maintained the Pope was the only Judge, whether the Prohibition was *Moral* or not.

V. They alledged the Pope had granted the Diſpenſation upon a very weighty Conſideration, to keep Peace between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *England*.

VI. They pleaded that the Marriage had now ſtood near twenty Years, and no Body had taken it in his Head to call it in queſtion.

VII. Laſtly, They affirmed, if there were any Nullities in the *Bull* of Diſpenſation, the Pope was the only competent Judge of them.

The King's Advocates replied to theſe Arguments, who were anſwered again by the Writers on the Queen's Side. Both doing what is pretty common on ſuch Occaſions, that is, evading the Force of the Reaſons of the oppoſite Party, by keeping to Generals. I ſhall ſay no more of it. Thoſe that have a Curioſity to ſee the Arguments of both Sides may ſatisfy it, by reading the Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*, where they are fully ſet forth. It will ſuffice to remark, that in theſe ſorts of Diſputes was ſpent the whole Year 1530, *Henry* being very glad the People ſhould be thoroughly acquainted with the Affair before it was brought to the Parliament.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, Cardinal *Wolſey* remained at his Country-Houſe, living betwixt Hope and Fear, without being able to form any probable Conjecture of the King's Behaviour towards him. Though all his Goods were ſeized *, and though that ſeemed to denote he intended not to ſhow him any Favour, yet he ſaw from Time to Time, ſome Rays of Goodneſs ſhine upon him, which made him hope that his Maſter, who had loved him ſo well, would not be inexorable for ever. And indeed the 12th of *February* the King granted him a General Pardon of all his Offences, of what Nature ſoever. Among all the *Pardons* in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* there's not one ſo full and particular as this. Then the King made with the Cardinal an Agreement, by which he left him the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, with all its Revenues and Appurtenances [except *York-Place.*] As to the *See* of *Wincheſter* and Abby of St. *Albans*, the King reſerved to himſelf the Revenues, though he left him the Titles. But the Cardinal was bound to reſign theſe two *Benefices* when required. In Conſideration whereof the King aſſigned him a Thouſand Pounds *Sterling* a Year out of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, with a Promiſe to grant him the like Penſion upon ſome other Benefice in caſe he took this from him. Moreover he gave him to the Value of ſix Thouſand three Hundred Seventy four Pound in *Goods*, Part of thoſe belonging to the Cardinal which had been confiſcated *1. All the reſt

1530. *Cardinal Wolſey's uncertain State.*

The King grants him a very full Pardon Act. Pub. XIV. 371.

They come to an Agreement.

* To the Value of 500,000 Crowns. *Burnet*, Vol. III. p. 50.

*1 That the curious Reader may form an Eſtimate from thence of the real Proportion the Value of Money bears now to what it did then, here is a Liſt of the Money and Goods as we find it in the Original Grant.

Firſt, In ready Money 3000*l.* *Item.* in Plate 9565$\frac{1}{2}$ Ounces, at 3*s.* 8*d.* the Ounce, amounteth to 1753*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *Item*, divers Apparel of Houſhold, as Hangings, *&c.* amounting to 800*l.* *Item*, 80 Horſes and Geldings with their Furniture, valued at 150*l.* *Item.* in Mules for the Saddle 4, with their Furniture, valued at 60*l.* *Item.* In Mules for Carriage 6, with their Furniture, valued at 40*l.* In *Ling* one Thouſand, valued at 50*l.* In *Cod* and *Haberden* 800, valued at 40*l.* In

1530. remained to the King, with the Cardinal's Consent, who owned it as a special Favour that the King was pleased to leave him any thing. This was all he kept of the immense Riches he had acquired during his Credit. But what griev'd him most, was that his two Colleges, which he had been at so much pains to found and had called by his own Name, that they might be an everlasting Monument of his Glory, were likewise confiscated. He writ to the King upon that Occasion in a Strain which fully showed how near that Loss went to his Heart. He entreated *Cromwell* also to use his utmost endeavours to hinder his two Colleges from being involved in his Ruin. But it was all to no Purpose. The King took possession of all the Lands belonging to them, and stripping them of the Name of their Founder, he endowed them anew in his own Name.

Wolsey tries in vain to save his Colleges. Burnet. Herbert.

He has still some Hopes. Herbert.

In spite of all this, *Wolsey* had still some Hopes, by Reason of certain Marks of Friendship, which the King gave him as Occasion offer'd. He had given him leave to remove to *Richmond*, where he was nearer his Person. Moreover, hearing he was Sick, he sent a Lord to visit him in his Name, and even caused *Ann Bullen* to write to him *. But at the same time that the Compassion which the King expressed for him kept his Hopes alive, it made his Enemies apprehensive of his return to Court, and therefore they never ceased to exasperate the King against him. In short, as they could not see him so near the Court without fearing the Return of the

In Salt 8 Waye, valued at 10*l.* In Implements of the Kitchen, as Pots, *&c.* at 80*l.* In Mutton (Sheep) 70[illegible] valued at 12*l.* In 52 Oxen, valued at 80*l.* In wearing Apparel, to the value of 300*l.*

* The King sent him a Ring set with a Ruby, whereon was his own Picture, by Dr. *Butts*, assuring him he was not offended with him in his Heart. And in his Letter to *Ann Bullen* he says, *Good Sweet-Heart, as you love me, send the Cardinal a Token at my Request, and in so doing you shall deserve our Thanks.* Whereupon she sent him a *Tablet* of Gold which hung at her Side. *Fiddes's Hist. of Wolsey.*

the King's Affection for a Miniſter, he had been ſo paſſionately fond of, they got an Order ſent him to withdraw to his Dioceſe of *York*. It is very probable that *Ann Bullen* contributed the moſt to his Diſgrace, ſince none but *a Miſtreſs* could poſſibly make the King forget ſuch a *Favorite*. However that was, the Cardinal being forced to ſubmit, ſet forward on his Journey to the *North* with a Train, though not ſo large as he had been uſed to in his Proſperity, yet conſiſting ſtill of 160 Horſe. He arrived about the End of *September* at *Cawood* *, where he ſtaid according to the Cuſtom of the Archbiſhops of *York*, whilſt things were getting ready for the Ceremony of his Inſtallment, which was to be performed within a Month, with a Magnificence, little ſuitable to his preſent Circumſtances. But whilſt he was preparing to enjoy in his Archbiſhoprick the ſmall Remains of Authority which he imagined would be willingly left him, he was arreſted by the Earl of *Northumberland* of High-Treaſon. He would have inſiſted at firſt upon his Privilege as Cardinal. But the Earl gave him to underſtand that he ſhould for all that execute the King's Orders. At the ſame time his Phyſician was arreſted and ſent to *London* with his Legs tied to his Horſe. It is not known to this day, whether the King had been prepoſſeſſed with a Notion that the Cardinal had a Deſign upon his Life, of which however there is little Probability. Be this as it will, he ſet forward by eaſy Journies to *London*, extremely concerned to think that he was going to appear as a Criminal in a City where he had ruled with almoſt a Sovereign Authority. But in all likelihood, his Grief turned to his Benefit, as it threw him into a fit of Sickneſs which conſtrained him to ſtop at *Leiceſter*-Abby, where he ended his Days the 30th of

1530.

He is ſent away to York.

and arreſted of High-Treaſon. Nov. 4.

He is conducted to London. *He dies by the Way.*

* A Caſtle about 12 Miles from *York*, belonging to the Archbiſhops.

1530. *His laſt Words.* Herbert. Cavend.

November *. Before he expired, he ſaid to the King's Officer who ſtood near his Bed: *If I had ſerv'd God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my Grey Hairs.* But I don't know whether he had Reaſon to boaſt of his Zeal and Diſintereſtedneſs in the Services he had done the King. He added, ſpeaking to the ſame Officer, that if, as he thought him worthy, he ſhould ever be admitted to the King's Council, he ſhould take care what he put into his Head, for he would never be able to put it out again. This ſeems to intimate that he had adviſed the King to the Divorce, which afterwards he would very fain have diſſwaded him from. And indeed he deſired the ſame Perſon to tell the King from him, that he prayed him to call to Remembrance what had paſſed betwixt them about the Divorce, and hoped, that when he ſhould be leſs prejudiced, he would do him Juſtice. This ſhows

* In his way he ſtayed a Fortnight at the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* at *Sheffield-Park*, where he was taken ill one Day at Dinner. *Cavendiſh* ſays, ſpeaking of the Effects of his Diſtemper, *it was apparent he had poiſoned himſelf.* By the Mediation of the Earl, Sir *William Kingſton* Conſtable of the Tower (the Perſon to whom he ſpoke his laſt Words) was ſent by the King to convey him to *London*. With much ado, being hardly able to ſit his Horſe, he got to *Leiceſter-Abby*, where upon their coming out to receive him, he ſaid, *Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones among you.* He was buried in the Abby-Chapel, of which even the Ruins are not at preſent to be diſcovered. He died the 28th of *November*, according to *Burnet*. He had begun a *Monument* for himſelf with his own Image, which one *Benedetto* a Statuary of *Florence* took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for ſo much as was already done 4250 Ducats. The Deſign whereof was ſo glorious, that it exceeded far that of *Henry* VII. But upon his Death the King ſeized what was finiſhed and called it His. Thus the Cardinal's Tomb had the ſame Fate with his College. He is ſaid to behave mighty well during the time he was in the *North*, after his Diſgrace, and to become very Popular. As no Man (ſays *Polydore*) did ever riſe with fewer Virtues, ſo (ſays Lord *Herbert*) few that ever fell from ſo high a Place had leſſer Crimes objected againſt him. He is ſaid (according to one of the Articles of Impeachment) to leave two Natural Sons behind him, whereof one called *Winter*, was loaded with Church Preferments. *Herbert. Burnet*, &c.

ſhows that he look'd upon that Affair as the ſole Cauſe of his Diſgrace. Thus died this famous Cardinal, the proudeſt and moſt haughty of Men, and we may add, the moſt Ambitious and moſt Greedy of Eſtates and Honours. 'Tis affirm'd that all the while he govern'd the King, he never gave him Advice without a view to his own Intereſt. If ſo, that alone would be ſufficient to caſt a Blemiſh upon all the fine Qualities he might otherways have, but which in the main, amounted to no more than a Great Penetration, whereof he made an ill uſe. 1530.

The King ſhows ſome concern for his Death.

The King ſhowed a Concern for his Death. And yet, ſince he had ordered him to be arreſted of High-Treaſon, it is very probable his Ruin was determined. *Henry* was of a Temper to go through with what he took in Hand. This will plainly appear hereafter, by his extraordinary ſeverity to Perſons, who doubtleſs were not ſo blameable as this Favorite.

The Affair of the Divorce *, and the Conſequences thereof, having taken up *Henry* during the Reſidue of his Life, it will for the future be the principal Thing I ſhall have to ſpeak of, to the End of this Reign. But as by the Alterations which he introduced into his Kingdom, his Affairs led him to concern himſelf with the Troubles of *Germany*, it is neceſſary for the underſtanding what will be ſaid in the Sequel, juſt to touch upon what paſſed in that Country.

Affairs of Germany *as to Religion.* Sleidan.

The Emperour's Aim in calling the Diet of *Augſburg*, was to encreaſe rather than allay the Religious Troubles. Since he had made Peace with *France*, and *Italy* was as it were ſubject to his Yoke, he was forming vaſt Projects. He ſaw himſelf Maſter of *Spain*, *Italy* and the *Low-Countries*; his Brother *Ferdinand* was actually King of *Bohemia*, and had been elected King of *Hungary*. With theſe advantages, he was in hopes of having it in his Power to

* It was called *the King's Weighty Affair.* Burnet.

1539. ſubdue the Reſt of *Europe*. It was neceſſary to begin with *Germany*, where he had already great Power as Emperour and Archduke of *Auſtria*, becauſe if he once became abſolute in the Empire and could diſpoſe of the Forces of the *German* Princes, he imagined *France* and *England* would not be able to ſtand againſt him. The Troubles which *Religion* occaſioned in *Germany*, ſeemed to him to be a very ſpecious Pretence to take up Arms againſt the *Proteſtants*, rightly judging that when by the help of the *Catholicks* he had ruined them, the *Catholicks* themſelves would become an eaſy Pray. I can't be accuſed of aſcribing here to that Monarch Deſigns he never had, ſince it is notorious that himſelf and his Succeſſors purſued the ſame Project by degrees, and, if I may ſo ſay, in the face of all the World. The Wars that afflicted *Europe* for above a Hundred Years, were ſolely excited by the boundleſs Ambition of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, whom the other Sovereigns were concerned to oppoſe.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

Since *Luther*'s Preaching in *Germany*, the Reformation made ſo great a Progreſs, that ſeveral Princes of the Empire and many *Hans Towns* openly embraced it. As they were accuſed of introducing abundance of Innovations in Religion; in Anſwer to that Charge, they proteſted that their Intent was only to keep to the Doctrine of the *Goſpel* and Religion of the *Primitive Church*. To that Purpoſe, they demanded that a Free *Council* might be held in ſome City of *Germany*, wherein the Differences about Religion might be calmly examined by the *Word of God*. But this was a Method which their Adverſaries could not allow of. They laid it down for certain, that the Religion profeſſed before *Luther* appeared was the True Religion, and being without Spot, Sprinkle or the like, had no need of a Reformation. According to that Principle they thought the Point was not to examine at all, but to compel the *Recuſants* or *Hereticks* to conform. This was the conſtant Maxim which the *Romiſh Clergy*

Clergy followed many Ages ſince, and which put them upon uſing Fire and Sword to extirpate thoſe they were pleaſed to term *Hereticks*. But in the Circumſtances *Germany* was in at the time I am ſpeaking of, it was no eaſy Matter to put that Maxim in Practice. It was not private Perſons only who declared againſt the *Roman Church*, but Cities, whole Nations, and Sovereigns. So the warm Sticklers for the old Religion were not in Condition to reduce them by Force. This made them chuſe to feed them with hopes that a free *Council* would in the end be granted them, till the Affairs of *Europe* ſhould be in ſuch a Poſture as to afford a Proſpect of reducing them by way of Authority. Several *Diets* had been held upon that ſcore in *Germany*. Wherein, contrary to the Opinion of the Court of *Rome*, the Emperour and the *Catholick* Princes had been obliged to conceal their Sentiments and conſent to a Toleration, which however left them at Liberty to act another time according to their real Principles. 1530.

When *Luther* began to appear, the Religious Diſputes turned only upon the exceſſive Abuſes of the *Papal* Power, and a few other Points. Then *Luther* had on his ſide almoſt all the *Lay*-Princes of *Germany*, and abundance of *Hans Towns*, each of which was a State of it ſelf. From that time, he made new Diſcoveries and publiſhed them to the World. But he had not upon all the Articles the ſame Number of Followers as upon that of the *Papal* Authority. Beſides, the Emperour and the zealous *Catholicks* ſet themſelves with all their might againſt the Progreſs of the Reformation. Care was taken to frighten ſuch as ſeemed inclined that way, or to keep them ſteady to the old Religion by Promiſes, by Places, by Poſts, which did not a little help to confirm them in their firſt Sentiments. So for ſome Years, the Reformers uſed all poſſible Endeavours to gain Proſelytes, and the *Romiſh Clergy* left no Stone unturn'd to hinder their Pro-

1530. greſs. Mean time, whilſt they ſtrove only in this Manner, the Reformation daily took Root: And that obliged the Adverſaries to ſeek other Means to prevent its Growth, thoſe they had hitherto uſed not having been very effectual.

In 1524 *Charles* V, coming to the *Diet* of *Wormes*, ſent for *Luther*, and after a hearing, baniſhed him the Empire with all his Adherents, by a formal Decree in the *Diet*'s Name. But ſome pretend that the *Diet* had no hand in the Matter. However, the Emperour perſiſted to maintain it. But it ſeems the *Germans* conſider'd it not as Obligatory. Next Year the Diet held at *Noremberg*, ſet forth againſt the Court of *Rome* a hundred Grievances, which they demanded to be redreſſed by means of a free *Council*.

Another *Diet* held at the ſame Place, paſſed a Decree, whereby it was reſolved to demand a free *Council* in *Germany*. But upon their breaking up, the *Catholicks* met by themſelves at *Ratisbon* and ordered the Decree of *Wormes* to be put in Execution.

In another *Diet* held at *Spires* in 1516, the Emperour had it declared on his behalf, that he meant not that any Reſolution ſhould be taken about the Affairs of Religion, but only concerning the Method of executing the Decree of *Wormes* till there ſhould be a *General Council*. But as this ſame *Council* was yet at a very great Diſtance, the *Diet* decreed that the Emperour ſhould be prayed to get a *Council* called in *Germany* within a Year, and that in the mean while every one ſhould govern himſelf in Point of Religion, ſo as he ſhould be able to give an Account of his Conduct to God and the Emperour.

During theſe Tranſactions the War which the *Turks* carried into *Hungary* put a Stop for ſome time to *Charles* V's Projects againſt thoſe that had embraced the *new* Religion, becauſe he wanted the Aſſiſtance of all the *German* Princes, as well *Proteſtants* as *Catholicks*. Beſides his War then with *France* ſuffered

ſuffered him not to think much of the Affairs of *Germany*. But in 1529, being juſt upon the Point of making Peace with *France*, he thought he might venture to ſpeak a little bigger. He called a *Diet* at *Spires*, where it was ordered that thoſe who had hitherto obeyed the Decree of *Wormes* ſhould continue to do ſo, and the reſt that had not ſubmitted to it, ſhould make no Innovations in Religion, nor hinder their Subjects from going to *Maſs*. Againſt this Decree the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* and the Princes of *Lunenburg* made a ſolemn Proteſtation, from whence all their Party had the Name of *Proteſtants*. The Emperour, who was then in *Italy*, received the *Proteſtation* in a very rough Manner, being preſented to him by Deputies, and by that he obliged the *Proteſtants* to join together for their common Defence, the Emperour diſcovering by his Words that he had ill Deſigns againſt them. In the *Diet* which he appointed to meet at *Augsburg* in *April* 1530, but which did not however meet till *June*, he was reſolved to lay the Foundation of the War he intended to wage upon the *Proteſtants*. 1530.

At the opening of the *Diet*, the Emperour's Chancellor made a long Speech, complaining in his Maſter's Name of ſuch as had hitherto endeavoured to alter the antient Faith, and Cardinal *Campegio* exhorted the *Germans* to root out the Errors that were crept into *Germany*. That done, the *Proteſtants* deſired, they might declare their Belief before the *Diet*. This was denied them, and they were made to take as a Favour, the leave that was granted them to deliver the Confeſſion of their *Faith* in Writing. The *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* ſeeing ſo great Partiality in the *Diet*, withdrew without taking leave; upon Notice whereof the Emperour commanded the Gates of *Augsburg* to be ſhut, ſhowing thereby that he intended to uſe Violence, towards thoſe that remained in the City. But upon the Elector of *Saxony*'s Remonſtrances, he ordered them to be ſet open again. In ſhort,

1530. short, after many Debates *, he caused to be published in the Diet's Name, a Decree entirely against the Protestants, and which upon the Prospect he gave them of a *General Council*, obliged them to pull down whatever they had set up in Matter of Religion to that Day.

The *Diet* ending in this Manner, the Emperour ordered the Archbishop of *Mentz* to call together the Electors in order to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, his design being to get his Brother *Ferdinand* chosen. The *Protestants* strenuously opposed this Meeting, affirming there was no Occasion to elect a King of the *Romans*, and demonstrating the Inconveniencies which would arise from the Design in hand of rendering the Imperial Crown as it were Hereditary to the *House* of *Austria*. In fine, seeing that in Spite of their Remonstrances, the Election went on, they met at *Smalcald* the 22d of *December* 1530, and concluded a League Defensive against all those who should invade them on the Score of Religion. Then they made a formal Protestation against the pretended Election of a King of the *Romans* without their Consent. In this Posture were the Affairs of Religion in *Germany* about the End of the Year 1530.

League of Smalcald.

1531. After the Emperour had quitted *Italy*, the Pope's *Nuntio* pressed him continually to pronounce Judgment upon the Affair of the Duke of *Ferrara*. The Pope could not imagine but the Judgment would be in his Favour, considering the Ingagement the Emperour had entered into with him, by the Treaty of *Barcelona*. But whether the Emperour had more fully examined the Matter, or for some other Reason, he gave Sentence that *Modena* and *Reggio* belonged of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*, but that, to

The Emperour disobliges the Pope in the affair of Ferrara. Guicciard.

* In one of which, upon the *Protestants* affirming theirs was the antient Religion, the Emperour would needs dispute himself, which the *Spanish* Writers say he did with that Eagerness that he drew his Dagger. *Herb. p.* 150.

o make the Pope amends, he ſhould pay a Hun- 1531.
red Thouſand Crowns, for which the Pope ſhould e obliged to give him the Inveſtiture of *Ferrara* up- n the ſame Foot it had been granted to his Prede- eſſors; and to begin to put the Sentence in Execution, e delivered up *Modena* to the Duke. The Pope, xtremely diſpleaſed with a Judgment ſo different from what he expected, refuſed to ſtand to it, and in hopes of getting Poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*, would not receive the Hundred Thouſand Crowns offered him by the Duke.

Clement VII being thus incenſed againſt the Empe- Francis I. rour, had a very great Inclination to be reconciled *tries to* with the Kings of *France* and *England*, imagining he *gain the* ſhould be received with open Arms. And indeed *Pope.* *Francis* I. had agreed to the Treaty of *Cambray* with Reluctancy, and purely becauſe there was no other way to get his Sons out of *Spain*. But after he had received them, he began to think how to retrieve what he had loſt by that Treaty. To that End, he labou- red underhand to ſow Jealouſies among the Princes, by making them apprehenſive of the Emperour's Ambition, and promiſing them Aſſiſtance. As ſoon as he was informed of the Pope's Diſguſt, he was of Opinion that he ought not to omit any thing to win him to his Intereſt at ſo favourable a Juncture. Where- *He offers to* fore he made him the Offer of a Match between *Ca-* *marry his* *tharine de Medicis* Daughter of the late Duke *Lorenzo*, *Son the* *Duke of* and the Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond Son: an Honour Orleans which the Family of the *Medicis* durſt never have aſ- *with* Ca- pired to, if the King had not propoſed it of himſelf. *tharine de* On the other Side, *Henry*, fully ſenſible that the Uni- *Medicis.* on between the Pope and Emperour was the ſole Cauſe of the Obſtacles which occurred in the Affair of the Divorce, did not queſtion but he ſhould eaſily compaſs his Ends, if he could ſet them at Variance. But two Things hindered him from applying himſelf to *He thinks* that Means. The firſt was, that he could not truſt *himſelf no* the Pope. The ſecond, that he began to find his *longer ob-* Subjects much more inclined to ſhake off the Papal *liged to re-* *ly upon* Yoke *him.* Henry *dares not truſt the Pope.*

1531. Yoke than he imagined; and therefore he did not look upon himſelf any longer under a Neceſſity to rely upon the Pope. If he had at firſt humbly addreſſed to the Pope, it was partly becauſe he ſtood in fear of the People's Prejudice in favour of *Chriſt*'s *Vicar*. But after he found that this Prejudice was not ſo ſtrong as he had fancied, he never troubled himſelf about what the Pope could do againſt him. His Kingdom being ſafe from Invaſions by Land, he had nothing to fear from any Prince in *Europe*, provided his Subjects were not afraid of the Thunders of the *Vatican*. But the *Engliſh* were not the ſame in this Reſpect as they had been formerly. *Wickliff* had begun to enlighten them; the Behaviour of the late Popes had increaſed the Light, and *Luther*'s Book and Followers had quite opened their Eyes. Since the ſpreading of the new Doctrine in *England*, the Pope's Authority was much cried down, that the *Engliſh* for the moſt Part wiſhed for a favourable Opportunity to throw off a Yoke they had ſo long groaned under. This made the King reſolve to have his Cauſe tried by the *Parliament* and *Convocation*.

He imparts the Affair of the Divorce to the Parliament. Herbert.

The Parliament meeting on the 6th of *January*, the Chancellor opened the Seſſion with a Speech, wherein he declared that the King earneſtly wiſhed to have his Marriage nulled, not out of any diſhoneſt Ends, as ſome laboured to make his People believe, but for the Peace of his Conſcience, and Welfare of the Kingdom, being unwilling to leave the Succeſſion to the Crown in danger of being diſputed. Then he cauſed a great Number of Books and Treatiſes written on that Subject, with Abſtracts of ſeveral Authors both antient and modern, to be brought together, with the Determinations of the Univerſities of *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, which were all left upon the Table to be examined at leiſure *. The Matter was alſo brought before

* The King firſt brought in the Books and Determinations of the Univerſities to the *Houſe* of Lords, and after they were read and conſidered there, the Chancellor did on the 20th of *March*

fore the *Convocation*, who declared, that they were tisfied the King's Marriage was contrary to the Law f God. The King required no more at that time. e had another Affair of great Conſequence to debate ith the *Clergy*, which was to be decided before this as examined to the Bottom. It is very likely that e *Convocation* being informed of the King's Intent, e more readily gave their Opinion for him, as they ry well knew how much they ſhould ſtand in need of s Favour in the Buſineſs in Hand, which was of e utmoſt Importance. 1531. *The Clergy decide in favour of the King.* Burnet.

Cardinal *Wolſey* had been accuſed by the Attorney-General of exerciſing in *England* his *Legatine* Authority without the King's ſpecial Licence, and of diſpoſing as *Legate* of ſeveral Benefices, contrary to the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*. From whence it naturally followed, that thoſe who had owned his Authority, and appeared in his Courts, were equally liable to be indited. By that means, all the *Clergy* were in the ſame Caſe, ſince there was ſcarce one but what had occaſion to apply to him during the Courſe of his Legateſhip. So, after the King had procured of the *Convocation* an Approbation of his Proceedings as to the Divorce, he ordered an Indictment to be brought into the *King's Bench* againſt all the *Clergy*, for breaking the Laws of the Realm. He had in this a double view; the firſt to draw a good Sum from the *Clergy*; the ſecond, to humble that powerful Body, and ſo leſſen their great Credit with the People, who had always ſeen them ſupported by the Royal Authority. He was very ſenſible that he ſhould meet with the greateſt Oppoſition from the *Clergy* in the Affair of the Divorce. For that reaſon, he was very glad to put it out of their Power to hurt him, by keeping them as they were in Dependence, and by ſowing a kind of Diviſion *All the Clergy are accuſed of breaking the Statutes of* Præmunire. Herbert. Burnet.

th twelve Lords Spiritual and Temporal, go down to the Houſe *Commons*, and ſhowed them the Books, and produced twelve ginal Papers, with the Seals of the Univerſities to them, which *Brain Tuke* read openly in the Houſe; when that was done, the ancellor ſpoke the Speech mentioned above. *Burnet.*

1531. ſion between the *Clergy* and People, by the Satisfa-
tion theſe laſt would very probably expreſs at the Di-
grace of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, who had ever treated the-
with great Haughtineſs. By that he put the *Clerg*-
under a Neceſſity of having recourſe to the Roy-
Protection, and conſequently of ſhowing leſs Zeal fo-
the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*. This ſucceede-
according to Expectation. In vain did the *Clerg*-
plead that the King himſelf had connived at the Ca-
dinal's Proceedings. What ſerved not *Wolſey*'s Turn-
was not capable of excuſing them that had owned h-
Authority. So the Court proceeded to a Sentenc-
They are condemned that the *Clergy* were all out of the King's Protectio-
and liable to the Pains in the Statute of *Præmunir*-
The People were very glad, eſpecially ſuch as incline-
to the *new* Religion, to ſee the *Clergy* humbled to ſ-
great a Degree. On the other Hand, the *Clerg*-
plainly perceived that as the *Laity* ſtood affected,
would be in vain to ſtand out againſt the King. The-
could expect no more Aſſiſtance from *Rome*. Sinc-
the Pope had quarrelled with the King, he had loſ-
all his Power; and as the King made appear that h-
would no longer regard him, the Thunderings of th-
Vatican were looked upon with Contempt. The *Clergy*-
in this their ill Situation, reſolved to gain the King'-
Favour at any rate, finding they could no longer de-
pend upon the People, who were much altered from
what they were formerly. So the *Convocation* of *Can-*
They offer the King 100,000 *l.* *terbury* having debated the Matter, came to a Reſo-
lution to offer the King a Hundred Thouſand Pound-
An Act is drawn up, wherein the Clergy calls him Head of the Church of England. for a Pardon. Accordingly, ſome of their Member-
were ordered to draw up an *Act* for that Purpoſe-
Very probable they who were employed in this Mat-
ter were Friends to the Court, that had a mind to
take this Opportunity to give the King a Prerogative
none of his Predeceſſors had ever enjoyed. Lord
Herbert and Dr. *Burnet* ſay, that the *Convocation* re-
ſolved to preſent a *Petition* to the King, to pray him
Act Pub. XIV. 423. March 22. to accept of a Hundred Thouſand Pound. But as
this *Inſtrument* is extant in *the Collection of the Publick*
Acts,

Acts, one may ſpeak of it now with greater Exactneſs. 1531.
It was not a *Petition* but a *publick Act* of the *Clergy* in form of *Letters-Patents*, whereby they gave that Sum to the King. It was ſaid in the *Inſtrument*, that it was firſt, in Conſideration of his great Merit. Secondly, in Teſtimony of the *Clergy*'s Gratitude for the great Benefits he had procured the *Catholick Church*, as well by his *Pen* as by his *Sword*. Thirdly, for his Zeal againſt the *Lutherans*, who were labouring to deſtroy the *Church of England, of which the Clergy acknowledged the King ſole Protector and ſupreme Head.* Laſtly, in hopes he would be pleaſed to grant the *Clergy* and all their Members a Pardon of all the Offences they might have committed againſt the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*.

Oppoſition to that Title.

When this *Inſtrument* was read in the *Convocation*, many diſliked that the *Clergy* ſhould be made to ſay, that they acknowledged the King for *Protector and ſupreme Head of the Church of England*. Some imagined, it was put in through Inadvertency and exceſſive Flattery, whereof they that had drawn up the *Inſtrument* conſidered not the Conſequence. Others ſaid, that they intended to ſuprize the *Convocation*, by inſerting theſe Words in the Body of an *Inſtrument*, the Purport whereof was only to grant a Sum to the King. They added, that theſe ſame Words, which ſeemed to be put in by Accident and without Deſign, were however of very great Conſequence; and as the *Convocation* had not taken any Reſolution upon that Point, they were for razing them out. But on the other Side, thoſe who were in the Secret, pretended that the Words could not be put out by a formal Reſolve, without diſpleaſing the King, and giving him occaſion to refuſe the Compenſation offered him. This cauſed ſuch Debates, that they were forced to put off the Matter to the next Day. It was not without reaſon that ſeveral dreaded the Conſequence which might very naturally be drawn from theſe Words, ſince it was evident that the *Clergy* were thereby engaged to acknowledge the Pope no longer Head of the *Church*

of

1531. *The King exacts the Clergy's Consent.*

of England, which could not have two supreme Heads at the same time. This was in effect the King's Intention, as well as their's who had penned or drawn up the *Instrument*, as it plainly appeared next Day. *Thomas Cromwell*, with others of the King's *Council*, going to the *Convocation*, gave them very plainly to understand, that the Point in Debate Yesterday was very agreeable to the King, and he could not but consider such as opposed it as very disaffected Persons. After so plain a Declaration, there was not one that durst directly oppose it, especially as the Archbishop and several other Prelates openly maintained, that the King was in reality the supreme Head of the *Church of England*. So the *Act* passed just as it was brought in. Only some moved to add this Restriction, *as far as is consistent with the Law of Christ*. But it was not the King's Intention to leave a Hole for those to creep out at, who should hereafter dispute his *Supremacy* *. The *Instrument* being sealed the 22d of *March*, was presented to the King, who very graciously accepted both the *Clergy*'s Present and his *New Title*, of which he made good use afterwards. The *Convocation* of the *Clergy* of the Province of *York* resolved likewise to give the King Eighteen Thousand Eight Hundred Forty Pounds. But as they omitted in the Grant to acknowledge the King *supreme Head* of the *Church of England*, they were told that their Present would not be accepted, if they spoke not like the *Convocation* of *Canterbury*. So the *Clergy* of *York*-Province were forced to insert the same Acknowledgement in their *Instrument*. In this manner the King procured or rather extorted from the *Clergy* the *Title* of *supreme* Head of

The Clergy of York-*Province are forced to follow the Example of those of* Canterbury.

* Though *Parker* and our Author say, the *Act* passed without the Restriction, yet it appears by several Passages in *Henry*'s Letter to Bishop *Tonstal*, who in the *Convocation* at *York* had protested against it; that the Words *quantum per Christi legem licet* were inserted, and the Act so passed by Nine Bishops, (the Bishop of *Rochester* being one) and Fifty-two *Abbots* and *Priors*, and the major Part of the Lower-House of *Convocation*, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 112. *Herbert*, p. 151.

of the *Church of England*. It is certain that although some freely gave it him, yet the major Part were not of that Opinion *. This is evident from the Methods made use of to obtain it. The Business was brought about in the Manner we have seen by *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cromwell*, and some others, who verily believed one might do very well without the Pope. Those who flattered themselves at first that the Words were inserted without Design in the *Instrument* brought into the *Convocation* of *Canterbury*, might have seen their Error if they had minded another Article in the same *Instrument*, and which was also put into that of the Province of *York*; namely, that the *Clergy* did promise for the future neither to make nor execute any *Constitution* without the King's *Licence*. This was repeating in other Words that they acknowledged the King for supreme Head of the Church of *England*. We shall see hereafter what use *Henry* made of this *new Title*. 1531.

Pardon granted to the Clergy.

The King having received Satisfaction from the *Clergy*, granted them a Pardon in ample Form. But when the Pardon was brought into the *House of Commons*, they refused to pass it, unless the *Laity*, who might have fallen into the same Crimes, were included also. *Henry* offended at their Opposition, sent them Word that he would be Master of his own Favours, and not suffer them to be forced from him. The King's Resolution put the *Commons* in fear, who to avoid his Indignation, passed the Pardon as it was, throwing themselves upon his Mercy as to what concerned the *Laity*. Then the King, satisfied with their Submission, granted to his *Temporal* Subjects a Pardon like that he had done to his *Spiritual*. It seems

The Commons want the Laity to be included in it.

The King offended at it.

The Pardon passes.

The Laity pardoned.

* When Archbishop *Warham*, upon some not speaking for or against it, said, *That Silence was to be taken for Consent*. They cried out, *We are all silent then*. The *Clause*, as inserted in the Instrument, passed in the *Convocation* of *Canterbury*, according to the King's Letter mentioned in the Note above, was, *Cujus* [*Ecclesia Anglicanæ*] *singularem Protectorem Unicum & supremum Dominum, & quantum per Christi legem licet etiam supremum Caput, ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus.*

1531. however that the *Colleges* and *Monasteries* were excepted, who not being included in the Pardons, were forced to compound with the King, as we find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Monasteries compound with the King.

So far were the People from rising, as they would doubtless have done, had they been of the same Mind their Ancestors were in the Reigns of *Henry* II and King *John*; that on the contrary, Joy was visibly painted in their Faces, being highly delighted to see the *Clergy* humbled. Thus that Body, so formidable heretofore, instead of daring to withstand the King, were constrained to fly to his Protection, because they saw plainly the People showed no Concern at their Disgrace, and they had no Remedy elsewhere*.

The People rejoice at the Clergy's Disgrace.

When the Pope heard what had passed in *England*, he was at a very sad Loss. He saw *Henry* pursuing such Measures, as in all appearance would be attended with ill Consequences. However, he durst not venture to carry Matters with a high Hand, for fear of engaging in a Quarrel wherein he foresaw he should not get off to his Advantage. Besides that, he was not pleased with the Emperour, he saw him just upon the Point of having work enough cut out by the *Turks* and *German Protestants*, at a Time when *France* and *England* were in strict Union. So, perceiving no Assistance near enough at Hand, if he should attempt to exert his Authority, he chose to lie still, in Expectation of a proper Time to break out, or at least to be reconciled to the King.

The Pope dissembles his Sentiments.

This

* During this Session of Parliament one *Richard Rouse* a Cook, on the 16th of *February*, poisoned some Soop in the Bishop of *Rochester*'s Kitchen, with which 17 Persons were mortally infected, and one of the Gentlemen died of it, and some poor People that were charitably fed with the remainder of it, were also infected, one Woman dying. The Person was apprehended, and by Act of Parliament (22 *Hen* 8.) poisoning was declared *Treason*, and *Rouse* was attainted and sentenced to be boiled to Death, which was to be the Punishment of poisoning for all times, to come. And the Sentence was executed in *Smithfield* soon after. *Burnet. Stow.*

This Affair being over, *Henry* prorogued the Parliament. Then he ordered the Determinations of the *Univerſities* to be printed, together with the Opinions of the *Learned* concerning his Marriage, that againſt the next Seſſion every one might be informed of the State of the Caſe, and the Arguments which he proceeded upon in his Divorce. Mean while, as in putting away the Queen, his Intent was to marry *Ann Bullen*, he wanted of all things to bring the Queen to conſent to the Divorce, to the End the Inconveniences which ſhould ariſe from her Obſtinacy might be avoided. To that Purpoſe he ſent to her ſome Biſhops and Lay-Lords, who earneſtly preſſed her either to conſent to the Divorce, or refer the Deciſion of the Matter to the four Prelates and four Seculars. But nothing being able to prevail with her to go from her Appeal to the Pope, he ſent her word to chuſe where ſhe had a mind to live in any of his Manors. And on the 14th of *July* 1531, he took his leave of her [at *Windſor*] intending never to ſee her more *.

1531. Henry *tries in vain to bring the Queen to conſent to the Divorce.*

What had lately paſſed in the Parliament and *Convocation*, encouraged the Well-wiſhers to a Reformation of the *Church*, which they ſaw in ſome meaſure going forward. Upon this Account Religious Diſputes became more frequent and publick than they had been hitherto. But the King plainly perceiving what Inferences would be drawn from his firſt Steps, was pleaſed to ſhow, that though he threw off the *Papal* Yoke, he deſigned not to ſtrike at the fundamental Truths of Religion. So, to fruſtrate thoſe who had any ſuch Thought, he commanded the Laws againſt *Hereticks* to be executed with the utmoſt Rigour. This occaſioned the Death of Three Proteſtants, namely, *Bilney*, *Bayfield*, and *Baynam*, of

Three Perſons burnt for Religion. Herbert.

* She removed firſt to *Moor*, then to *Eaſtamſtead*, and at laſt to *Ampthill*, where ſhe ſtayed longer. *Burnet.*

1531. whom the two first were burnt this Year, and the other in *April* the Year following *.

Affairs of Germany Sleidan.

Whilst these Things were transacting in *England*, Matters in *Germany* grew worse and worse. In the Beginning of the Year *Ferdinand* of *Austria* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, was elected King of the *Romans*, notwithstanding the Protestation of the Confederates of *Smalcalde*, and crowned a few Days after at *Aix la Chapelle*. It was in Consequence of a League concluded between the *Catholick* Princes of *Germany* in *November* before. But this League was Offensive, whereas that of *Smalcalde* was only Defensive. Never had the *Protestants* any Design to force the Consciences of such as differed from them in Opinion. But the Intent of the *Catholick* League was to compel the *Protestants* to return to the *Church* they had forsaken. They protested against *Ferdinand*'s Election as unnecessary, and contrary to the usual Forms. But their Protestation had no Effect.

The rest of the Year was spent in sundry Negotiations, wherein the Emperour seemed to have no other Aim than to make up the Differences in Religion, though in Effect his Design was only to amuse the *Protestants*, and hinder them from taking Measures for their Defence, when they should be attacked. As they were well acquainted with his Artifices, they writ on that Head to the King's of *France* and *England*, who returned them favourable Answers, and gave them Hopes of Aid in Case any should attempt to oppress them. Not that these two Monarchs desired to countenance the *Reformation*; but it was their Interest to protect the *German Protestants*, because their Destruction could not but exceedingly increase the Emperour's Power. Indeed this was one of the chief Means whereby that Prince intended to execute his vast Designs.

Whilst

* *Thomas Bilney* Batchelor of both Laws, was burnt *August* 19. *Bayfield* a Monk of *Bury*, *November* 27, and *Baynam* a Gentleman and Lawyer, *April* 30, 1532. See *Fox*.

Whilſt the Emperour was forming Projects to become Maſter of *Germany*, under Colour of ſupporting the Intereſts of Religion and the Empire, *Francis* I. went always to work to ſee to create him Troubles capable of producing ſome Alteration which he might take Advantage of. The Vexation he was under at having been conſtrained to ſign the Treaty of *Cambray*, put him upon earneſtly ſeeking Means to make himſelf whole, and eſpecially to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. To that End, he careſſed or threatened the Pope, according as he ſaw it proper to uſe one or other of theſe Ways, and put the *Proteſtants* of *Germany* in Hopes of a powerful Aſſiſtance in Caſe the Emperour attacked them. But chiefly he laboured to make ſure of the King of *England*, becauſe he it was that could ſtand him in moſt ſtead. He confirmed him as much as poſſible, in his Reſolution to puſh the Affair of the Divorce, that he might keep him always at Variance with the Emperour and Pope. Sometimes he intimated to him, that if they continued to deny him the Juſtice due to him, he would join in a League with him, to withdraw their Dominions from the Tyrannical Power of the Court of *Rome*. Then fearing he would make up Matters with the Emperour, he adviſed him to marry *Ann Bullen* out of Hand, well knowing it would be a certain Means to make the Breach wider between them. Nay he ſent a Letter to the Pope, wherein he appeared no leſs concerned than *Henry* himſelf in the Affair of the Divorce. Among other Things he told him, that if out of Complaiſance or Fear he continued to be governed by the Emperor, he muſt not think it ſtrange that the King of *England* ſhould endeavour to procure by extraordinary Means the juſt Satisfaction he had ſo long expected in vain, adding, that his Intereſts were ſo interwoven with *Henry*'s, that he ſhould not be able to help aſſiſting to the utmoſt of his Power, a Prince of whom he gloried to be the perpetual Ally. In ſhort, he prayed him to conſider, whether it was prudent to give thoſe who could not be compelled to obey, the

1532. Francis *tries to raiſe the Emperour Troubles.* Guicciard. Mezerai.

Herbert.

1531. Opportunity and Will to withdraw their Obedience. But *Clement* ſeeing no other Forces in *Italy* but the Emperour's, took Care how he yielded to ſuch dangerous Counſels.

Francis and Henry try to frighten the Emperour and Pope.

The two Kings finding at length that it was impoſſible to gain the Pope, reſolved to have an Interview together, in order to contrive Means to break the Emperour's Meaſures. But they thought it proper to ſpread a Report beforehand, that they were going to join in a new League, in order to frighten the Pope, and hinder him from cloſing again with the Emperour, from whom he was ſomething alienated by the Buſineſs of *Ferrara*. Accordingly they concluded a League at *London*, which was ſigned the 23d of *June*. But it is manifeſt that the Treaty was made purely upon the Account juſt mentioned, ſince it contained only two Articles which neither the Pope nor Emperour would have had much Reaſon to be alarmed at, had they known them. The firſt was, That in caſe the Emperour ſeized the *Engliſh* Merchants Effects in the *Low-Countries*, the King of *France* would do the ſame to the Emperour's Subjects, the *Germans* excepted. Nay, this Article was guarded by ſo many Reſtrictions on the Part of the *French* King, that it was plain it was only a mere Pretenſe to make a Treaty. The ſecond ran, That if the King of *England* was attacked by the Emperour, *Francis* ſhould ſend him an Aid of five Hundred *Lances*, and if the King of *France* was invaded, *Henry* ſhould aſſiſt him with a Body of *Foot*, not exceeding five Thouſand Men. As the World was not acquainted with the Particulars of the Treaty, ſeveral Reports were ſpread about it. Some ſaid, the two Kings had agreed to join in the League of *Smalcalde*, or at leaſt to ſend a powerful Aid to the *German Proteſtants*. Others fancied, that as the *Turks* threatened *Auſtria*, and as the Emperour would be unavoidably obliged to lead his Forces into that Country, *Francis* would invade at the ſame Time the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Henry* carry War into the *Low-Countries*. All theſe Reports, though

They make two Treaties to that End.

Act. Pub. XIV. 435. Jun. 25.

Divers Reports about the Treaty.

though uncertain, made the Emperour very uneaſy, 1532.
becauſe they were grounded upon very probable Conjectures.

The Interview between the two Kings was not till *October*, between *Calais* and *Boulogne*. They had principally two Things in view. The Firſt, to take off the Blame which the Emperour caſt upon them, by ſpreading over all *Europe*, that whilſt *Chriſtendom* was juſt going to be invaded by the *Infidels*, they ſtood and looked on as Spectators of the Danger, without offering the leaſt Aſſiſtance to thoſe who were preparing to defend *Her*. Their other View was to keep the *Italians* and *Germans* in Expectation of a freſh War, for fear they ſhould become too compliant to the Emperour's Will. To compaſs their Ends, they gave one another *Letters-Patents*, whereby they engaged jointly to ſet on Foot an Army of eighty Thouſand Men, to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Turks*, and to lead the ſame either into *Germany* or *Italy*, as there ſhould be Occaſion. But this pretended Agreement was never put into the Form of a Treaty. *Du Tillet* ſpeaks of it in his *Inventory* of the Treaties between *France* and *England*, by the Name of *Letters of Agreement*: But there are no Footſteps of it in the *Collection of the Publick Acts of* England. Wherefore it is not probable theſe two Monarchs deſired to execute their pretended Project, the ſole Aim whereof was to juſtify them to the World, and inſpire the Emperour and Pope with Terrour. Doubtleſs that was the Reaſon of their affecting to publiſh it. Francis and Henry.

During the Interview, *Henry* complained very much of the Pope, and *Francis* even out-did him by enumerating the Complaints he had received from the *Gallican-Church* on account of the Court of *Rome*'s Exactions. But this was only to amuſe *Henry*, ſince he was at that very Time carrying on a ſecret Negotiation with the Pope, about the Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond Son's Marriage with *Catharine de Medicis*. It manifeſtly appears by that Prince's whole Behaviour, that his ſole Aim was to make uſe of the King of Francis's Deſigns.

1532. *England*'s Amity, to draw the Pope to his Side, in order to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, which he had always very much at Heart. Wherefore he expreſſed outwardly a ſtrong Attachment to *Henry*'s Intereſt. He even preſſed him not to ſtay for the Pope's Diſpenſation, but to marry his Miſtreſs immediately, who was preſent at the Interview, having lately been made *Marchioneſs of Pembroke*. Whilſt the two Kings were together, they feaſted one another ſeveral Times, a particular account whereof is needleſs in this Place. *Henry* went to ſee *Francis* at *Boulogne*, and *Francis* returned his Viſit at *Calais* *. They parted the 30th of *October* to return, the one to *Paris*, the other to *London*. But by reaſon of the bad Weather, *Henry* ſtayed ſome Days at *Calais*, where it is ſaid he privately married *Ann Bullen* *1. It is more probable however, as ſome aſſure us, that the Wedding was not till the *January* following.

He adviſes Henry *to marry* Ann Bullen.

The Kings Viſit one another.

Henry *marries* Ann Bullen.

During this whole Year the Emperour was under great Perplexity. *Soliman* Emperour of the *Turks*, threatened to invade *Hungary* with a mighty Army, as he did indeed. *Germany* was in Trouble becauſe the *Proteſtants* who had been already menaced, were taking effectual Meaſures for their Defenſe, and refuſed to acknowledge *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* for King of

The Turks *threaten* Hungary.

The Emperour is at a Loſs.

* *Francis* went back from *Boulogne* with *Henry*, in this Order, that while *Francis* was on *French* Ground he gave Place, but when he came to the *Engliſh* Pale, *Henry* gave him the Precedence. Being now come near *Calais*, the Duke of *Richmond*, *Henry*'s natural Son, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended, met them. The Lodging which *Francis* was brought to, was moſt richly furniſhed with Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, imbroidered in ſome Places with Pearl and precious Stones. Their ſeveral Services were brought in a Hundred and Seventy Diſhes all of maſſy Gold. The Marchioneſs of *Pembroke* made them a curious and rich Mask, in which both Kings danced. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were made *Knights of St. Michael*. *Stow* ſays, there were no leſs than 8000 Perſons in *Calais* on this Occaſion.

*1 *Rowland Lee*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, celebrated the Marriage in the Preſence of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, her Father, Mother and Brothers, *November* 14. *Herbert*, *p.* 101.

of the *Romans*. On the other Hand, the Emperour was not ignorant of the Pope's Diſguſt on account of the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Buſineſs, and that the Kings of *France* and *England* were uſing their utmoſt Endeavours to draw him off from his Party, in order to diſturb *Italy*. Moreover the *Italians* were quiet only becauſe there was an Imperial Army yet in *Italy*, and no Preparations going forward in *France* to ſupport them, in Caſe they ſhould attempt to hold up their Head. Mean while, in the midſt of this ſeeming Tranquillity, they eagerly wiſhed for ſome Turn to free them from their Apprehenſions of the Emperour's over-grown Power. In fine, the Interview between *Francis* and *Henry* troubled the Emperour accordingly, apprehenſive as he was, that if *Soliman* proſpered in *Hungary*, they would lay hold on that Opportunity to invade the Dutchy of *Milan* and the *Low-Countries*. It was neeceſſary therefore to think of preventing betimes the Dangers which might proceed from all theſe Quarters, and to begin with the moſt urgent Affair, the ſatisfying of the *Proteſtants*, that he might have their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. To that Purpoſe he came in the Beginning of the Year to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, where he found Means to adjuſt Matters with the *Proteſtants*, by agreeing that no Perſon ſhould be diſturbed on the Score of Religion, till a *Council* was called. He intended not punctually to perform this Agreement, which mere Neceſſity had extorted from him. He received this Benefit by it however, That all the Princes and States of *Germany*, as well *Proteſtant* as *Catholick*, furniſhed him with a powerful Aid, which enabled him to draw together an Army of eighty Thouſand *Foot*, and thirty Thouſand *Horſe*.

1532.

The Diet of Ratisbon *grant ſomething in favour of the* Proteſtants.

Charles *attains an Aid.*

Whilſt the Army was getting ready, the Emperour willing to ſound the King of *France*'s Intentions, ſent and demanded his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*; but he received an unſatisfactory Anſwer, which added to the Interview of the two Kings confirmed him in his Suſpicion, that they were contriving ſomething againſt

He ſuſpects the King of France.

1531. againſt him. But *Soliman* haſtening his Campain in *Hungary*, hindered him from thinking of Means to prevent the Miſchief he feared from the two confederate Kings. The Truth is, the *Turks* not only advanced to *Hungary*, but even as far as *Auſtria*, on purpoſe to give him Battle. But he wiſely avoided it, ſince had he loſt the Day, he would have had no Remedy left, and *Auſtria* with Part of *Germany* would inevitably have fallen under the Dominion of the *Turks*. Whereas by ſtanding upon the Defenſive with an Army of above a Hundred Thouſand Men, he prevented them from making any conſiderable Progreſs, and compelled them at length to march Home.

His Campaign againſt the Turks.

As ſoon as he had certain Advice that *Soliman* was upon his way to *Conſtantinople*, he ſet out for *Italy*, from whence he deſigned to return to *Spain*.

He paſſes into Italy.

About the middle of *November* he came to *Bologna*, where the Pope waited to confer with him. As their Deſigns were very oppoſite, there was not that Harmony betwixt them, as at their Interview in the Year 1529. The Emperour thought only how to make ſure of *Italy*, and prevent the King of *France* ever to ſet Foot there again. The Pope on the contrary wanted to keep him always under Apprehenſions from that Quarter, as well to render himſelf neceſſary, as to free himſelf from a State of Dependence. The Emperour required the Pope to call a *Council* in *Germany*, otherwiſe he ſaw not how it was poſſible to find a lawful Pretenſe to ruin the *Proteſtants*. But after what had paſſed at *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, the very name of a *Council* was become ſo hateful to the Court of *Rome*, that *Clement* VII could not bring himſelf to call one. He knew what had befallen *John* XXII, and *Eugenius* IV; and therefore he had no Mind to have his Authority brought into Queſtion. The Emperour demanded moreover the Pope's Conſent to a League he intended to form between all the States of *Italy*, to which each ſhould contribute in proportion to its Forces, in order to ſcreen the Country from all Invaſion. That is to ſay, he wanted to have in *Italy*

He conſers with the Pope at Bologna. Guicciard.

He demands a Council.

He propoſes a League for the ſafety of Italy.

an

an Army maintained at the Expenſe of others, and which ſhould be always ready to defend the Dutchy of *Milan*, in Caſe the *French* King ſhould take it in his Head to invade it. The Pope approved of this Project well enough, not in order to keep *Italy* in the Poſture it was in at preſent, ſince it was very much to his Prejudice, that the Emperour ſhould remain ſo powerful there, but that he might have a Pretenſe to get rid of the *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops, who were a Terrour to the *Italians*. He plainly foreſaw that a League made up of ſo many Parties, whoſe Intereſts were different, would not long ſubſiſt, and that after it was broken, himſelf ſhould become more neceſſary and conſiderable. He deſired only that the *Venetians* ſhould come into the League that they might bear their Part of the Charge. In ſhort, the Emperour demanded alſo of the Pope, that he ſhould give *Catharine de Medicis* to the Duke of *Milan*, his Aim being to engage him for his Niece's ſake, in the Defenſe of the *Milaneſe*, for fear in the End the King of *France* ſhould find an Opportunity to win him over to his Intereſt. But *Clement* alledged againſt this Propoſal, his Engagement with the King of *France*, who had done him the Honour to demand *Catharine* for the Duke his ſecond Son. He repreſented to the Emperour, that he could not prefer the Duke of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, without making the King of *France* his irreconcileable Enemy, who would never forgive ſuch an Affront. So their whole Negotiation ended only in the projected League, in which the *Venetians* refuſed to be included. They contented themſelves with giving the Emperour their Word, that they would punctually perform their Engagement with reſpect to the Dutchy of *Milan*. In fine, the Emperour having ſent for Ambaſſadors from *Milan*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, they laboured for ſome Time to ſettle the Terms of the League. But the Diſpute between the Pope and Duke of *Ferrara*, very much retarded Matters, becauſe the Duke would not come into the League before he was ſure of Peace at Home. 1532.

However

1532. However, with much ado, the Emperour prevailed with the Pope to allow the Duke an eight Months Reſpite. This Affair was the Reaſon that the League could not be ſigned till *February* next Year.

How the Engliſh ſtood affected as to Religion.

Henry's Proceedings againſt the *Clergy*, and the Diſpoſition he was in with regard to the Pope, were great Incouragements to thoſe who longed to ſee a Reformation in the *Church*. To avoid having a wrong Notion how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected in that Reſpect, it is neceſſary to know fully what the People's Sentiments were with regard to Religion. It may be affirmed as a Thing out of Diſpute, that as to what concerned the Reformation of the Pope's exorbitant Power, and the *Clergy*'s Immunities, there was ſcarce an *Engliſhman*, if you except all or moſt of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, but what wiſhed it with all his Heart. It was now three Hundred Years ſince the Parliament firſt began to ſet about it, but without being able to go through with their Work becauſe it ſquared not with the Intereſt of the Kings. But as to a Reformation of *Doctrine*, the Well-wiſhers to it were very far from being the Majority. Theſe were not numerous enough to venture to propoſe it openly, eſpecially as the King gave them no Countenance. But when the Buſineſs was to ſpeak againſt the Pope's exceſſive Authority, or the Pride and Riches of the *Clergy*, they boldly ſtruck in with the reſt of the People, without fear of being diſcovered, becauſe in that all the People, or at leaſt almoſt all the *Laity* were of the ſame Mind. But in expreſſing their Zeal againſt the *Clergy*, their Aim was to ſet forward the Reformation of *Doctrine*, becauſe they were very ſenſible that the main Obſtacle would always proceed from the Governours of the *Church*. Here therefore they believed they ought to begin in order to arrive at a thorough Reformation. So among thoſe that wiſhed to reduce the *Papal* Power, and the *Clergy*'s Immunities, within due bounds, there were doubtleſs many who had no farther Views, and imagined the Reformation would center there. Others on the contrary were in Hopes that

that after taking this firſt Step, it would be next to impoſſible to ſtop there, as was plain from what had happened in *Germany*. But they took Care not to undeceive the others for fear of cooling their Zeal, by letting them ſee too ſoon the Conſequences of the firſt Step which ſhould be made in the Buſineſs of Reformation 1532.

The Commons are inclined to reduce the Power of the Clergy. Herbert.

The Parliament meeting the 15th of *January* 1532, the *Commons* were almoſt unanimouſly inclined to redreſs the Grievances the *Engliſh* had ſo long complained of in vain, with reſpect to the *Papal* Power, and the *Eccleſiaſtical* Privileges. There had never been ſo fair an Opportunity. When the Parliaments formerly had a Mind to make any Attempt of that Nature, they found the Kings backward to join with them in the ſame Deſign, becauſe the State of their Affairs permitted them not to break entirely with *Rome*. But the Affair of the Divorce had put Things upon another Foot. The King was diſſatisfied with the Pope, and conſidered the *Clergy* both *Secular* and *Regular*, as ſecret Enemies, by reaſon of their Attachment to the Court of *Rome*. So his Intereſt required that the Pope and *Clergy* ſhould be humbled, and Diviſion ſown between them and the People, well knowing that the *Former* would not be able to hurt him, but in Proportion to their Credit with the *Latter*. As for what Foreigners might do, he thought he had no reaſon to fear ſo long as he ſhould be in ſtrict Alliance with *France*; eſpecially as the Emperour had then his Hands full, both by reaſon of his War with the *Turks*, and the Troubles of *Germany*.

Addreſs preſented to the King. *The King's Anſwer.*

All this being dexterouſly ſuggeſted to the *Houſe* of *Commons*, they preſented an Addreſs to the King, praying him to Conſent to a Reformation of ſundry Grievances, occaſioned by the Immunities of the *Clergy*. The King anſwered, that before he gave his Conſent to their Requeſt, which ſeemed to him a Matter of great Moment, he wiſhed to hear what the *Clergy* had to ſay for themſelves. But under this ſhow of Equity, his View was to give the *Clergy* to underſtand

1532. understand how much they stood in need of his Protection, since it was in his Power either to stop the *Commons*, or let them take their own Course, as he should think fit. Some Time after the Parliament passed certain *Acts*, which did but lightly touch some of the *Clergy*'s Privileges which the People had most Reason to complain of. But at this Time the Reformation was carried no farther. Nay, Care was taken to make the *Ecclesiasticks* amends, by passing an *Act* to release them from the Payment of *Annates* *, which was become a heavy Burden. The *Act* ran, that the Kingdom was daily impoverished by the great Sums paid to the *See* of *Rome* for *First-Fruits*, for *Palls*, for *Bulls*, &c. That since [the second Year of] the Reign of *Henry* VII, one Hundred and sixty Thousand Pounds had been paid on that Score, and that the Detriment the Kingdom received from thence was like to be still greater, by reason many of the Bishops were very aged: That besides, the *Annates* were first introduced only as a Contribution towards the War against the *Infidels*, to which use however they were never put. And therefore it was enacted, that all Payments of *Annates* should cease for the future: That as for the *Bulls*, five Pounds in the Hundred according to the annual Value of the Bishopricks, all Charges deducted, should be paid in Consideration thereof: That if on account of this Regulation, *Bulls* should be denied by the Pope, the Bishop elect should be presented by the King to the Archbishop of the *Province* for his *Consecration*: That in Case the Archbishop should refuse it for want of *Palls*, *Bulls*, and the like, any two Bishops appointed by the King should do the Office, and the Bishop so consecrated should enjoy all the Rights of his *See* in full and ample Manner. Nevertheless the Parliament declared that it should be in the King's Power to null or confirm the *Act* within such a Time; and if in the mean while he should make an amicable Composition with the

Statutes against the Clergy.

Act *concerning* Annates *or* First-Fruits.

* Or the *First-Fruits* of the Bishopricks.

the Court of *Rome*, whatever he ſhould do in the Matter ſhould have the Force and Authority of a Law. But if upon this *Act*, the Pope ſhould pretend to vex the Realm by *Excommunications* or *Interdicts*, ſuch Cenſures ſhould neither be regarded nor publiſhed, and all *Interdicts* notwithſtanding the Prieſts might lawfully, without any Scruples of Conſcience, celebrate *Divine Service* as before *. 1532.

Boldneſs of a Commoner.

Mean while, among the great Number of Repreſentatives in the *Houſe of Commons*, there were ſeveral who were entirely againſt a Rupture with the Pope. They plainly perceived however that it would infallibly follow upon the King's Divorce. Wherefore they did all they could to prevent it. One *Temſe* a Member of Parliament was ſo hardy as to move that the *Houſe* ſhould go in a Body and addreſs the King to take his Queen again. *Henry* hearing of this, ſent for [*Thomas Audley*] the *Speaker* of the *Houſe*, and in his Perſon ſeverely reprimanded the *Commons* for ſuffering a Motion to be made about an Affair which fell not under their Cognizance *1.

The King reprimands the Commons.

He wills them to conſider the Biſhop's Oaths.

Some Days after the King ſent again for the *Speaker*, and told him, that having compared the Oath the Biſhops ſwore to the Pope, with that they took to the King, it ſeemed to him they were but half Subjects; and therefore he deſired the *Commons* to conſider the Matter

* This *Bill* began in the *Houſe* of Lords, from them it was ſent to the *Commons*, and being agreed to by them, received the Royal Aſſent, but had not the final Confirmation mentioned in the *Act*, before the 9th of *July* 1533, and then by *Letters Patents*, in which the *Act* is at length recited, it was confirmed. *Par Rolls*. By this *Act* was laid the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with *Rome*.

*1 He told the *Speaker* moreover, It touched his Soul: He wiſhed his Marriage were good, but the *Learned* had determined it to be null and deteſtable, and therefore he was obliged in Conſcience to abſtain from her, which he aſſured him flowed from no Luſt, or fooliſh Appetite. He was then 41 Years old, and at that Age thoſe Heats abate. But except in *Spain* or *Portugal*, it had not been heard of, that a Man married two Siſters; and he never heard that any *Chriſtian* before himſelf had married his Brother's Wife. Therefore he aſſured him his Conſcience was troubled, which he deſired him to report to the *Houſe*.

1532. ter and take care of the Intereſt of the Crown. But the Plague which raged then at *London*, and conſtrained the Parliament to break up preſently after, hindered the *Commons* from debating upon that Affair at that Time *.

The Pope complains of the Act aboliſhing the Annate. Burnet.

The Power given the King by the Parliament to aboliſh the *Annates*, or make an amicable Compoſition with the Pope, was a clear Evidence that the *Act* had been procured by the Intrigues of the Court. The Pope was extremely offended at it. But when he complained of it to the King's Agents, they told him, he might have ſaved himſelf that Vexation, and that there was ſtill a Remedy, ſince the King had it in his Power to repeal the *Act*. By that they intimated to the Pope, that he might depend upon it the King would behave according as he ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied with his Proceedings.

The King's Anſwer.

Thomas More *reſigns the great Seal, which is given to* Sir Thomas Audley. Act. Pub. XIV. 433. p. 446.

Thomas More who was Lord Chancellor, and a Perſon of excellent Judgement, foreſaw now the King's Proceedings would in the End produce a total Rupture with the Court of *Rome*. He would have readily conſented that ſome Abuſes ſhould be reformed. But he found as Matters were carrying on, that the Reformation would go a much greater length than he deſired. He put a great Difference between withdrawing entirely from the Pope's Obedience, and abridging him of ſome of his Uſurpations. So being unwilling to have any Hand in the Rupture, he delivered up the *Great Seal* on the 16th of *May*. Some Days after the King made Sir *Thomas Audley Lord Keeper of the Great Seal*, till the 26th of *September*, when he was made Lord-Chancellor.

The Emperour and Henry *equally threaten the Pope;* Burnet. *who is at a great Loſs.*

Whilſt *Henry* uſed ſundry means to let the Pope ſee the riſk he ran by his Obſtinacy, in refuſing what he required, the Emperour was endeavouring with no leſs Ardour to obtain a Sentence in Favour of Queen *Catharine*. The way theſe two Monarchs applied to the

* *Burnet* and Lord *Herbert* place *Henry*'s Interview with *Francis* after this Seſſion of Parliament.

the Pope was not by humble Intreaties, but by Threats and Menaces, which had the greater Effect, as he was naturally fearful, and ſlow to reſolve in Matters that required a ſpeedy Reſolution. By theſe two oppoſite Demands he ſaw himſelf indeed between the Hammer and the Anvil, as he ſaid himſelf in the beginning of the Affair. On the other Hand, he found by *Henry*'s late Proceedings that *England* was going to be loſt to him and his Succeſſors. This Conſideration was very capable of putting him upon ſeeking Expedients to content that Monarch, without prejudice to the Honour of the *Holy See*. By that means he would have kept a Kingdom which had been at all Times devoted to the Popes, and from whence they had drawn large Revenues. But on the other Side, the Emperour had ſtill an Army in *Italy*, and was able to revenge his Refuſal. *Clement* of all Things was afraid of loſing *Florence*, which the Emperour could take from him with more eaſe than he had put him in Poſſeſſion. It is no wonder therefore if this Fear being the moſt imminent prevailed. It would be a very grand Miſtake to aſcribe to this Pope any Motives of Juſtice, Equity, the Good and Benefit of the *Church* or Religion. Theſe Things for ſome Time had ſerved only for Preambles to *Bulls*. His own and his Family's Intereſt was the ſole Meaſure of all his Actions. So finding himſelf very much urged by the Emperour to paſs Sentence upon Queen *Catharine*'s Appeal, he could forbear no longer taking at leaſt ſome Steps to ſatisfy him. He declared therefore to the *Engliſh* Agents, that having long expected in vain that their Maſter would of his own accord return to the right way, he could not help citing him to appear at *Rome*. *Henry* having notice of it, ſent away with all ſpeed *Edward Karne* Doctor of Law, with the new Character of *Excuſator*, to alledge the Reaſons againſt a *Citation* which a King of *England* could not be liable to. *Karne* coming to *Rome* in *March*, the Pope ſcrupled to receive him as *Excuſator*, a Character whereof there was no Precedent to be

1532.

His own Intereſt prevails.

Karne ſent to Rome *as the King's* Excuſator.

1532. found in the *Chancery*. However, he committed the Examination of this Title to a *Congregation*, which made no great haſte to give their Opinion, that the *Excuſator* might not have Power before he was acknowledged, to oppoſe the Reſolutions already taken.

A new Delay granted the King. At laſt in a *Conſiſtory* on the 8th of *July*, it was reſolved, that without inquiring into the King of *England*'s Reaſons for not appearing in Perſon, he ſhould be intreated to ſend to *Rome* a *Proxy* to defend his Cauſe. Mean while, as the *Vacation* which was to laſt till the 1ſt of *October*, was then juſt begun, a Delay till that Time was tacitely given the King. In the Interim, the Pope ſent him a *Brief* to require him to ſend a *Proxy* to *Rome*.

The Pope's Offers. At the ſame Time he cauſed the following Overtures to be made him: That the Affair of the Divorce ſhould be examined in any indifferent Place, by a *Legate* and two Auditors of the *Rota*, which done, the Pope himſelf would paſs Sentence. Secondly, That all the Sovereign Princes of *Chriſtendom* ſhould agree to a Truce of three or four Years, within which Time the Pope promiſed to call a *General Council*. *The King's Anſwer.* The King replied, by Sir *Thomas Elliot* who was ſent on Purpoſe, That he could not agree to a Truce without the Concurrence of the King of *France*. Secondly, That it was by no means a proper Juncture to call a *Council*. Laſtly, That as for the Buſineſs of the Divorce, being King of *England*, he was to take Care of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, which allowed not that any Proceſs ſhould be tried in a Foreign Court. That beſides the *Canons* of the Church expreſsly decreed, that all *Matrimonial* Cauſes ſhould be judged in the Countries where the Parties reſided.

The King proteſts againſt the Citation. To theſe Reaſons he added a Proteſtation in form, declaring that he was not obliged to appear at *Rome*, either in Perſon or by Proxy, and tacked to his Proteſtation the Determinations of ſome *Univerſities* which he had conſulted upon that Matter. However, he propoſed

proposed three Things to the Pope. First, he required that the Cause should be decided by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and two other Bishops, or rather by the whole *Clergy* of the Kingdom. But it must be observed, that the See of *Canterbury* was vacant since *August*, by *Warham*'s Death, and that if the Pope had closed with this Proposal, the King would not have failed to fill the *See* with a Prelate devoted to him. His second Offer was, that the Cause should be judged by four Arbitrators, one of whom should be named by the King, another by the Queen, a third by the King of *France*, and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should be the fourth. In the third Place, he proposed that the Cause being judged by the Archbishop, or by Umpires, if the Queen should think fit to appeal from the Sentence, the Appeal should be brought before three Judges, whereof he would name one, the Pope another, and the King of *France* a third. The Pope replied to these Proposals, that he plainly saw the King would abate nothing of his pretended Rights, and therefore it ought not to be thought strange that he was resolved to preserve his own.

1532. *He makes the Pope three Offers, which are rejected.* Act. Pub. XIV. 416, 420.

It is however certain, that if the Pope durst have satisfied the King, he would have done it with all his Heart, by reason of the Apprehensions he was under of losing *England* entirely. It was not the Difficulties in the Affair of the Divorce that hindered him from proceeding. Had they been much greater than they were he would have readily overlooked them all. The Truth is, supposing the unlimited Power which the Pope assumed, it was as easy for *Clement* VII to null *Henry*'s Marriage, as it was for *Julius* II to grant a Dispensation for the same. But it was incumbent upon him to mind the Honour of his *See*, and the Interest of the Emperour who threatened him, and had it in his Power to put his Threats in Execution. Had not the Emperour been concerned in the Affair, it would have been the easiest Thing in the World to find an Expedient to content the King, without Detriment

All the Obstacles to the Divorce come from the Emperour.

1532. triment to the *Papal* Authority. It was only to assure the King that the Cause should be decided in his Favour, and he would have willingly agreed that the Pope should be the sole Judge. But the Pope could give him no such Assurance by reason of the Emperour's Opposition: Wherefore *Henry* could not think of putting the Matter into his Hands, and running the Risk of being cast. Upon this Account it was that he proposed Expedients whereby he was sure of gaining his Cause. But on the other Hand, the Pope could not accept of these same Expedients, without injuring his Dignity. Thus the Affair was wholly and solely retarded on the Emperour's Account. Had it not been for him, the Pope would have contented the King, and the King would have submitted to the Pope, and remained an obedient Son of the *Holy See*, as he had formerly been. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that the King's Proceedings in the late Parliament, and the Steps he made afterwards, flowed not so much from his real Opinion, that the *Papal* Authority was all Usurpation, as from his seeing there was no other way to get out of the Plunge he was in, but by denying that it was in the Power of the Pope to do what *Julius* II had done. It is however very likely that he was afterwards fully convinced of the Truth of what he asserted at first only out of pure Necessity. On the other Hand, if the Pope passed Sentence against *Henry*, as we shall see presently, it was not from his Belief that his Marriage with *Catharine* was unlawful, but solely to save the Honour of the *Holy See*, and out of fear of, or Complaisance for the Emperour. And here who can forbear admiring the secret Ways of Providence, which rendered a Reconciliation between the Pope and King impractable, in order to produce from thence an Event which was to be attended with so momentous Consequences for *England*?

Henry *is cited to* Rome. Herbert.

In short, the Vacation being over, *Henry* was cited on the 4th of *October* to appear at *Rome*, either in Person or by *Proxy*, and *Karne* solemnly protested against the

the Citation. What has been ſaid happened before the Emperour's Arrival at *Bologna*. *Clement* VII, who was juſt upon the Point of going immediately after the Citation to confer with that Prince, gave *Karne* his Word, that all Proceedings ſhould be ſuſpended ſo long as the Emperour ſhould be in *Italy*. This was all the Favour *Karne* could obtain. 1532.

Affairs between England and Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

Whilſt *Henry* ſeemed to be wholly taken up with the Affair of his Divorce, a Quarrel aroſe between *England* and *Scotland*. *Buchanan* pretends that *Henry* willing to take Advantage of his Alliance with *France*, and imagining that *Francis* I. would let him oppreſs King *James*, made Inroads into *Scotland* as if he intended to renew the War. He adds, that the only Pretence whereon he grounded the Rupture, was that the *Scots* had ſpoken ſome injurious Words againſt the *Engliſh*. Be this as it will, the King of *Scotland* being prepared for his Defenſe, *Henry* thought not fit to purſue his Deſign. He choſe rather to agree that the Matter ſhould be made up by the King of *France*'s Mediation, who ſent for that Purpoſe an Ambaſſador to *Newcaſtle*. The King of *Scotland* was ſo offended with *Francis* for ſo cooly eſpouſing his Cauſe, that he was juſt going to ſide with the Emperour. But at length all was happily adjuſted, and the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* became Friends as before.

1533. *League concluded at* Rome *for the Security of* Italy. Guicciard.

It was not for *Henry*'s Intereſt to undertake a War againſt *Scotland*, when he was to prepare for his Defenſe againſt the Emperour. It was extremely probable that the Pope would not have engaged to judge Queen *Catharine*'s Appeal without being ſure beforehand that the Emperour, the Queen's Nephew would take upon him to execute the Sentence. This indeed was what he intended; but the Troubles which came upon him unexpectedly, hindered him from engaging in that Enterpriſe. He reckoned that the *Italian* League before-mentioned, would be a ſure Defenſe for the Dutchy of *Milan*. But it was not long before he perceived that himſelf was over-reached by the crafty Pope. This League was at length ſigned

1533. at *Bologna* the 24th of *February* 1533, according to his Wish. Every Sovereign that had Dominions in *Italy*, the *Venetians* excepted, engaged to find a certain Sum monthly, for the Maintainance of an Army which *Antonio de Leva* was to command as *General of the League*. The Emperour's Intent was, that the Army should be made up of his own Troops, and constantly kept in Pay. But the Confederates had quite another View. They consented to the League purely that the Emperour having nothing to fear on account of *Italy*, might withdraw his Troops. But they never meant that the Army maintained at their Expence, should serve to keep them in Subjection, which would necessarily be the Case, if the Army continued always on Foot, under the Command of a General of the Emperour's. They represented to him therefore, that the League being only Defensive, it was by no Means proper to keep up an Army without Necessity, to ruin them in Expences; but the Moment the *French* should begin to stir, they would not fail to perform their Agreements. What Arguments soever the Emperour might alledge, it was not possible for him to bring them to what he desired. He was fain therefore to rest satisfied with their Promises, because he was not in Condition to keep an Army in *Italy* at his own Charge. Then he disbanded Part of his Troops, and sent the rest to *Naples* and *Spain*. He departed from *Bologna* about the End of *February*, and came to *Genoa*, where he staid some Time; after which, on the 8th of *April* he embarked for *Spain*, very much displeased with the Pope, who through all his Disguises could not help showing that he began to incline towards *France*. The Truth is, he had already agreed with the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grammont* upon an Interview with *Francis*, and the Marriage of *Catharine de Medicis* with the Duke of *Orleans*.

Different Views of the Emperour and the Allies.

The Allies refuse to keep an Army in Time of Peace.

The Emperour withdraws his Troops out of Italy.

He returns to Spain.

The Marriage of the Duke of Orleans *with* Catharine *of* Medicis *agreed upon.*

The Posture of the Affairs of *Italy* was not the only Thing that took up the Emperour. It has been observed already, that he had promised the *Protestants*

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan.

to

to get a free *Council* called in *Germany*. But although the Word *Free* was alike made uſe of by thoſe who demanded a *Council*, and by him that promiſed it, they were far enough from meaning the ſame Thing. The *Proteſtants* meant by that Word, that a *Council* ſhould be held in *Germany*, where they might not only have free Acceſs and full Liberty to ſet forth their Reaſons, but alſo that the Points in diſpute ſhould be decided ſolely by *the Word of God*. The Emperour intended on the contrary, to retain only an outward Show of the Word, and by rendering his Party ſtrongeſt in the *Council*, to cauſe Matters to be decided ſo, as that the *Proteſtants* ſhould be forced, either to make void all their Innovations, or reject the *Council*'s Diciſions. In the latter Caſe, which was the moſt likely, the Emperour plainly perceived, they would give him a Handle to fall upon them, which was the Thing he intended. But in the executing his Deſign a great Obſtacle would occur. And that was, a *Council*, let it be what it would, was a terrible *Bug-bear* to the Pope. Though he knew very well the Emperour demanded a *Council* not with any Deſign to make Alterations in *Religion*, yet he was afraid of being ſacrificed to the *Proteſtants*, if that Monarch's Intereſts required it. Beſides, the ſtrict Alliance between *Francis* and *Henry* made him uneaſy. In ſhort, he could not think of calling a *Council*, without being ſure of managing it as he pleaſed. And that was however what he could ſcarce expect as Matters then ſtood in *Chriſtendom*. Since his coming to the *Papal* Throne, he had pleaſed neither the Emperour, nor the King of *France*, nor the King of *England*, nor the Potentates of *Italy*, and yet of the Subjects of all theſe Sovereigns was the *Council* chiefly to conſiſt. He knew himſelf to be a Baſtard, and that alone to be ſufficient to depoſe him, in caſe his Enemies were uppermoſt in the *Council*. What had paſſed at *Conſtance* and *Baſil* gave him juſt reaſon to dread, that a *Council*, held in a free City of *Germany*, might form the ſame Deſigns. Upon all theſe Conſiderati-

1533.

The Pope is againſt a Council.

1533. ons, when the Emperour deſired him at the Conference of *Bologna* to call a *Council*, he forbore to give a poſitive Anſwer. He contented himſelf with committing the Examination of his Requeſt to certain *Cardinals*, under colour of knowing the Reaſons *Pro* and *Con*. The Popes have a Character, to ſuſtain which, often throws them into great Perplexity. In publick, they muſt make ſhow of a great Zeal for God's Glory, for Religion, and for the Good of the *Church*; and withal a great Diſintereſtedneſs for every Thing which concerns them perſonally. But, for fear what they thus profeſs outwardly ſhould be taken litterally, they muſt in private undeceive thoſe who treat with them, and let them ſee that their own Intereſt is the main Point of the Negotiation. So what they ſay publickly is always juſt and right, and ſeems to tend only to the greater Glory of God. But in the End it appears too often that *Religion* ſerves only for a Cloak to their temporal Concerns. Upon the Occaſion I am ſpeaking of, a General *Council* ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to put an end to the Troubles cauſed by the Religious Differences in ſeveral Places, and particularly in *Germany*. The Pope not only complied with the Emperour, but even made as if he wiſhed it heartily. And yet, as a *Council* was contrary to his Intereſts, Reaſons, drawn from the Good and Benefit of the *Church* muſt be found out, to reject or put off the Calling of it. This is what the Commiſſioners did, who were appointed to examine the Emperour's Requeſt. They drew up a *Memorial*, ſetting forth the Neceſſity of a *Council*, but ſhowing withal the Inconveniences of admitting the *Proteſtants* to diſpute upon Matters already ſettled, and the Uſeleſsneſs of the ſame if they were not admitted. This *Memorial* being communicated to *Francis*, he replied to it by another, demonſtrating, that the Inconveniences ſet down in the firſt ought not to hinder the Calling of a *Council*. Moreover, he particularly chalked out the Methods which ſhould be uſed to baniſh all Partiality. But this *Memorial* was by no means acceptable to the Em-

Reaſons of a Congregation of Cardinals againſt the Council.

Francis anſwers their Reaſons.

Emperour, becauſe a *Free Council* was not the Thing he wanted, but ſuch a one as would afford a Handle and Pretence to fall upon the *Proteſtants* of *Germany*, after which he did not deſpair of bringing the *Catholicks* alſo under his Yoke. *Francis* anſwered the Emperour's Reaſons againſt his *Memorial*, but it was to no manner of Purpoſe. It was next to impoſſible that two Princes, whoſe Intereſts were ſo oppoſite, and who were ſo jealous of each other, ſhould ever agree together in any one Point. Thus the Pope had his Wiſh, ſince the Calling of the *Council* was put off to a more convenient Seaſon. I muſt now ſpeak of what paſſed in *England* in the Year 1533. 1533.

The Council is put off.

Whilſt the Pope and Emperour were conferring at *Bologna*, *Henry* called the Parliament together on the 4th of *February*. As hitherto the Pope had not relaxed in the leaſt, except that he had put off the *Excommunication*, wherewith he had threatned the King, it was deemed proper to go one Step farther, to let him ſee that he was not at all feared. So the Parliament paſſed an *Act*, expreſsly forbidding all *Appeals* to *Rome*, on Pain of incurring a *Premunire*. This was to convince the Pope, that they could do very well without him, ſince at the very time that the Point in queſtion between him and the King was, to know whether the Affair of the Divorce ſhould be judged in *England*, People were forbid to carry their Cauſes to *Rome*. But there was a farther Reaſon which induced the King to get this *Act* paſſed, namely, having heard that *Francis* was going to make an Alliance with the Pope, he imagined that this Friend of his for the time to come would act but faintly in his Favour; and therefore he had already determined to have the Cauſe judged in the Kingdom, without troubling himſelf any farther about what the Pope ſhould be able to do againſt him. The Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* being vacant by *Warham*'s Death, it was neceſſary to fill that *See*, to the End Sentence might be given by the *Primate* of *England*. To that purpoſe *Henry* had caſt his Eyes on Dr. *Thomas Cranmer*, who was then in *Germany*.

Seſſion of the Parliament in England. Herbert.

Statute againſt all Appeals to Rome.

Cranmer *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

1533. *many*. But contrary to his Expectation, he found the Doctor more backward to accept of, than others would have been forward to sue for that high Dignity. It was six Months first before he could be prevailed with to take upon him that Burden. In fine, his Reluctance being conquered by the King's Patience, he began his Journey to *London*, but very slowly, in hopes the King might alter his Mind. However, as a longer Delay was directly contrary to the King's Measures, *Cranmer* could stand out no longer against his Will and Pleasure. The King himself undertook to demand his *Bulls*, which, though Eleven in all, were rated but at Nine Hundred Ducats*. The Pope forbore of his Accord to require the *Annates*, foreseeing plainly they would be refused him. To enable *Cranmer* to be at this Charge, the King made him a Present of the Revenues of the Archbishoprick from the 9th of *September* last Year. These Obstacles being removed, there arose another much more considerable. And that was, *Cranmer* refused to take the usual Oath to the Pope, believing he could not do it with a safe Conscience. In his first Journey to *Germany* he read *Luther*'s Books, which had entirely convinced him of the Truth of many of the *Protestant-Tenets*, and particularly of the little Foundation in *Scripture* for the spiritual Power assumed by the Pope over the whole *Church*. Consequently, he

He refuses to take the Oath to the Pope.

* These being the last *Bulls* in this Reign, it will not be amiss to give an Account of them (from *Burnet*) as they are set down in the Beginning of *Cranmer*'s Register. By the 1st he is upon the King's Nomination promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, this is directed to the King. By a 2d directed to himself he is made Archbishop. By a 3d he is absolved from all Censures. A 4th to the *Suffragans*. A 5th to the *Dean* and *Chapter*. A 6th to the *Clergy* of *Canterbury*. A 7th to all the *Laity* in his *See*. An 8th to all that held Lands of it, requiring them to receive him as Archbishop. All these are dated *Feb.* 21. 1533. By a 9th of *Feb.* 22, he was to be consecrated upon taking the Oath in the *Pontifical*. By a 10th dated the 2d of *March*, the *Pall* was sent him. And by a 11th of the same Date the Archbishop of *York* and the Bishop of *London* were required to put it on him. These were the several Artifices to make Compositions high, and to enrich the *Apostolical Chamber*.

he could not bring himſelf to ſwear an Obedience, which in his Opinion was not due to him. Mean while, *Henry* conſidering *Cranmer* as a Perſon who by his Principles and Reſolution would be very ſerviceable to him in putting an End to the Affair of the Divorce, of which he was deſirous to ſee the Iſſue, preſſed him ſo earneſtly to ſwear the cuſtomary Oath, that he prevailed with him at length to do what he deſired, by the Help of an Expedient which he got to be propoſed to him. Which was to make a formal Proteſtation againſt the Oath he was to take. This is by no means one of his brighteſt Actions. But however, he was conſecrated on the 13th of *March*, according to *Burnet*. Nevertheleſs, the King put him not in Poſſeſſion of the *Temporalities* till the 29th of *April*. This affords room to ſuſpect that there is a Miſtake in the Date of his *Conſecration*. 1533.

He yields at laſt but makes a Proteſtation. Act. Pub. XIV. 447. Burnet, p. 454.

This Affair being over, the King required the *Convocation* of the Province of *Canterbury* to give their Opinion upon theſe two Points. Firſt, whether Pope *Julius*'s Diſpenſation for the King's Marriage with *Catharine* was ſufficient and able to render ſuch a Marriage valid. Secondly, whether it was ſufficiently proved that *Arthur* had conſummated his Marriage with *Catharine*. Whereupon, the *Convocation* declared on the 5th of *April*, that the Pope had not Power to diſpenſe contrary to the Law of God, and that the Conſummation of *Arthur*'s Marriage was proved as far as a Thing of that Nature could be. The *Convocation* of *York* made the like Deciſion the 13th of *May* following.

The Convocation of Canterbury *and* York *decide the Points about the Divorce for the King.* p. 472.

Whilſt the *Clergy* were buſy in debating theſe Points, *Henry* writ to *Francis*, deſiring him to ſend a truſty Perſon, to whom he might diſcover ſome Things which he did not care ſhould be made publick. Whereupon *Francis* ſent *William de Bellay* Lord of *Langeais*, ordering him to acquaint the King that he had concluded a Match between his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Catharine de Medicis*, and that the Pope and himſelf were to meet at *Marſeilles*, to celebrate

Francis *ſends* de Bellay *to* London. Bellay. Mezerai.

1533. celebrate the Nuptials: That at ſuch a Juncture he believed his Preſence would be very neceſſary to negotiate his own Affairs himſelf with the Pope; but in caſe he did not think fit to be at the Interview, he would do well to ſend ſome body thither in his Room.

Henry imparts his Marriage to Bellay.

Langeais being come to *London*, the King told him that *Clement* VII having obſtinately refuſed to appoint him Judges in *England*, he had determined at length to proceed: And to that end had already eſpouſed *Ann Bullen*, reſolving to have his Marriage nulled by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. That however, he would keep his ſecond Marriage private till *May*, to ſee what the King of *France* could do with the Biſhop of *Rome* (for ſo he called the Pope.) But if he could obtain nothing, his Deſign was to withdraw himſelf wholly from the *Papal* Authority. He imagined then that the Pope and *Francis* would meet in *May*; but it was *October* firſt. He told *Langeais* further, that he had compoſed a Treatiſe upon the *Incroachments* of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and the *Prerogatives* of Sovereign Princes; but that he would not publiſh it, till he ſaw no Proſpect of Reconciliation.

He makes it publick.

Shortly after, the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* was made publick, which certainly was very wrong. For ſeeing the King was reſolved to have his firſt Marriage nulled by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſhould have ſtaid till the Sentence was pronounced.

Remark on that Subject.

All that can be ſaid in excuſe of this irregular Step, is, that the new Queen was four Months gone with Child, and her Breeding could hardly be concealed any longer. But this did not hinder but that the King might have cauſed his firſt Marriage to be nulled a little ſooner, or the ſecond to be made publick a little later, ſince there was but about a Month's Space between the publiſhing of the one, and the Sentence againſt the other. Be this as it will, *Henry* having no farther Expectations from the Pope, and not ſtanding much in fear of him, thought he had no occaſion to uſe any Ceremony with him or the Publick, being almoſt ſure of Succeſs in all his Undertakings, conſidering

ring how the People ſtood affected. In ſhort, being fully determined to end the Matter, he ordered it ſo that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* demanded his Leave to ſummon Queen *Catharine*. Before he brought Things to this Extremity, he tried more than once to perſuade the Queen to conſent to the Divorce. But all his Endeavours proving ineffectual, he granted the Archbiſhop the Leave he deſired. The Queen then was cited to appear at *Dunſtable*, in the Neighbourhood of the Place were ſhe reſided, on the 20th of *May**. But as ſhe refuſed to appear, the Archbiſhop gave Sentence on the 23d of the ſame Month, declaring the King's Marriage with *Catharine* null, as being contrary to the Law of God. On the 28th [at *Lambeth*] by another Sentence, he confirmed the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen*, and on the 1ſt of *June* the new Queen was crowned.

1533 Cranmer *cites the Queen, and upon her not appearing pronounces Sentence,*

and confirms the King's ſecond Marriage.

Thus ended this famous Proceſs, the Iſſue whereof afforded no leſs Matter for divers Reflections than the Beginning, every one reaſoning as he was ſwayed by Prejudice or Intereſt. Thoſe who were againſt the King took notice of the Error he had committed in eſpouſing a ſecond Wife, before his firſt Marriage was legally diſſolved. They ſaid moreover, that of all the Prelates in *England*, *Cranmer* was the laſt that ſhould

Act. Pub. XIV. 462.

Reflections on the King's Conduct.

* The Archbiſhop went to *Dunſtable* (about 6 Miles from *Ampthill* where the Queen was) accompanied with *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Lincoln*, and ſate in Court on the 10th of *May*, the King appearing by Proxy, but the Queen not at all. Upon which ſhe was declared *contumax*, and a ſecond and third Citation was iſſued out. Then the Evidences that had been brought before the *Legates* of the Conſummation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur* were read. After that, the Determinations of the *Univerſities*, *Divines* and Canoniſts, with the Judgments of the *Convocations* of both *Provinces* were produced, and the whole Merit of the Cauſe was opened. And then on the 23d, with the Advice of all that were preſent, it was declared that the Marriage had been only *de facto* and not *de jure*, and conſequently null from the Beginning. One thing is to be obſerved, that the Archbiſhop is called in the Sentence, *The Legate of the Apoſtolick See*. Whether this went of Courſe as one of his Titles, or was put in to make the Sentence firmer, the Reader may judge. *Burnet.*

1533. ſhould have been pitched upon for Judge, ſince he had ſo openly declared againſt the firſt Marriage. That his Partiality was plain, not only from his haſte to give Sentence, but alſo from his confirming the King's ſecond Marriage, which had been conſummated whilſt the firſt was in being.

Reaſons alledged for the King.

Thoſe who were for the King affirmed, that the Sentence was but a mere Formality, which rendred not the Marriage void, but only declared it ſo. That it ſufficed that the Sentenee was conformable to the Determinations of the *Engliſh Clergy*, and all the Univerſities in *Europe*, and to the Sentiments of the Pope himſelf, who would have nulled the Marriage, had he not been biaſſed by worldly Conſiderations. They juſtified *Cranmer*, by alledging, that having changed his Character ſince his declaring for the Divorce, that Declaration ought not to hinder him from being Judge, no more than a Lawyer when he comes to ſit on the *Bench* is debarred the trying of Cauſes in which he formerly gave Counſel. That in the main, though there ſhould be ſome Default in the Form, it could not be denied that the Sentence was juſt in itſelf, which was ſufficient to quiet the King's Conſcience, who alone was concerned in the Affair. As for the new Queen, no fault could be found with her Behaviour, ſince ſhe proved not with Child till after her Marriage, whether the King eſpouſed her in *November* laſt Year, or in the *January* following. As for Queen *Catharine*, no body could think it ſtrange that ſhe ſhould ſtand by the Validity of her ſecond Marriage. But People juſtly wondered that ſhe ſhould ſo ſtifly deny the Conſummation of the Firſt, which was proved by all the Evidence the Thing was capable of. But as the Generality of the People were then biaſſed on one Side or other, we are not to judge of this Affair by what was publiſhed in thoſe Days, but by Reaſon and Equity. Let us therefore briefly conſider this Matter in that reſpect, independently of the Prejudices which the Conſequences thereof has bred. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to the Reader,

der to ſee here a ſhort Recapitulation of the Conduct of the chief *Actors* in this Scene. This is what I ſhall confine my ſelf to without examining the Proceſs to the bottom, which is not ſo much the Buſineſs of an *Hiſtorian* as of a *Divine* or *Civilian*. 1533.

Remarks upon the Proceſs of the Divorce, and the Conduct of the principal Parties. Upon the King.

It is almoſt impoſſible to know poſitively, whether *Henry*, when he took in Hand the Affair of the Divorce, was fully convinced that his Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, or at leaſt, whether he was really troubled in Conſcience upon that Score. All that can be ſaid in his Favour is, that himſelf affirmed as much, and that none but the Searcher of all Hearts can know whether he thought as he ſpoke. It cannot be denied that the ſole Conſideration of ſuch a Marriage is of itſelf capable of breeding ſuch Scruples, eſpecially as the King's could be confirmed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s his *Confeſſor*. But on the other Hand, it may be conjectured from ſeveral Circumſtances, that it was only a Pretenſe to get rid of *Catharine*, and to marry *Ann Bullen*. In the firſt Place, he had lived eighteen Years with the Queen, without ſhowing any Scruple of Conſcience. In the ſecond Place, if he was not in Love with *Ann Bullen*, when his Scruples came firſt into his Head, it cannot be denied but he was very much ſo, when he preſſed the Affair of the Divorce with the greateſt Earneſtneſs. So it may be conjectured that his Love might turn into Belief, what at firſt was only a Doubt. In the third Place, it is very probable that Cardinal *Wolſey* was the Perſon who inſpired by himſelf or another, the King with theſe Scruples, to be revenged of the Emperour and the Queen. This bold and daring *Miniſter* imagined either that the Affair would go on ſmoothly, conſidering his great Credit at the Court of *Rome*, or that in Caſe any Obſtacles ſhould occur, it would be as eaſy on this as on ſeveral other Occaſions, to cauſe the King to alter his Mind. But *Henry*'s Love happening upon it, *Wolſey* found he had taken wrong Meaſures. Beſides, the Determinations of the *Univerſities*

1533. *verſities* did not a little contribute without doubt to confirm the King in his Opinion. But however without inquiring any farther whether *Henry* was ſatisfied of the Juſtice of his Cauſe, let us conſider in a few Words, how he behaved in ſo nice an Affair. He ſuppoſed that *Julius* II could not grant a Diſpenſation for his Marriage, and conſequently that the Marriage was void of itſelf. And yet he thought he had need of *Clement the Seventh's Bull* to declare it ſo. Herein was a Contradiction which could not but perplex him very much. If *Julius*'s Diſpenſation was null by the Law of God, it was needleſs to revoke it, and if it was neceſſary to revoke it, conſequently it was *Good* till it was revoked. Thus *Henry* was bound till it ſhould pleaſe the Pope to decide the Point. Wherefore when *Cranmer* had given him another Notion of the Matter, by intimating to him that independently of the Power aſſumed by the Pope, the chief Thing was to aſſure one's ſelf of the Right by the Opinions of the *Learned*, he cried out in a tranſport of Joy, that *he had got at laſt the right Sow by the Ear*, that is, he found in *Cranmer*'s Advice a Solution of the Difficulties which he could not get clear of, by following the doubtful Principle of the Pope's Power, becauſe its Extent was not ſettled. He reſolved therefore to procure the Opinions of the *Univerſities*. But at length, weighing the Conſequences of a Rupture with *Rome*, he turned back to the old Road, and applied again to the Pope. By which he wronged his Cauſe very much; for in taking the Pope for Judge, it was no longer in his Power to limit the Authority he was willing to acknowledge. But it was excuſable, ſince it was hardly poſſible for him to throw off at once the Prejudice he was under with reſpect to the *Papal* Power, whereof he had not at firſt ſo clear an Idea as he had afterwards. After that, finding the Pope was entirely ſwayed by worldly Conſiderations, which hindered him from giving him the Satisfaction he required, he returned to the Method he had left. So going upon his own Conviction, and the Determination

nation of the *Univerſities*, he got his Marriage to be declared null, without troubling himſelf about the Pope's Authority, which he was reſolved to forſake. I omit the Reaſons he alledged to prove the Neceſſity of his Divorce. That of Conſcience was doubtleſs the beſt, if it was ſincere. That relating to the Uncertainty of the Succeſſion was proper to demand a Sentence, but not to ground the Divorce upon; becauſe the Divorce ſuppoſed the Marriage void, which was to be judged. 1533.

Let us now conſider the Pope's Behaviour, wherein one finds nothing favouring of *Chriſt's Vicar*. *Clement* VII never examined the Caſe by the Maxims of Religion, of Juſtice, or Equity, but always with reſpect to his own or his Family's Intereſt. If he had attended to what *Religion* required, he would have examined, by himſelf or others, whether *Henry*'s Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, and if ſo, whether a Pope had Power to grant a Diſpenſation. If he had been convinced that *Julius* II had aſſumed a Right which belonged not to him, he ſhould have granted *Henry* the *Bull* he demanded, without heſitation. But if on the contrary, he was perſwaded that the Marriage was agreeable to the *Divine* Law, or that being ſo, it was in the Power of a Pope to diſpenſe with it, he ſhould have confirmed it, and tried to remove the King's Scruples, and not ſought ſo many Evaſions and Excuſes. That was the Duty of a Pope. But inſtead of proceeding in that manner, he conſidered only what Good or Ill might accrue to him from the King's Demand, independently of the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Thing. Whilſt he was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, or a Fugitive at *Orvieto*, and as long as he thought he ſtood in need of *Henry*, he poſitively promiſed to content him. After that he did nothing but amuſe him, till by the Emperour's Help he had recovered *Florence*. As ſoon as he was in Poſſeſſion of that State, which he had ſo much longed for, he avocated the Proceſs to *Rome*, but in all Appearance with Intent never to judge it, *Remarks on the Pope.*

1533. if he could help it, becauſe whilſt the two Parties remained doubtful of the Iſſue, he became neceſſary to both. Can it be ſaid therefore, that there was any ſign of Juſtice or Religion in his Proceedings? Certainly if *Henry* was to blame, as it is pretended, to feign Scruples of Conſcience on purpoſe to gratify his Paſſion, *Clement* was no leſs in the wrong to take no Step either to reclaim him before the Affair was begun, or to content him in caſe his Scruples were well-grounded. Suppoſing *Henry* ſhould have acted from a principle of Paſſion, which is however very uncertain, he would have been much more excuſable than the Pope, who in the Poſt he filled, ought to have gone upon very different Principles.

Remarks on the Emperour: As for the Emperour, no Body can doubt but that he acted in this Matter from Motives of Honour, Intereſt, and Policy, without Juſtice or Religion having any ſhare in his Proceedings. He looked upon the Queen of *England* his Aunt's Divorce as an Affront which added to the Intereſt he had to create *Henry* Troubles, who was in ſtrict Alliance with *France*, was but too capable of inducing him to obſtruct the Divorce to the utmoſt of his Power.

Upon Queen Catharine: As for Queen *Catharine*, it is very probable that ſhe acted with Sincerity. As ſhe was ſatisfied that the Pope's Authority was unlimited, ſhe looked upon herſelf as the King's lawful Wife, and in that Belief ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to reſign her Right to another, on pretence of the King her Huſband's Scruples, which ſhe deemed ill-grounded. Beſides, ſhe could not own her Marriage null, without greatly injuring her Daughter the Princeſs *Mary*. Although ſhe had been convinced that her Marriage was unlawful in itſelf, ſhe believed the Pope had Power to make it good, being ready however to ſubmit to the ſame Authority, as ſoon as it ſhould be declared. Nevertheleſs ſhe may be juſtly ſuſpected of having taken a falſe Oath to give her Cauſe the better Colour.

Much

1533. *Upon* Ann Bullen:

Much has been ſaid againſt *Ann Bullen*. But not to inſiſt upon *Sanders*'s Invectives againſt her, which have been ſufficiently refuted *, ſhe cannot be charged before Marriage but with one Fault. And that is, with giving Ear to the King before his Marriage with *Catharine* was nulled. But it was very difficult for a young Lady of her Rank to have Reſolution enough to withſtand the Temptation of being made a Queen, if ſhe could be ſo lawfully, as in all likelihood the King made her believe. No Body can ſay however that ſhe ever yielded to the King's Deſires before her Marriage. He eſpouſed her at fartheſt in *January*, and ſhe was not brought to Bed till *September*. So there is nothing in that which can give Occaſion for any Suſpicion.

Upon the Pope's, the King's and the Emperour's Agents:

As for the reſt who had any Hand in this Affair, as the Cardinals and the King's and the Emperour's Miniſters, one may venture to affirm, that they acted only from worldly Views, without any regard to Religion.

Upon the Univerſities:

It cannot be ſaid that the *Univerſities* of *France* and *England* decided the Points propoſed with entire Freedom, ſince it is well known what an Influence So-

* *Sanders* has aſſured the World, That the King liking her Mother, ſent her Husband Sir *Thomas Bullen* Ambaſſador to *France*, and in his Abſence begot *Ann Bullen* upon his Wife. At his Return, he ſued a Divorce againſt her in the Archbiſhop's Court, but the King letting him know ſhe was with Child by him, he was, upon the King's Deſire, reconciled to his Wife. Thus *Ann Bullen*, though ſhe went under the Name of Sir *Thomas*'s Daughter, yet was of the King's begetting. As he deſcribes her, ſhe was ill-ſhaped and ugly, had ſix Fingers, a Gag-Tooth, and a Tumour under her Chin. At 15 Years of Age, he ſays, both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her; and when in *France* ſhe led ſuch a diſſolute Life, that ſhe was called the *Engliſh Hackney*. That the *French* King liking her, ſhe was called the *King's Mule*. But returning to *England*, ſhe gained the King's Affection by the Appearance of a ſevere Virtue, with which ſhe diſguiſed herſelf. The ſame Author adds, *That the King had likewiſe enjoyed her Siſter*, with a great deal more to the Diſgrace of this Lady and her Family. Hence we may ſee to what a Height of Rancour and Malice, *Bigotry* and a *blind Zeal* in religious Matters are capable of carrying a Man!

1533. vereigns have upon the Actions of their Subjects, when they are Parties concerned. As to the *Univerſities* of *Italy*, both Parties accuſed one another of having biaſſed them, the one by Money, and the other by Threats. As for the *Engliſh Clergy*, they had juſt received ſuch a Check that they had reaſon to dread giving the King a freſh Occaſion of Anger. But it cannot he inferred from thence, that they went contrary to their Sentiments, ſince it often happens that Truth is not contrary to our Intereſt? The ſame may be ſaid of *Cranmer*, who having already embraced *Luther*'s Doctrine, could not look upon *Julius*'s Diſpenſation as capable of rendering a Marriage valid, which in it ſelf was null and repugnant to the Law of God. The Truth is, he may have earneſtly laid hold on this Opportunity to give a mortal Wound to the *Papal* Authority, in order to promote the Buſineſs of the Reformation. But it cannot be affirmed that he acted againſt his Knowledge, in pronouncing the Sentence of Divorce. At leaſt, his whole Behaviour was diametrically oppoſite to ſuch indirect Practices.

Upon Cranmer.

By all that has been ſaid, one may eaſily ſee that in this Affair, which was properly a Caſe of Conſcience, very few of the Parties concerned acted from any other than political Views, without much regard to the Precepts of Religion. Nevertheleſs God who rules and directs all the Actions of Men, without their knowing very often themſelves to what they are tending, drew from the Proceedings of *Henry*, of *Clement*, and of *Charles*, the End he deſigned, that is, the Reformation of the *Church* of *England*, as will be ſeen in the Sequel. In ſhort, if any one deſires to examine thoroughly the Caſe of *Henry* the *Eighth*'s Divorce, he would do well to caſt off all Prejudice, and take Care not to ſuffer himſelf to be led away by the Authors who have writ on that Subject. But if a Man has a Mind to content himſelf with examining it with regard to the bare Hiſtory, he is to conſider only the political Views of the principal Actors.

The

The Sentence of Divorce being made publick, *Henry* took Care to acquaint *Catharine* with it, by the Lord *Mountjoy*, who tried in vain to perſwade her to ſubmit. She remained inflexible, affirming ſhe would be the King's Wife till the Pope had nulled the Marriage. This Anſwer being brought back to the King, he ordered her to be ſtiled only *Princeſs Dowager of* Wales. But ſhe ſtiffly refuſed to be ſerved by any that would not treat her as Queen, and the King thought not fit to remove ſuch as had a Mind to ſhow her that Reſpect *. Shortly after he gave notice of his Divorce, and new Marriage to all the Sovereigns, and particularly to the Emperour, who coldly told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador *1, he would conſider what he was to do in the Caſe.

1533. Catharine *remains inflexible.* Herbert. *She is to be ſtiled Princeſs Dowager.* Act. Pub. XIV. 482. Henry *notifies his Marriage to the Emperour.*

The News of the King's Marriage, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence having reached *Rome*, the Pope fell out into a violent Paſſion with *Henry*, eſpecially as a Copy of his Book againſt the *Papal* Authority had been ſeen already at *Rome* itſelf. The Cardinals of the Imperial Faction taking Advantage of this Occaſion, preſſed him earneſtly to give a definitive Sentence againſt the King, repreſenting to him, that if he paſſed by ſuch an Affront, there would be an End of the Authority of the *Holy See*. Theſe Remonſtrances took Effect. The Pope nulled the Archbiſhops's Sentence, and declared that the King himſelf was liable to *Excommunication*, unleſs by *September* next, he reſtored the Cauſe to its former State *.

The Pope nulls the Archbiſhop's Sentence. Herbert.

The Pope gives a Commina-tory Sentence againſt the King.

* The Lord *Mountjoy* was to mix Promiſes with Threatenings, particularly concerning her Daughters being put next the Queen's Iſſue in the Succeſſion. But all would not do. She ſaid ſhe would not damn her Soul, nor ſubmit to ſuch an Infamy: That ſhe was his Wife, and would never call herſelf by any other Name, ſince the Proceſs ſtill depended at *Rome*. *Mountjoy* having written a Relation of what had paſſed between him and her, ſhowed it her; but ſhe daſhed with a Pen all thoſe Places in which ſhe was called *Princeſs Dowager*. Burnet.

*1 Sir *Thomas Wyat*.

*r The more moderate Cardinals were for finding a Temper, that the Sentence ſhould not be definitive, but ſhould be given upon

1533. He contented himſelf this Time with only threatening him, becauſe he did yet deſpair of reclaiming him by the King of *France*'s Means, with whom he was going to confer at *Marſeilles*.

The Pope's Deſign in the Interview of Marſeilles.

The Pope's Aim in this Interview was, firſt to get the Nuptials celebrated between *Catharine* his Niece, and the Duke of *Orleans*. In the next Place, to deviſe with *Francis* ſome Expedient to make up Matters with the King of *England*, or if that could not be done, to draw off *Francis* from *Henry*'s Intereſt. *Francis* wiſhed with all his Heart that ſome Way might be found out to reconcile their Differences, becauſe he was in Hopes of joining in a League with both, to the End he might the more eaſily recover the Dutchy of *Milan*. *Henry* had uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to diſſwade him from this Interview, being apprehenſive it would produce between *Francis* and *Clement* an Union which could not but turn to his Prejudice. He had all along depended upon it, that *Francis* would go Hand in Hand with him to frighten the Pope, and that their Menaces would induce him in the End to give him the Satisfaction he required. But perceiving nothing could be done, he had made his Marriage publick. From that Time he was fully bent to make the Breach with *Rome* wider, unleſs the Pope and King of *France* ſhould find during their Interview, ſome Expedient to his liking, which he was very willing to ſtay for. Mean while, he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* upon an Embaſſy to *Francis*, with Orders to accompany him to *Marſeilles*, and ſee whether there was yet any Proſpect of Agreement.

Henry's *Deſign.*

He ſends the Duke of Norfolk *to* Marſeilles.

The Duke of *Norfolk* coming to the *French* Court the 1ſt of *July*, waited upon the King who was then on his Journey to *Marſeilles*, intending however to make ſome ſtay in *Languedoc*, before he went to the Congreſs. He accompanied him ſome Time, but hearing

on what had been attempted in *England* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (which in the ſtile of the *Canon-Law*, was called the *Attentates*,) which was done accordingly. And the Sentence was affixed ſoon after at *Dunkirk*. Burnet.

hearing in the Beginning of *Auguſt* what was done at *Rome* againſt the King his Maſter, he would have gone back, imagining his Preſence would be to no Purpoſe at *Marſeilles*. However at the King of *France*'s Inſtance, he contented himſelf with poſting away the Lord *Rochfort* for freſh Inſtructions from the King, who recalled him immediately. Nevertheleſs *Francis* knew how to manage *Henry* ſo well, that he perſwaded him to ſend ſome Perſon to *Marſeilles*, to be a Witneſs of what ſhould paſs at the Interview. *Henry* made choice for that Purpoſe of *Stephen Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian*, together with *Edmund Bonner*, a very proper Perſon to execute the Orders he gave him. 1533.

He recalls him.

Gardiner, Brian *and* Bonner *are ſent to* Marſeilles.

The Pope and *Francis* met at *Marſeilles* the Beginning of *October*, and within a few Days the Duke of *Orleans* conſummated his Marriage with *Catharine de Medicis* *. This Affair being over, *Francis* ſollicited the Pope in behalf of the King of *England*, and prevailed with him at laſt to give *Henry* entire Satisfaction: But that to ſave the Honour of the *Holy See*, he would judge the Cauſe himſelf in a *Conſiſtory*, from which the Cardinals of the Emperour's Faction ſhould be excluded. Thus far all went very well. But *Bonner* to whom doubtleſs they did not think fit to diſcover this Secret, having demanded an Audience of the Pope, acquainted him with the King his Maſter's *Appeal* to the next *General Council*, from the Sentence given or to be given againſt him. The Pope told him, before he returned an Anſwer, he would adviſe with the Cardinals then with him. Some Days after, having ſent for *Bonner*, he let him know that according to the Opinion of the Cardinals, the *Appeal* was unlawful. *Bonner*, without ſhowing any concern at this Anſwer, acquainted him in the ſame manner with the like *Appeal* of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s from the Sentence which nulled his Judgment for the Divorce. This put the Pope in ſuch a Fury, that he

The Duke of Orleans's *Marriage.*

The Pope promiſes Francis *to content* Henry.

Bonner *acquaints the Pope with the King's* Appeal.

The Pope rejects it.

Bonner *notifies* Cranmer's Appeal.

The Pope threatens him.

* The Pope himſelf married the young Couple. *Herbert,* Burnet.

1533. talked of throwing *Bonner* into a Cauldron of melted Lead. *Guicciardini* says, that *Francis* was so offended with *Bonner*'s Insolence, that he offered the Pope to do all that lay in his Power to procure him Satisfaction for that Affront. But if this were true, it was only a mere Compliment.

The Bishop of Paris is sent to Henry with fresh Expedients

Clement departed from *Marseilles* the 12th of *November*, as much pleased with the King of *France* as he was disgusted with *Henry*. Nevertheless, *Francis* not despairing yet to make up Matters, sent to *England John de Bellay* Bishop of *Paris*, to propound new Expedients to the King. This Prelate, who had resided some time at the Court of *England* in Quality of Ambassador, knew so well how to manage *Henry*, that he got him at length to agree to an Expedient he proposed to him. So pleased with having obtained more than he durst have hoped, he very readily took upon him to go and carry the good News himself to the Pope, though it was then in the Depth of Winter. He found the Pope inclined to do what he could to end the Affair amicably, and drew from him a positive Promise, that the Cause should be judged at *Cambray* by such as the King of *England* should have no reason to except against. But *Clement* not trusting altogether to a verbal Promise, wanted to have it under the King's own Hand, that he approved of what had been concerted. Moreover, that all Delays and Evasions might be avoided, he fixed the Day for the Return of the Courier, who was to go to *England*.

Henry accepts them.

The Bishop goes to Rome.

The Pope desires the King's Approbation in writing.

He fixes the Day for an Answer.

This weighty Affair being thus upon the Point of being concluded, the Emperour's Agents were exceeding urgent with the Pope to revoke his Engagement: but he told them he had given his Word. However, they redoubled their Instances with so much Earnestness, that at length they got him to say, that in case *Henry*'s Answer came not by the time appointed, he should look upon himself as free from his Engagement. The Courier not returning on the Day appointed, the Imperialists pressed the Pope to give Sentence against *Henry*, representing to him that he

The Emperour's Agents press the Pope to retract.

was

was made a Jeſt of, and threatning him with the Emperour's Reſentment. In ſhort, they ſollicited him with that Eagerneſs, that although the Biſhop of *Paris* only deſired a Delay of ſix Days, he could not prevail. The Pope, frighted by the Menaces of the Imperialiſts, gave himſelf over ſo entirely to them, that what ſhould not have been done, according to the uſual Forms, in leſs than three *Conſiſtories*, was done in one. In a word, the Pope, without ſtaying for an Anſwer from *England*, publiſhed a Sentence, declaring *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catharine* good and lawful, and requiring the King to take his Wife again, with Denunciations of *Cenſures* in caſe of Diſobedience. Two Days after came the Courier with *Full Powers* for the Biſhop of *Paris*, juſt as the Pope had deſired. Several Cardinals moved the revoking what had been done; but the Emperour's Party lay ſo hard at him, that the Propoſal was rejected. Thus the Pope, who had amuſed the King for Six Years together by affected Delays, could not be perſuaded to grant him ſix Days, and by this Precipitation he was the Cauſe of the *Romiſh Church*'s Loſs of the Kingdom of *England*.

1533.

The Pope refuſes a Delay of ſix Days.

He publiſhes a Sentence againſt Henry.

The Courier returns juſt after.

The Pope refuſes to revoke the Sentence.

It muſt be confeſt after all, that it is very difficult to conceive what the King's View was in the Agreement he pretended to make with the Pope. Can it be ſuppoſed that he intended to quit the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, which he had lately aſſumed? But he appeared ſo jealous, during the Reſidue of his Days, of this ſame *Supremacy*, which kept the *Clergy* in awe, whereas before the *Clergy* depended more upon the Pope than upon him, that there is no likelihood he would ever think of parting with that Prerogative. And yet, how could the King's Supremacy ſubſiſt in caſe he agreed with the Pope? Or how could the Pope reſolve to content him with reſpect to his Divorce, without requiring him to reſign his Supremacy? Certainly it is impoſſible to reconcile theſe two Things, and therefore it is reaſonable to ſuſpect that the King acted not with Sincerity

Remark on the King's Conduct.

in

1533. in his pretended Agreement with the Pope, and that after having justified his Divorce by the Sentence he had a mind to obtain from him, he meant to drop him there, and withdraw himself from his Obedience. This Suspicion is confirmed by what passed in *England*, at the very time the King dispatched the Courier to *Rome*, with the Engagement the Pope had desired. I observed that the Bishop of *Paris* went post from *London* about the End of *December*, that upon his Arrival at *Rome* he sent a Courier to the King, to acquaint him with what he had obtained of the Pope, and that the King sent back the same Courier with his Approbation. Now what speed soever the Bishop and Courier could make, it is impossible that the Courier could come back to *Rome* before the middle of *January*. But at the very time the King dispatched the Courier, he held at *Westminster* a Parliament, wherein *Acts* were passed contrary to the Agreement he seemed to desire.

1534. *Parliament.* Herbert. *Act to take from the Clergy the Cognizance of Heresy.*

The Parliament meeting the 15th of *January* 1534, opened the Session with an *Act*, which repealed the *Statute* of *Henry* IV against *Hereticks*. This was not done with design to exempt them from the Penalties in that *Statute*, since it was enacted in this that they should be burned, but only to hinder the *Clergy* from being sole Judges in Causes of this Nature. That was the real Intent of the new Act, whereby for the future *Hereticks* were to be prosecuted and tried according to the Laws of the Land, without any regard to the *Canon Law* *.

By

* By the *Statute* of *Henry* IV, Bishops might upon Suspicion of *Heresy*, commit any Person to Prison, without *Presentment* or *Accusation*, contrary to what was practised in all other Cases. Therefore the *Statute* of *Henry* IV was repealed, but those of *Richard* II and *Henry* V were left still in force, with the following Regulation: That *Hereticks* should be proceeded against upon Presentments, by two Witnesses at least, and then committed, but brought to answer to their Indictments in open Court; and if found guilty, and would not abjure or were *Relapse*, to be adjudged to Death; the King's Writ *De Hæretico comburendo* being first had.

This

By another *Statute*, which the Parliament paſſed at the ſame time, it was enacted, Firſt, That all *Convocations* ſhould be called for the future by the King's *Writ*. Secondly, That the King ſhould name Thirty-two Perſons. Sixteen of Both *Houſes* of Parliament, and as many of the *Clergy*, to examine the *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* of the *Church*, with Power to abrogate or confirm ſuch as they thought fit. As it is certain the Parliament proceeded in this by the Directions of the Court, one may eaſily ſee that the King was not much inclined to be Friends with the Pope, though by the Engagement he did ſend, or had already ſent to *Rome*, he ſeemed reſolved to be ſo. 1534. *Another Statute, whereby the King is empowered to name 32 Commiſſioners to reform the Canons.*

Here is another Argument of the little Regard *Henry* had for the Pope, juſt at the time that he was going to obtain whatever he had required of him. Before the News came to *England* of the Sentence againſt the King, the Parliament paſſed an *Act* of *Attainder* againſt *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called *the holy Maid of Kent*, who pretending to be inſpired, foretold, that *if the King married* Ann Bullen *he ſhould not be a King a Month longer*. This *Nun* having been wrought upon and inſtructed by a certain *Curate*, counterfeited the *Propheteſs*, and mixed, with her Predictions, Invectives againſt the King's Proceedings, in the Affair of the Divorce, and Threats againſt his chief Counſellors. Several *Franciſcans* countenanced her pretended *Revelations*, ſo that ſhe was in great Credit with the People; nay, Archbiſhop *Warham*, Sir *Thomas More*, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, were led away with the reſt. But at length, the *Nun* and her Accomplices being apprehended by the King's Order, the Matter was ſo carefully examined, that the whole Contrivance was diſcovered, and the counter- *Act of Attainder againſt* Elizabeth Barton. Burnet. *An Account of her.* *She is adjudged to die.*

This *Act* is the 14th in the *Statute-Book*, 33d in the *Records*, 31ſt in the *Journal*. It may eaſily be imagined how acceptable this *Act* was to the whole Nation, ſince it was an effectual Limitation of the *Eccleſiaſtical Power*, in one of the moſt uneaſy Parts of it. And this Regulation of the arbitrary Proceedings of the *Spiritual Courts* was a particular Bleſſing to the Favourers of the *Reformation*. *Burnet*.

1534. counterfeit *Propheteſs* condemned to die, with thoſe that had corrupted her. However, as the Affair had made a great Noiſe, the King was pleaſed it ſhould be brought before the Parliament, that their Sentence might be rendered more authentick. *Sanders* would fain put off this *Nun* and her Accomplices for *Martyrs*, though their own Confeſſions ſufficiently juſtified their Condemnation *. If the King had really intended

* *Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent* in the Pariſh of *Aldington*, being troubled with a ſort of *Hyſterical* Fits, which diſtorted her Limbs ſo, that People began to think her inſpired of God, was perſuaded by *Richard Maſter* the Pariſh-Prieſt, who hoped to draw great Advantages from it, to pretend to Prophecy and ſupernatural Impulſe. Whereupon he taught her to counterfeit *Trances*, and to utter Speeches againſt the Wickedneſs of the Times, particularly againſt *Hereſy* and *Innovation*. At length ſhe gave out that on ſuch a Day ſhe ſhould be perfectly cured, if ſhe went in Pilgrimage to the Image of *the bleſſed Virgin*, in a Chapel within the Pariſh of *Aldington*, the Reputation whereof the crafty Prieſt had a mind to raiſe. On the Day appointed above 2000 People were gathered together to ſee the miraculous Cure. Being brought to the Chapel, ſhe fell into one of her Fits, and ſpoke many Words of great Piety, ſaying, That by the Inſpiration of God ſhe was called to be a Nun, and that Dr. *Bocking* (a Canon of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*, an aſſociate of the Prieſt's) was to be her *ghoſtly* Father. Preſently after ſhe ſeemed by the Interceſſion of *our Lady* to be perfectly recovered, and afterwards became a *Nun* in the Priory of St. *Sepulchre's* in *Canterbury*, where *Bocking* frequently viſited her. He with ſome others being apprehenſive the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* might be detrimental to the *Popiſh* Religion, perſuaded the *Nun* to menace the King with Death. The Friars that were in the Conſpiracy had agreed to publiſh theſe Revelations in their Sermons up and down the Kingdom. They had given notice of them to the Pope's Ambaſſadors, and brought the Maid to declare her Revelations to them. They had alſo ſent an account to Queen *Catharine*, for encouraging her to ſtand out and not ſubmit to the Laws. The King, who had deſpiſed the Thing long, ordered that in *November* the laſt Year, *the Maid* and her Complices ſhould be brought into the *Star-Chamber*, where, before many Lords, they all without Rack or Torture confeſſed the whole Cheat, and were adjudged to ſtand in *Paul's* all the Sermon-time, after which every one on the *Sunday* following read his Confeſſion openly before the People. Then they were carried to the *Tower*, where they lay till the Seſſion of Parliament. The Matter being brought before the *Houſe*, the *Nun*, *Richard Maſter*, Dr. *Bocking*, *Richard Dearing*, *Henry Gold* a *London* Miniſter, *Richard Risby*, were attainted of High-Treaſon, and executed at *Tyburn*.

The

ded to be reconciled to the Court of *Rome*, nothing could be more unſeaſonable than to paſs this *Act*, juſt when the Affair of the Divorce ſeemed to be upon the Point of being adjuſted to his Satisfaction. 1534.

The King and Parliament offended at the News of the Pope's Sentence.

Whilſt the Parliament was taken up with theſe Matters, *Henry* received News of the Sentence given and publiſhed againſt him at *Rome*, with all the Circumſtances, which argued the little Regard the Pope had for his Perſon and Dignity. Theſe haſty Proceedings convincing him that there was nothing more to be expected from *Rome*, he no longer delayed to put in practice his Reſolution to break off all Correſpondence with the Pope. The Parliament was no leſs offended than the King at the Pope's Behaviour. So, the whole *Legiſlative Power* being in the ſame Mind, reſolved utterly to aboliſh the *Papal* Authority in *England*. After what *Clement* had done, there was no middle Courſe to ſteer; it was neceſſary either to withſtand him vigorouſly, or prepare to undergo all the Severities and Indignities to which *England* was liable in the Reigns of *Henry* II and *John Lackland*. But the Times were altered. The *Engliſh* were no longer willing to cringe to the Pope ſo ſhamefully as their Anceſtors had been forced to do, neither was the King's Intereſt now different from that of his Subjects. Thus, every one being equally tired of the Pope's Yoke, it was

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Abel*, and four more, were judged guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and to forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during Pleaſure. The wicked Deſigns of this Impoſture did much alienate People from the Intereſt of *Rome*, and made the other *Acts* both paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the People. It was alſo generally believed, that what was now diſcovered was no new Practice, but that many of the *Viſions* and *Miracles* by which *religious Orders* had raiſed their Credit, were of the ſame Nature: and it made way for the deſtroying of all the *Monaſteries* in *England*. Biſhop *Fiſher* pleaded in his Excuſe, that all he did was only to try whether her Revelations were true. And for his concealing what ſhe had told him about the King, he thought it needleſs to ſay any thing, becauſe ſhe (as ſhe ſaid) had told it to the King herſelf. So he refuſed to make any Submiſſion; and yet it does not appear that the King proceeded againſt him upon this *Act*. See *Burnet*, *Stow*.

1534. was deemed more honourable to pull down at once that formidable Power under which the Kingdom had so long groaned, than to expect in vain that it would of its own accord be reduced within due Bounds. It may be easily guessed, that the Favourers of the *new* Religion were not sparing of their Pains to bring Matters to this pass. The Resolution that had been taken was quickly put in Execution. In a few Days an *Act* was passed containing sundry Articles, all tending to the same Point.

Act abolishing the Papal Authority.

The First confirmed the *Statute* for abolishing the *Annates*.

By the Second it was enacted, that for the time to come, the Pope shall have nothing to do in the nominating or presenting of Bishops, but that, when a Bishoprick shall become vacant, the King shall send to the *Chapter* a *Congé d'elire*, and in case the Election shall not be over within Twelve Days after the License, it shall belong to the King. That the Bishop *Elect* shall swear fealty to the King, and then be recommended by his Majesty to the Archbishop to be consecrated. That if the Bishop *Elect* or Archbishop refuse to obey the Contents of this *Act*, they shall be liable to the Penalty of *Præmunire*. Besides this, all Persons were expressly forbidden to apply to the Bishop of *Rome* for *Bulls*, *Palls*, and the like.

By the Third Article, were abolished *Peter-Pence*, all *Procurations*, *Delegations*, Expedition of *Bulls*, and *Dispensations* coming from the Court of *Rome*; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was appointed to grant all such Dispensations, *&c.* as should not be contrary to the Law of God, on Condition that Part of the Money thence arising should be paid into the King's *Exchequer* *. Moreover, all *Religious Houses*, exempt and not exempt, should be subject to the Archbishop's Visitation *1.

By

* All Dispensations formerly taxed at or above 4*l.* should be also confirmed under the *Great Seal*.

*1 All Monasteries, *&c.* heretofore exempt from the Archbishop's Visitation,

By the Fourth, it was enacted that the King's Marriage with *Catharine*, Widow of his Brother Prince *Arthur*, ſhould be held null and void, and that ſhe ſhould be reputed only *Princeſs Dowager of Wales*. On the contrary, the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* is declared valid, and the Succeſſion to the Crown ſettled upon their Iſſue. Moreover, it is ſaid that any Perſon of what Quality ſoever, who ſhall ſpeak or write againſt the King's Marriage, ſhall be adjudged a Traitor to the King and State, and that all the King's Subjects, without Diſtinction, ſhall be obliged to ſwear that they will obſerve and maintain the Contents of this *Act*. After this, follows a Liſt of the Marriages forbid by the Law of God, among which is that of a Man with his Brother's Widow; and it was enacted, that no ſuch Marriages ſhould be allowed for the future, and that ſuch as were then in being ſhould be diſſolved. 1534.

Thus was the *Papal* Authority aboliſhed in *England* by *Act* of Parliament. Indeed, there were few Biſhops and Abbots preſent when the *Act* paſſed*. However, there was but one ſingle Biſhop who refuſed to ſet his Name to it, becauſe they made a great Difference between ſubmitting to an *Act* paſſed by a lawful Authority, and giving their Vote for it. The generality of the People expreſſed great Joy to ſee themſelves freed from a Yoke which neither they nor their Forefathers could bear. None but the Monks exclaimed againſt it, who drew upon themſelves the King's Indignation, the Effects whereof fell heavy upon them afterwards. Thoſe who wiſhed for the Reformation were highly pleaſed to ſee the main Obſtacle removed, believing the reſt would quickly follow. *The People rejoice at it.*

Viſitation were ſtill to be ſo, and ſuch *Abbeys* whoſe Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, were now to be confirmed by the King. See the *Act* being 21 in the Statute Book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal.

* There were preſent only the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaffe* and *Carliſle*, with Twelve Abbots. *Burnet*.

1534. low. But this Reformation, which they waited for with so much Impatience, made not, in this Reign, that Progress, they imagined they had ground to expect.

Oath taken by the Subjects according to the Act. Act. Pub. XIV. 487, *&c.*

The Parliament breaking up the 30th of *March*, after that all the *Members* had sworn to observe what was enjoined in the *Act* above-mentioned, the King sent Commissioners throughout the Kingdom, to offer the same Oath to all his Subjects. *The Collection of the Publick Acts* contains the Oaths of several Abbots and Fryars of all *Orders* to this Effect: *That* they would be faithful to the King, the Queen, their Heirs and Successors: *That* they owned the King for *supreme Head* of the *Church of England: That* the Bishop of *Rome* has no more Jurisdiction than any other Bishop: *That* they renounced his Obedience: *That* they would preach sincerely Doctrines agreeable to *the Holy Scriptures: That* in their Prayers, they would pray first for the King as supreme Head of the *Church of England*, then for the Queen [and her Issue] and then for the Archbishop of *Canterbury* *. Some time after *Lee* Archbishop of *York* certified by a Writing on the 5th of *May*, that in the *Convocation* of his *Province* it was declared, that the Pope had no more Power in *England* than any other Bishop. Only *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More* late Chancellor, refused to sign the *Act* of Parliament, which, as has been seen, contained three main Articles, *viz.* the Succession of the Crown, the Nullity of the King's first.

Fisher and More refuse to take the Oath, and are sent to the Tower.

* *Gardiner* wrote to *Cromwel* the 6th of *May*, that the Lord *Audley* and others, with all the *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Wardens* and *Curates* within the *Shire* had taken the Oath. The Forms in which they did it are not known, for though they were enrolled, yet in Queen *Mary*'s Days *Bonner* and others were commissioned to examine the Records, and raze out all Things done either in Contempt of the *See* of *Rome*, or the Defamation of *Religious Houses*. However, two of the Subscriptions of *Religious Orders*, dated *May* 4. 1534, escaped their Diligence. One is by six Abbies, the other by the Prioress and Convent of the *Dominican Nuns* at *Deptford*. See *Burnet*'s Collection, N°. 50. Vol. I.

first Marriage with the Validity of his second, and the Abolishment of the *Papal* Authority. They offered to sign the first Article. But as for the other Two, they said, their Conscience would not suffer them to consent to them, whereupon they were committed to the the *Tower* *. 1533.

Whilst People were taking these Oaths throughout the Kingdom, the King sent the Archbishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Durham* to tell *Catharine*, that she must forbear assuming the Quality of Queen, and to lay before her the Reasons that moved the Parliament to deprive her of that Title. But she replied, that

Henry *acquaints* Catharine *with the Act of Parliament.*

* At a Meeting of the Privy-Council at *Lambeth*, many were cited to take the Oath. *More* was first called, and the Oath being tendered him, he replied, after having considered the Act, he would neither blame those that made it, nor those that swore the Oath, but for his Part, though he was willing to swear to the *Succession*, if he might be suffered to draw up the Oath himself, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conscience so moved him, that he could not, without hazarding his Soul, take it. Upon which, being desired to withdraw, others were called upon, and did all take the Oath except *Fisher*, who answered in almost the same Manner as *More* had done. Then *More* was again brought in, and they shewed him how many had taken it; he said, He judged no Man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Being asked the Reason, he replied, He feared it might provoke the King more against him if he should offer Reasons which would be called disputing against Law: But however, if the King would command him to do it, he would put them in Writing. *Cranmer* urged him with this Argument, that since he blamed not others for taking it, it seemed he was not persuaded it was a Sin, but was doubtful in the Matter: But he did know certainly he ought to obey the King and the Law; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithstanding his Doubtings. He answered, Though he had examined the Matter very carefully, yet his Conscience leaned positively to the other Side, and offered to purge himself by Oath that it was purely out of Conscience that he refused it. The Abbot of *Westminster* pressed him (with an Argument too often used in the like Cases) that he might see his Conscience was erroneous, since the great Council of the Realm was of another mind. *Cranmer* in a Letter to *Cromwell*, earnestly pressed to accept the Oath as *More* and *Fisher* offered; for if they once swore to the Succession, it would quiet the Kingdom, for all others would acquiesce and submit to the Judgments of so great Men. But this Sage Advice was not followed. *Burnet*, Vol. I. 156.

1534. *The Queen's Anſwer.*

ſhe looked upon her Marriage with the King as good and lawful, and ſhould hold it as ſuch to her dying Day: That ſhe had never conſummated her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*; and that they who affirmed ſhe had, ſpoke not the Truth: That ſhe was not bound to ſtand to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence, ſince the Pope had nulled it, and decreed the contrary: That the King's Marriage with *Ann* was not valid, as being made during the Appeal: That ſhe was not obliged to ſubmit to the *Acts* of the Parliament, not being the King's Subject, but his Wife: That beſides theſe *Acts* were made by the King's Subjects, upon an Affair wherein he was a Party concerned.

Negotiation between Francis *and* Henry *fruitleſs.* Herbert.

Though *Henry* would have been very glad *Catharine* would have ſubmitted to what the Parliament had enacted, it was not her Obſtinacy that gave him the moſt Uneaſineſs. The Emperour having taken upon him to put the Pope's Sentence in Execution, *Henry* muſt needs expect to be attacked by that potent Enemy. In order therefore to prevent him, or to put himſelf in a Poſture of Defence, he wanted to make a League with the King of *France* by a new Treaty, which ſhould render their Union more effectual for their common Defence. *Francis* ſeemed at firſt very ready to comply. But he intended that all the Terms ſhould be to his Advantage, and to make *Henry* ſubſervient to his Deſigns elſewhere. He had ſtill an Eye upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, as upon what belonged to him of Right, and had been unjuſtly taken from him; and he was reſolved to recover it, though he had expreſsly renounced it by the Treaty of *Cambray*. To this End he had ſacrificed the Honour of his *Houſe*, in marrying his ſecond Son with a Baſtard-Branch of the Family of the *Medicis*, becauſe he did not think he could do without the Pope. But on the other Hand, he was afraid of loſing the Fruits of that Alliance, by uniting too cloſely with the King of *England*, whom the Pope could no longer conſider but as an open Enemy. In this Perplexity he endeavoured to perſuade *Henry* to act only privately and underhand, by

by conveying large Sums to the *German Proteſtants*, to keep up the Diſſention between them and the Emperour, and to embroil him in Troubles which ſhould hinder him from thinking of *Italy*. *Henry* did not abſolutely reject the Propoſal. He was very willing to aſſiſt the *Proteſtants* with a good Sum of Money. But deſigned withal, that *Francis* ſhould attack *Navarre* with a ſtrong Army, whilſt on his Part he ſhould carry War into *Flanders*. But *Francis* could not think of ſiding ſo openly with *England*, for fear of offending the Pope. Beſides, he turned all his Thoughts to the *Milaneſe*, where an Accident that happened about the End of the laſt Year gave him a handle to carry his Arms. As this Accident was the Occaſion or Pretence of a new War between the Emperour and the King of *France*, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention it. 1534.

Franciſco Sforza was no ſooner reſtored to *Milan*, upon pretty hard Terms, but he wanted to get clear of the Emperour's Yoke, and the Obligation to pay him the Sum he was bound for. *Francis* having ſome knowledge how *Sforza* ſtood affected, believed he ought to keep him in that mind, hoping to make it one Day turn to his Benefit. But as *Sforza* was too fearful of raiſing the Emperour's Suſpicion, and conſequently as the Buſineſs was to be managed very privately, *Francis* found means to keep at *Milan* an Envoy, who could not be ſuſpected. He pitched upon for that purpoſe a *Milaneſe* Gentleman, one *Merveilles*, who having been formerly baniſhed from *Milan* by *Ludovico* the *Black*, had lived in *France* ever ſince his Baniſhment. The Troubles of the *Milaneſe* being entirely ended by the Peace of *Cambray*, *Merveilles* returned home with a Letter of Credence for the Duke; to which the Duke ſent an Anſwer, receiving the Gentleman as Envoy of *France*, though in publick he treated him not as ſuch. However ſecret *Merveilles*'s Negotiation might be, the Emperour had ſome Intelligence of it, and made great Complaints of it to the Duke, who to remove all Suſpicion, reſolved

The Duke of Milan *beheads* Merveille *the King of* France's *Envoy.* Bellay. Mezerai.

1534. to ſacrifice the Envoy. Accordingly, he ſuborned one to pick a Quarrel with *Merveilles*, which ended in the Murder of the Party employed, who was killed by *Merveilles*'s Servants, without however their Maſter's being preſent. Whereupon *Merveilles* was committed to Priſon, and beheaded two Days after, nobody being ſuffered to ſpeak with him. *Francis* hearing of the Matter, wrote a menacing Letter to the Duke, and acquainted all his Allies with what had happened. The Duke would have excuſed himſelf by denying that *Merveilles* was at *Milan* on the Foot of Envoy. What he ſaid was true with reſpect to the Publick. But he could not diſown his own Letter to the King, in anſwer to the Letter of Credence. When the *French* Ambaſſador informed the Emperour of the Outrage committed at *Milan* upon *Merveilles*, he coldly replied, he could not conceive how the King of *France* could have any thing to do with the Death of a Subject of the Duke of *Milan*'s, whom his Sovereign had puniſhed according to his Deſerts. This Anſwer made the King believe that the Emperour had a Hand in *Marveille*'s Death, which afforded freſh Matter of Diſguſt, and inflamed his Deſire of Revenge. But on the other Side, he was not ſorry that they refuſed to give him the Satisfaction he demanded, becauſe he was willing to take Occaſion from thence, to enter the *Milaneſe* Sword in Hand. To that purpoſe he ordered a Levy of *Landſquenets* in *Germany*, and demanded Liberty to paſs of the Duke of *Savoy*, to go and chaſtiſe the Duke of *Milan*. But the Duke fearing to diſpleaſe the Emperour, would not give him leave. For which Reaſon *Francis*, who could not enter the *Milaneſe* but by paſſing through the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dominions, reſolved to make War upon him, uſing for Pretence certain Claims he had in Right of *Louiſa* his Mother to the Inheritance of the late Duke of *Savoy*. Whilſt he was making Preparations for this War, he ſpent the whole Year in divers Negotiations, tending to create the Emperour Troubles, that he might diſable him from aiding the Duke of *Savoy*.

Francis takes occaſion to carry War into the Milaneſe. *He demands a Paſſage of the Duke of* Savoy, *and upon his Refuſal declares War againſt him.*

Whilſt

Whilſt *Francis* was thus taken up, the Affairs of *Italy* were ſomething changed by the Death of *Clement* VII, who was carried off by a Fit of Sickneſs on the 26th of *September*. The 12th of *October* following, Cardinal *Farneſe* was choſen Pope, and took the Name of *Paul* III. 1534. Clement VII's Death. Paul III ſucceeds Guicciard.

There were likewiſe this Year in *Germany* ſome Alterations, which put the Affairs of the Proteſtants in a good Situation enough. The *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* defeated King *Ferdinand*'s Army, commanded by the Count *Palatine*, and reſtored the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to his Dominions. *Ferdinand*, not being able any longer to make head againſt the *Landgrave*, was forced to agree to the Duke's Reſtoration: But withal he obtained that both the Duke and the *Landgrave* ſhould acknowledge him for *King of the Romans*. Shortly after, the Elector of *Saxony* acknowledged him too, having firſt got a Promiſe from him that he would not ſuffer any Perſon to be moleſted in the Empire on the Score of Religion. *Affairs of* Germany. Sleiden.

Clement the Seventh's Death cauſed no Alteration in the Meaſures the Court of *England* had taken to make off entirely the Pope's Yoke. Matters had been carried too far, ever to be able to go back. Beſides, the King having not much to fear from abroad, by reaſon of the Troubles the Emperour was going in all likelihood to be involved in; and his Subjects being inclined to ſtand by him, it would have been imprudent to neglect ſo fair an Opportunity, and leave his Work unfiniſhed. Wherefore the Parliament meeting the 23d of *November*, paſſed ſeveral materials *Acts*, of which it will ſuffice to relate the Subſtance, in order to ſhow that they all tended to the ſame Point, that is, to break all the Bonds which had ſerved to hold the *Engliſh* in Subjection to the Popes. Henry *is bent to ſtand to the Rupture with the Pope.* Herbert. *Divers Acts paſſed upon that Score.*

The Firſt *Act* confirmed the King's Title of *ſupreme Head of the Church of England*, which the *Clergy* had already given him. Though *Henry* had very readily accepted of this Title at the Hands of the *Clergy*, nay, had I. *Act confirms the King's Title of Head of the Church.*

1534. had not left them the Liberty to refuse it him, he seemed however to doubt whether he should receive it when offered by the Parliament. He was pleased first to advise with his Council, and consult some of the Bishops, either out of Scruple, or in order to shew he had not extorted it. They whom he consulted having satisfied him that the Authority the Bishop of *Rome* arrogated to himself over the whole *Church* had nò Foundation in *Scripture*, he banished all his Scruples, if it be true that he had any, and from thence forward took all Occasions to make the best of the Prerogatives which flowed from this new Title.

II. *Treason to speak evil of the King.* By a Second *Act*, it was declared Treason to speak, write, or imagine any Thing against the King or Queen *.

III. *Concerning Sanctuaries.* The Third debarred Persons accused of Treason of the Benefit of Sanctuary.

IV. *Form of Oath.* By a Fourth, the Parliament prescribed a Form of Oath about the Succession, to be taken by all the King's Subjects, and annulled all former Oaths upon that Head.

V. *Grants the First Fruits and Tenths to the King.* The Fifth was very grievous to the *Clergy*, in that it gave the King the *Annates* and *First-Fruits* of the Benefices; whereas by the *Act* already passed the *Ecclesiasticks* were in hopes of being always freed from that Burden. Moreover, by the same *Act* the yearly Revenue of the Tenth Part of all *Livings* was granted to the King.

VI. *Suffragan Bishops.* By a Sixth *Statute*, Provision was made for Twenty-five *Suffragan Bishops*, each of whom was to depend on his *Diocesan*, who was to present Two to the King for him to chuse one. Thus was revived in the Church of *England* the Use of *Chorepiscopi*, which was introduced into the Primitive *Church*, but had been put down several Ages since *1.

Lastly

* Or to call the King *Heretick*, *Schismatick*, *Tyrant*, *Infidel*, *Usurper*, which opprobrious Names some insolent Fryars were very liberal of.

*1 The Towns appointed for *Suffragan-Sees* were, *Thetford*, *Ipswich*

Laſtly, the Parliament condemned *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More* to perpetual Impriſonment, and confiſcated all their Eſtates, for refuſing to take the Oath enjoined by the *Act* of the former Seſſion. This Sentence was looked upon by ſome as very unjuſt, whilſt others admired in the ſame the Effects of God's Juſtice againſt Perſons that had been ſuch violent Perſecutors of the *Lutherans*.

1534. Fiſher *and* More *are condemned by the Parliament.*

Before the Parliament broke up, the King granted a General Pardon, from which however *Fiſher* and *More* were excluded.

General Pardon.

Shortly after, the King iſſued out a *Proclamation*, forbidding to give to the Biſhop of *Rome* the Name of *Pope*, and commanding that Name to be razed out of all Books, that the Remembrance of it might be loſt if poſſible. Then the Biſhops voluntarily ſwore to renounce expreſsly all Obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome*. *Gardiner* now Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was not the laſt to take this Oath, though in his Soul he abhorred it as very unjuſt. But a blind Condeſcenſion for the King in this Matter, was then the only Means to preſerve his Favour. Beſides, *Gardiner* by ſo doing, put himſelf in Condition to vex and diſturb, upon other Points, the *Reformers*, who daily gained ground.

Proclamation againſt the Name of Pope. *The Biſhops ſwear againſt the Pope.* Gardiner's *Diſſimulation.*

It was not only in *Germany* that the Reformation had made ſome Progreſs, but alſo in many other Places. In *England* Cardinal *Wolſey* had countenanced it in ſome Meaſure, in that, during his Miniſtry, no Perſon was proſecuted for *Hereſy*, though the *Clergy* wanted not Occaſions to exerciſe their uſual Severities,

Progreſs of the Reformation in England.

Ipſwich, Colcheſter, Dover, Guilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftſbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leiceſter, Glouceſter, Shrewſbury, Briſtol, Penreth, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Pereth, and *Berwick*, St. *Germans*, and the Iſle of *Wight*. They were to exerciſe ſuch Juriſdiction as the Biſhop of the *Dioceſe* ſhould give to them; but their Authority was to laſt no longer than the Biſhop continued his Commiſſion to them. In *Burnet*'s Collection, N. 51. Vol. I. the Reader may ſee a *Writ* for making a *Suffragan* Biſhop.

1534. *Perſecutions raiſed by* More.

had they been left to take their own Courſe. After *Wolſey*'s Diſgrace, Sir *Thomas More* being made *Chancellor*, perſuaded the King, that what did him the greateſt Diskindneſs at the Court of *Rome*, was the Report of his being a Favourer of the Broachers of new Opinions; and that, in order to remove this falſe Imputation, the moſt infallible Way was to ſhow a Zeal for the *Church*. *Henry* cloſing with this Advice, ordered the Laws againſt *Hereticks* to be rigorouſly put in Execution, and very ſtrictly prohibited the importing any of their Books into the Kingdom. But this Prohibition was not capable of hindering ſeveral of *Luther*'s Treatiſes from being brought into *England*, together with *Tindal*'s Tranſlation of the *New Teſtament*, who had withdrawn to *Flanders*. The Biſhop of *London* having notice of it, cauſed ſome Copies to be ſeized, and publickly burnt by the Hangman *. But this was ſo far from injuring the Reformation, that it rather turned to its Advantage. Many People, full of Indignation at this impious Act, inferred from thence that the *Scriptures* were contrary to the Religion generally profeſſed, ſince the *Clergy* took ſuch care to hinder the *Bible* from being read, and that alone raiſed their Deſire to read it. On the other Hand,

Bible burnt at London.

* *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London* being at *Antwerp*, (where *Tindal* was) in 1529, as he returned from his Embaſſy at the Treaty of *Cambray*, ſent for one *Packington* an *Engliſh* Merchant, and deſired him to ſee how many of *Tindal*'s *New Teſtaments* he might have for Money. *Packington* acquaints *Tindal* with what the Biſhop propoſed. *Tindal* was very glad of it, for he was then deſigning a new and more correct Edition; but being poor, and the former Impreſſion not being ſold off, he could not go about it. So giving *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his Hands, the Biſhop paid for them, and brought them over and burnt them in *Cheapſide*. Next Year, when the 2d Edition was finiſhed, many more were brought over, and Chancellor *More* enquiring of one *Conſtantine*, who it was that encouraged and ſupported them at *Antwerp*, was told, that the greateſt Encouragement they had was from the Biſhop of *London*, who had bought up half the old Impreſſion. This made all that heard it laugh heartily. *William Tindal* born on the Borders of *Wales*, was afterwards burnt in 1536 at *Filford*, 18 Miles from *Antwerp*, crying out at the Stake, *Lord open the King of* England's *Eyes*. Burnet, Fox.

Hand, the Diſlike the *Engliſh* had taken to the Pope increaſed mightily, by the reading of the *Lutheran* Writings. 1534.

Perſecution in England.

As the Reformation gained Ground, the Zeal of its Enemies was kindled more and more againſt ſuch as embraced it. Whilſt *More* was Chancellor, he ſpared no Pains to try to deſtroy them utterly. Many ſuffered Martyrdom with a wonderful Conſtancy, which helped very much to confirm their Brethren. At length, it being the King's Intereſt to keep fair with the *German* Proteſtants, on account of the Need he might have of them afterwards, he put a ſtop to *More*'s Perſecution. On the other Hand, *Ann Bullen* very much mollified the King in that reſpect. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* contributed to it likewiſe to the utmoſt of his Power, and *Thomas Cromwell*, who was now in great Eſteem with the King, backed their Endeavours as far as in him lay. But they had a ſtrong Party againſt them, conſiſting of the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, almoſt all the *Churchmen* who had any Acceſs to the Court, and thoſe who, when they preached before the King, filled their Sermons with Invectives againſt the Reformation. All theſe had gained *Henry*'s Confidence by their Compliance in the Buſineſs of the *Divorce* and *Supremacy*, though in the laſt Point they acted contrary to the Sentiments of their Hearts. By this Condeſcenſion they were in a Capacity to oppoſe effectually *the Reformers* in all the Articles which concerned not the Pope, and eſpecially in that of *the real Preſence*, which the King did believe unqueſtionable, and looked upon it to be ſo all his Life. In ſpite of all this, the Heads of the *Reformed* deſpaired not of drawing him by degrees to a farther Reformation, becauſe of the Connection the Articles of Religion have one with another. Beſides, their Party grew ſtronger every Day, being joined by ſuch as read the *Holy Scriptures*, and the Religious Books which were handed about, notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition. Nothing ſhows more plainly how numerous and ſtrong

put a ſtop to.

Cranmer and Cromwell ſupport the Reformation.

Strong Party againſt them.

1534. ſtrong that Party was, than the Readineſs wherewith the Parliament paſſed ſuch *Acts* as tended to leſſen the *Clergy*'s Power, and ſhake off the *Papal* Yoke.

Francis I. ſeems to favour the Reformation.

The Reformation made likewiſe ſome Progreſs in *France*; the King himſelf expreſſed an Inclination for the Doctrine of the *Proteſtants*, which *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre* his Siſter countenanced in private. But the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Lorrain*, who were in great Credit with her, diſſuaded her from it ſo earneſtly, that they prevailed with her at laſt, nay, made her a violent Perſecutor.

Peace between England *and* Scotland.

Act. Pub. XIV. 524.

Before I cloſe what relates to the Events of the Year 1534, I muſt not forget to mention here, that a Truce for one Year concluded laſt Year between *England* and *Scotland* was turned into a Peace, the 11th of *May* this Year. By the Treaty the Peace was to laſt till the Death of one of the two Kings, and *Henry* might, without breaking it, keep *Dowglaſs* in *England*.

1535 *Embaſſy of* France *to ſift* Henry.

In the Beginning of the Year 1535 *Francis* I. ſent an Embaſſy to *Henry*, under colour of diſcharging the Duty of a good Friend and Ally, but in reality to try to over-reach him, by feigning to acquaint him with his Secrets, and to ask his Advice. The Occaſion of the Embaſſy was this: The Emperour having reſolved to carry his Arms into *Africa*, had a mind to amuſe *Francis*, leaſt, in his Abſence, he ſhould attack the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſo open a way to the Dutchy of *Milan*, as he ſeemed to intend. To that purpoſe he had diſpatched an Ambaſſador to him, with Orders to propoſe a Match between his Third Daughter and *Philip* Prince of *Spain*; and another between the *Dauphin*, and *Mary* Daughter to *Henry* and *Catharine* of *Arragon*. Moreover, he had made him an Offer of a Penſion of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns for the Duke of *Orleans*, payable out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Dutchy itſelf, after the Death of *Franciſco Sforza*, who had no Heirs. It was evident enough, that theſe Overtures were deſigned only to amuſe *Francis*, who conſidered them himſelf upon no other

Foot.

Foot. Nevertheleſs, he imagined they would ſerve to help him to ſome Advantage from *Henry*, if he let him ſee that he was courted by the Emperour. To that End it was that he ſent to *England* Admiral *Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, on pretenſe to adviſe with the King about theſe Offers. But his chief Aim was to make him uneaſy, and induce him to offer ſome advantagious Propoſals. It appeared in the Sequel he would have drawn him to Things which were very far from his Thoughts. The Admiral having diſcharged his Commiſſion, *Henry* anſwered, that he much wondered the Emperour ſhould pretend to make a Match for his Daughter, over whom he neither had nor ever ſhould have any Right or Power: That it was manifeſt, he only ſought to break the Union between *France* and *England*, and therefore he hoped the King of *France* would not be ſo much an Enemy to himſelf, as to give Ear to ſuch Overtures. Shortly after, he ſent Orders to his Ambaſſador at *Paris*, to tell *Francis* that he would give *Elizabeth* his Daughter and Heir to the Duke of *Angoulême* his Third Son, upon the following Conditions: That *Francis* himſelf, his Three Sons, the Princes of the Blood, the principal Nobility of *France*, the Parliaments and Univerſities ſhould ſolemnly bind themſelves to revoke the Sentence given againſt him by the Biſhop of *Rome*: That the Duke of *Angoulême* ſhould be ſent to *England* to be brought up there: That in caſe by his Marriage he ſhould come to the Crown of *England*, the Dutchy of *Angoulême* ſhould be independent of the Crown of *France*. Theſe Conditions were afterwards mollified, and *Francis* I. ſeemed to agree to them. But he required that *Henry* ſhould aſſiſt him in the War of *Savoy*, and forgive him the perpetual Annuity of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns, which he was bound to pay by a Treaty. *Henry* finding by this that *Francis* acted not fairly with him, told the Admiral, that inſtead of forgiving the Penſion, he expected that the King his Maſter ſhould pay the Arrears, and clear by ſuch a Time all the other Sums he owed him. This Anſwer

1535.

Henry's *Anſwer to* Francis's *Propoſal.*

Henry's *Offer.*

Francis's *Demand.*

Henry *demands what was due to him.*

1535. Anſwer put an End to the Negotiation, which probably was ſet on Foot purely to ſift *Henry* concerning the Penſion.

Francis's *Projects.*

Francis's grand Deſign was to get Poſſeſſion again of the Dutchy of *Milan*, under pretenſe of revenging the Affront *Sforza* had put upon him. But, in order to compaſs his Ends, it was neceſſary to raiſe the Emperour Troubles, which ſhould hinder him from aſſiſting that Dutchy. There were four ſeveral Quarters from whence he hoped to embroil the Emperour. Firſt, from the Pope and the Princes of *Italy*. Secondly, in *Germany*, by means of the League of *Smalcald*. Thirdly, by fomenting Diſcord between the King of *England* and the Emperour. Laſtly, by drawing the *Turks* into *Germany*. With all theſe Views it was that he had married his Son the Duke of *Orleans* to *Catharine de Medicis:* That he had lodged a Hundred Thouſand Crowns in the Hands of the Duke of *Bavaria*, to be ready upon Occaſion: That he had perſuaded *Henry* to put an end to the Affair of the Divorce in the Manner we have ſeen: That he had ſecret Agents at *Conſtantinople*, to treat about an Alliance with *Soliman* Emperour of the *Turks*. But moſt of theſe Expedients, which he had deemed infallible, had proved fruitleſs. The firſt had miſcarried by the Death of *Clement* VII, and by the Election of a new Pope, whom it was no eaſy Matter to gain to his Intereſt. The King of the *Romans* had fruſtrated the ſecond, by making up Matters with the Elector of *Saxony*, the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. As for the Third, he could expect no great Matters from thence, becauſe the King of *England*'s Intention was not to make War upon the Emperour, but only to ſtand upon the Defenſive. Conſequently it was in the Emperour's Power to keep him quiet, by not attacking him firſt. The *Turks* then were the only Expedient which could be ſubſervient to his Deſigns. But, in order to rely upon them, he muſt begin a War in *Italy*, otherwiſe it was not likely *Soliman* would be perſuaded to ſtir in *Hungary*.

Upon

Upon this Account it was that he kept up at *Conſtantinople* a Negotiation which was diſcovered by a Letter intercepted by the Duke of *Urbino*, who ſent it immediately to the Emperour. However, *Francis* ſtill perſiſted in his Reſolution of invading the Duke of *Savoy*, in order to open a way to the *Milaneſe*. He reckoned that the Peace of *Germany* could not hold long; that the Emperour and *Henry* would never be able to live in a good Underſtanding; and that, when once the War ſhould commence, the Pope, the Potentates of *Italy*, the King of *England*, would readily lend a helping Hand to reduce the Power of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria* within due Bounds. Above all, he depended upon the Princes of the League of *Smalcald*, fancying they would embrace this Opportunity to get rid of the Fears the growing Power of that *Houſe* inſpired them with. To this End he carried on under-hand-dealings with them, and pretended to have favourable Notions of their Religion, ſo far as he was juſt upon the Point of inviting *Melancton* into *France*, to confer with him. But withal, he plainly ſhowed that he acted only from political Views, ſince he cauſed ſuch to be burnt in *France* as ſeparated from the *Church* of *Rome*. Mean while, as ſome Diſputes aroſe between *Luther* and *Calvin* about Religion, and as thoſe that were burnt in *France* were *Calviniſts*, the rigid *Lutherans* not being able to bring themſelves to look upon them as their Brethren, imagined *Francis* might treat them with the utmoſt Severity, without forfeiting the favourable Opinion he had of the *Lutheran* Religion. *Francis* reſolving to exert his utmoſt to re-conquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, attacked the Duke of *Savoy*, and in the firſt Campaign took from him *Savoy* and *la Breſſe*. 1535.

Deſigns of Charles V.

Whilſt *Francis* were labouring to bring about his Deſigns, *Charles* V was forming vaſt Projects, which tended to no leſs than to eſtabliſh his Dominion over all *Europe*. Indeed *France* and *England* being cloſely united together, could have ſet up a ſtrong Fence againſt his Ambition. But he did not deſpair of ſetting

1535. ting them at Variance in the End. That was his chief Aim, whilſt on one Hand he ſtirred up the *Iriſh* to a Rebellion, and the King of *Scotland* to a Rupture with *England*. But whilſt he was endeavouring to embroil his Enemies, in hopes of finding his account in it, he was not himſelf free from Uneaſineſs on the Score of *Soliman*, who threatned *Germany* under colour of ſupporting the Intereſts of *John de Zapol*, whom he had cauſed to be crowned King of *Hungary*. On the other Hand, he ſaw with extreme Concern the great Progreſs of *Haradin Barberoſſa*, the famous Corſair, who had made himſelf King of *Tunis* after having driven out *Muley Haſſem*. Such a Neighbour as this could not but make him uneaſy, becauſe, to hinder him from ravaging the Coaſts of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, there would have been a Neceſſity to keep up a ſtanding Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, which he could not do without being at a vaſt Expence, which would have baffled all his other Projects. So looking upon the War he had reſolved to wage with *Haradin* as the moſt urgent Affair, he made this Summer an Expedition into *Africa*, where he took the Fort of *la Goulette*, after which he became Maſter of *Tunis*, and reſtored *Muley Haſſem*.

The Emperour's Expedition to Africa. *Hiſt. of* Sp.

Henry's *Diſpoſition as to Religion.*

Henry was very glad to ſee the Emperour going to be engaged in Wars which were like to keep him long employed. This made him reſolve to lay hold on the preſent Juncture, to compleat the Regulation of his Domeſtick Affairs, which were yet in a very doubtful State. He had aboliſhed the *Papal* Authority, and got himſelf declared ſupreme Head of the Church of *England* by *Acts* of Parliament. But though by the Conſtitution of the Government theſe *Acts* ſeemed to be out of the Reach of all Contradiction, it was however but too true, that this did not ſuffice. As Religion was the Buſineſs in Hand, and as Conſcience cannot be compelled, the *Statutes* themſelves had need of being ſupported by Force, to the End an outward Obedience at leaſt might be paid them. It is certain, that the Uniformity which appeared in the Determinations

tions of the *Parliament* and *Clergy*, was in many the Effect of Fear rather than of inward Perſuaſion. Nay ſome, as *Fiſher* and *More*, were ſo hardy as openly to blame theſe Ordinances, and in ſpite of the Severity exerciſed upon them, they perſiſted ſtill in the ſame Opinion. 'Tis true, theſe Inſtances of Rigour to Perſons of ſuch Diſtinction, made People ſilent; but they were not capable of convincing them of the Reaſonableneſs of the *Statutes*. Thus, although the King found no publick Oppoſition, it was eaſy for him to ſee that an Obedience proceeding from Fear could laſt no longer than Compulſion ſubſiſted. On the other Side, he was vexed to ſee the *Proteſtants* exulting, in hopes, that after having pulled down the *Papal* Authority, he was going to renounce all the Errors they combated, though nothing was farther from his Thoughts. Mean while, it was every where given out, that he was upon the Point of forſaking the antient Religion; ſome aſſerting it out of Malice, on purpoſe to cry him down; and others, becauſe they wiſhed it. To clear himſelf therefore of theſe Imputations, at the very Time that he refuſed to recognize the Pope's Authority, he ordered thoſe who were called *Sacramentarians* to be burnt. By this Management, he rendered himſelf a Foe to the *Catholicks* and *Proteſtants*. As for the *Proteſtants*, he bore their Ill-will without much Concern: Beſides, that he feared them not, he approved of none of their Tenets but what oppoſed the *Papal* Authority, and related to the *Fryars*, againſt whom he was extremely incenſed, becauſe they laboured with all their Might to alienate the Affections of his People from him. It is true indeed, he valued and loved *Cranmer* and *Cromwell*, and ſome others, who countenanced the Reformation: but he did not look upon them as *Proteſtants*. He took them for Men of ſolid Virtue and Piety, who, by preſerving the eſſential Doctrines of Religion, were deſirous of reforming the Abuſes crept into the *Church*. But, as among theſe Abuſes he himſelf acknowledged none but what concerned the *Pope* and the

1535.

1535. the *Fryars*, he imagined that theſe *Reformers* kept within the ſame Bounds with himſelf. They knowing him perfectly well, took care how they diſcovered all their Minds. But by conforming themſelves to his Opinions on theſe two Articles, they hoped to bring him by degrees to carry the Reformation much farther, after that by their Pains he ſhould become more enlightned. For which reaſon the Reformation began in *England* with theſe two Points. As to the other Points which had no relation to theſe, they were not medled with during this Reign, or at leaſt but ſlightly. The Reaſon is, becauſe *Henry* would never ſuffer his Subjects to go greater Lengths than himſelf. But to ſpeak the Truth, his Underſtanding always went Hand in Hand with his Intereſt. If a Man fully examines all the Changes which were made in Religion in his Reign, he will find they all conſpired directly to eſtabliſh an abſolute Power over his Subjects. That was all along the principal and perhaps the ſole Motive of his Proceedings, when he found that the Rupture with *Rome* was an admirable Means to attain his Ends. Hence the Enemies of the Reformation take occaſion to ſay, that it was eſtabliſhed in *England* only from *political* Views. This may be true, if one conſiders only the Perſon of *Henry* VIII. But it does not follow that they who promoted and embraced it, acted from the like Motive. Beſides, what was the Reformation in *Henry the Eighth*'s Days? Only a bare renouncing of the *Papal* Power, whilſt thoſe were burnt that would have carried it further. So let a Man ſay what he pleaſe of *Henry*'s Perſon, and the Motives which induced him to throw off the *Papal* Yoke, I don't ſee that the *Proteſtants* are much concerned to undertake his Defence.

Henry finding that Abundance of his Subjects approved not of his Conduct, would have been very glad to take from them the Pretenſe they uſed of the Sentence which the Pope had publiſhed againſt him. To that Purpoſe he would have drawn in all *France* to ſide with him in getting it revoked. But that Method

was

was impracticable, and a Reconciliation with the Court of *Rome* was no leſs ſo. He would never have reſolved to part with the Title of *Head of the Church of England*, and the Pope would never have conſented to an Agreement, without Things were put again upon the old Foot. So *Henry* ſeeing himſelf obliged to purſue his Point, reſolved to overcome by dint of Force, the Obſtinacy of ſuch of his Subjects as refuſed to ſubmit to the Laws lately enacted. But on the other Hand, deſiring to purge himſelf of the Imputation of *Hereſy*, wherewith he was charged, he affected to puniſh ſeverely thoſe that embraced the new Opinions. In ſteering this middle Courſe which pleaſed neither Party, he paſſed the Reſidue of his Days. But this is ſaying too little. It muſt be added further, that conſidering himſelf as a Pattern for his Subjects to walk by, he compelled them to keep within the ſame Bounds, and would not ſuffer them to believe *more* or *leſs* than himſelf. 1535.

It was impoſſible that after taking ſuch a Reſolution, *Henry* ſhould not live in a continual Miſtruſt of his Subjects, which obliged him to have always an Eye upon what paſſed in the Kingdom. Moreover he had likewiſe to guard againſt the Emperour's Attacks, who had threatened him pretty openly. He was very ſenſible that if he were once engaged in a War, thoſe that durſt not look him in the Face during his Proſperity, would not ſcruple to declare againſt him, if the Chance of War ſhould prove croſs. The King of *Scotland* his Nephew was the Perſon to be feared. As for the King of *France* who profeſſed himſelf his Friend, and indeed was much obliged to him, he had ſhown too plainly how Self-intereſted his Friendſhip was, to be able to rely upon him. They both intended to embroil the Emperour, but with different Views. Each wanted to make his Ally ſubſervient to his Deſigns, and to improve the Advantages which flowed from their Union. Thus *Henry* had none to truſt to but his own Subjects, among whom however there were great Numbers of Male-Contents.

1535. But as he had acted for ſome Time with a good deal of Haughtineſs, he found that if he relaxed in that Point, People would not fail to aſcribe it either to his Scruples, or to a Senſe of his own Weakneſs, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to him. This Conſideration joined to his ſtern and haughty Temper, rendered him altogether untractable. From thenceforward he became Fierce, Cruel, Inſenſible of his People's Calamities, and executing without Mercy, the Laws which himſelf had dictated to his Parliament. In ſhort, one may ſay in ſome Meaſure, that he was no longer the ſame King that had reigned hitherto. All that can be alledged in his Vindication, is, that he was often provoked by Perſons, who by endeavouring to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects, touched him in the moſt tender Part, becauſe his whole Reliance was upon the Aſſiſtance of his People.

Reaſon of the great Submiſſion of the Engliſh *to* Henry.

One will be amazed no doubt, to ſee in this Reign the *Engliſh* ſo patient and ſo ſubmiſſive to their Sovereign's Pleaſure, even to ſuch a Degree, that hardly do we find ſince the Beginning of the Affair of the Divorce, that the Parliament had refuſed him any one Thing, though his Demands had been very extraordinary. But it is no hard Matter to find out the Reaſon. Religion was the ſole Cauſe of it. The King, as it was obſerved, ſteered a middle Courſe as to religious Matters. But as no Body could believe it would be poſſible for him to remain long in that Situation, thoſe that wiſhed for the Reformation, imagined they could not do better than comply with him in all Things, that he might be brought by degrees to carry it farther. In like manner, the Friends of the old Religion, ſeeing ſuch Beginnings, were afraid he would go greater Lengths, and that their Oppoſition would but make him finiſh his Work the ſooner. So each of the two Parties ſtriving to make him their Friend, there followed for him an Authority which none of his Predeceſſors had ever enjoyed, and which he would not have been able to uſurp in any other Circumſtances, without endangering

dangering his Crown. But both Parties were alike deceived. *Henry* kept on in the ſame Courſe all the reſt of his Life, and made them both feel the ſad Effects of that abſolute Power they had ſo eaſily let him aſſume. It is true, he was always ſo prudent as to do nothing contrary to Law. But he made uſe of his Power to cauſe ſuch Laws to be paſſed as he pleaſed, and then put them in Execution without Mercy. This is what we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. But after having ſhown the Character of *Henry*, and the Motives he went upon, his Actions muſt be related, which will confirm what has been juſt obſerved. 1535.

The Monks become odious to the King.

Though the *Acts* concerning the King's Marriage and the *Papal* Power bore the Seal of the Publick Authority, all the World were far from being pleaſed with them. As they were not aſcribed ſo much to the *two Houſes* as to the King, on him it was that the whole Blame was caſt. Among all the Male-Contents, the Monks were the moſt open, by their attempting to blacken him in the Minds of the People. They could not brook his ſetting himſelf up in the Pope's Room, whom they had always conſidered and ſtill did conſider as their true Head, in ſpite of the *Statutes* made againſt him. Theſe were the Men that had cauſed the pretended *Kentiſh* Propheteſs to ſay, if the King put away his Queen *Catharine*, and married another, he ſhould dye in a Month's Time, and come to a tragical End. A *Franciſcan*, one *Peto*, preaching before the King, was ſo hardy as to tell him to his Face, *That God's Judgments were ready to fall upon his Head: That he was always ſurrounded with a Croud of lying Prophets, who foretold him good Succeſs. But for himſelf, like another* Micaiah, *he warned him that the Dogs ſhould lick his Blood, as they had done* Ahab's. The Inſolence of this Fryar and the daily Accounts of the Invectives which others every where ſpread againſt him, provoked him extremely againſt them as well as againſt thoſe that had the Boldneſs to ſpeak in opprobrious Terms of the *Acts* of Parliament. He bore it however very patiently for ſome Time, imagining

Inſolence of a Franciſcan.

1535. that People would grow Calm in the End. But when he saw they did not cease to asperse him with all sorts of Calumnies, he called a Council to consider how he should behave towards those who affected to contradict the Laws, and speak Evil of him. Some of the *Council* were for taking no notice of these Offences, for fear too great a Severity should have a quite contrary Effect to what he desired. But others laid before him the ill Consequences of such a Proceedure. They showed him that these Men's Aim was to stir up the People against him, that the Bishop of *Rome* might have occasion to assert his pretended Authority, and therefore they were for putting the Laws in Execution with the utmost rigour. The King himself closed with this Opinion, as most agreeable to his proud and stern Temper, which could not bear Contradiction. Besides, he saw well enough to what he should be reduced in the End, if his Enemies succeeded in their Design of drawing upon him the Hatred of the People. It is no great Wonder therefore, that seeing himself thus provoked, he resolved to treat with rigour People who laboured with all their might to ruin him.

Debate of the Council how the King was to behave. Herbert.

It is resolved to put the Laws in Execution.

Priors *and* Monks *executed with some* Protestants.

The Resolution being taken of executing the Laws without Mercy, certain *Priors*, *Monks*, and others, who had been too free with the new *Statutes*, were apprehended, tried and executed according to the utmost rigour of the same *Statutes*. But at the same Time, the King fearing lest this Severity should be ascribed to the Inclination he was charged with for the new Religion, affected to use the same rigour towards those who had openly embraced the Reformation, and put them to Death with the others. At last, to keep every Body in Awe by an Example which should make the boldest Tremble, he resolved to deliver up to the rigour of the Law, *Fisher* and *More* then Prisoners in the *Tower*. To that End, *Fisher* was required to take the Oath of *Supremacy*, it being supposed he would refuse it, as he did indeed. About the same Time *Paul* III created him *Cardinal*, though

Fisher *is executed.*

The Pope makes him Cardinal.

though he had declared that if the *Cardinal's Hat* was laid at his Feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up. But the Pope, whoſe Aim was to encourage ſuch as oppoſed the King, conferred however that Dignity upon him, with the pompous Elogy, that he conſidered him as the *Cardinal of Cardinals*. This unſeaſonable Honour haſtened in all likelihood *Fiſher*'s Death, who being condemned, was executed on the 22d of *June*, a Month after he had been made *Cardinal*, and ſome Days before the *Hat*, which the Pope ſent him, came to *London* *. After that, Sir *Thomas More* being required to take the ſame Oath, refuſed to Anſwer, ſaying, *The Act of Parliament is like a Sword with two Edges, for if a Man anſwer one way, it will deſtroy the Soul, and if he anſwer another, it will deſtroy the Body.* Upon his Refuſal, he was condemned and executed. He was a Man of great Learning and excellent Parts, but ſo addicted to jeſting, that even the Preſence of Death could not make him lay aſide his uſual Facetiouſneſs. When upon the Point of being beheaded, he had laid his Head on the Block to receive the mortal Blow, he perceived that his Beard was got under his Chin: Whereupon haſtily riſing up, he bid the Executioner ſtay a little till he had put his Beard aſide, ſince having commited no Treaſon, it was not juſt it ſhould be cut off *1.

1535.

Sir Thomas More *executed.*

* *Burnet* ſays, the Hat came no nearer him than *Picardy*. He was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of *June*. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſome other Lords, together with the Judges, ſat upon him by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*. He was beheaded in the 80th Year of his Age on *Tower-Hill*, and his Head was ſet up on *London-Bridge*. His Body was firſt buried in *Barking*-Church-Yard, and afterwards taken up and interred with *More*'s in the *Tower*. He was many Years Confeſſor to the King's Grandmother, the Counteſs of *Richmond*. It was believed that he perſwaded her to found her two Colleges in *Cambridge*, and upon that Score was choſen *Chancellor* of that Univerſity. *Henry* VII gave him the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, which he, following the Rule of the *Primitive Church*, would never change for a better; he uſed to ſay his Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her becauſe ſhe was Poor *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 354.

1 On the firſt of *July* Sir *Thomas More* was brought to his Tryal

1535. Paul III *excommunicates* Henry *without publiſhing the Bull.* Herbert. Burnet.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *England*, Pope *Paul* III kept up ſtill ſome Correſpondence with Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, who was all this while at *Rome*, though without a Character. The Pope earneſtly wiſhed that ſome Expedient might be found out to heal the Breach *Clement* VII had made by his over-haſtineſs, and conferred from time to time with *Caſſali*. But when News came of the Execution of the Monks, and of *Fiſher* and *More*, for denying the King's Supremacy, he loſt all hopes of ſucceeding. He found there were no more Meaſures to be kept, ſince they kept none in *England*, but ſhowed a ſettled Deſign of ſupporting what had been done. So, to maintain the Honour of his *See*, he drew up a thundering *Bull*, excommunicating *Henry*, and abſolving his Subjects from their Oath. Moreover, he ordered all the *Eccleſiaſticks* to depart his Dominions, and the Nobility to take up Arms againſt him. He put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*, and forbid all *Chriſtians* to have any Commerce with the *Engliſh*. He annulled all the Treaties foreign Princes had made with *Henry* before his Marriage with *Ann Bullen*, declaring their Iſſue already born or to be born illegitimate. Mean while, as he was

al, and beheaded on the 6th, in the 53d Year of his Age. Though he was afterwards ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the Intereſts and Paſſions of the Popiſh *Clergy*, and even aſſiſted them in all their Cruelties, yet in his Youth he had freer Thoughts of Things, as appears by his *Utopia*, where he ſeems to borrow the Diſguiſe of a *Romance* only to declare his Mind with greater Freedom: He tells us, the *Utopians* allow Liberty of Conſcience, and force their Religion upon no body: That they hinder none from a ſober Enquiry into Truth, nor uſe any Violence upon the Score of a different *Belief*. He was, ſays *Burnet*, no *Divine* at all, neither did he know any thing of Antiquity, beyond the Quotations in the *Canon-Law*, and in the *Maſter of the Sentences*. Nor was he converſant at all in the critical Learning upon the Scripture; but his peculiar Excellency in Writing was, that he had a natural eaſy Expreſſion, and preſented all the Opinions of Popery with their fair Side to the Reader, diſguiſing the black Side of them with neat Art; and had upon all Occaſions great ſtore of pleaſant Tales, which he applied wittily enough. But for Juſtice, Contempt of Money, Humility, and a true Generoſity of Mind, he was an Example to the Age in which he lived. He is ſaid to have but One Hundred Pounds a Year when he reſigned the Chancellorſhip.

was very ſenſible that theſe *Spiritual* Thunderings would produce no great Effect, if they were not backed with *Temporal* Arms, which were not yet in a Readineſs, he put off the publiſhing of this *Bull* to a more convenient Seaſon. 1535.

Embaſſy to the Proteſtants of Germany.

But although the *Bull* was not publiſhed, yet as no great care was taken to conceal it, it quickly came to *Henry*'s Knowledge. Whereupon he reſolved to ſide with the *Proteſtants* of *Germany*, that he might keep the Emperour employed in thoſe Parts. He diſpatched therefore *Edward Fox* to the League of *Smalcald*, whilſt *Francis* I. made uſe, for the ſame Purpoſe, of *William du Bellay* Lord of *Langeais*. But it was a very hard Matter that a good and hearty Union could be formed between theſe two Monarchs and the *Proteſtants* of *Germany*. The *Proteſtants* wanted only to preſerve the Liberty of profeſſing their Religion in Peace and Quietneſs; whereas the ſole Aim of *Francis* and *Henry* was to excite them againſt the Emperour, without any regard to the *Proteſtant* Religion, which they perſecuted in their reſpective Kingdoms. It is true, in order to gain the *Proteſtants*, they feigned an Inclination for their Religion, and a Deſire to eſtabliſh it in their Dominions. Nay *Henry* very much improved the Conformity of his Sentiments with Theirs, concerning the Pope's Authority. But the Rigour wherewith theſe two Monarchs treated ſuch of their Subjects as had embraced the new Religion, ſpoiled whatever their Ambaſſadors could ſay. For this reaſon it was that the *Proteſtants* always inſiſted upon ſettling the Points which concerned Religion, and continued to require that *Henry* ſhould openly declare for the *Augsburg-Confeſſion*, to the End their Union might be built on a ſolid Foundation. *Henry* made as if he approved of what they propoſed, and to make them believe it the more, he wiſhed them to ſend ſome of their *Divines* to confer with thoſe of *England*. But he never really intended to conform himſelf to their Notions. He rather wanted that the *Germans* as well as the *Engliſh* ſhould learn of him what

1535. they were *to believe*. And for that Cauſe the Project of the intended Union was never brought to bear. However, this Negotiation made the Pope and the Emperour very uneaſy, who plainly ſaw that in attacking *Henry* they ran the Riſk of driving him in good earneſt to join with the League of *Smalcald*.

Henry lays before the Council the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries.

But *Henry* did not depend ſo much upon foreign Aid as upon his own Strength. Mean while, as his Subjects were daily corrupted by the Monks, who inſinuated to them that he was going to overturn all Religion, he reſolved to take all poſſible Precaution to prevent the pernicious Deſigns of theſe dangerous Adverſaries. To that End he laid it before the Council, whether it would not be proper to ſuppreſs at once all the Monaſteries. This Queſtion was debated with great Warmth, by reaſon of the two contrary Parties in the *Council*. *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* looked upon the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries as the main Point towards advancing the Work of the Reformation. But on the other Side, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln* and others, who had with Reluctance ſubſcribed to what had been done againſt the Pope, could not bring themſelves to conſent to the Suppreſſion. They ſaw plainly, after that there would be no remedy left to bring the Kingdom again under the Pope's Yoke, not to reckon that the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries might produce yet greater Effects with regard to Religion. The King having heard the Arguments on both Sides, found he ſhould not be able to ſuppreſs the Monaſteries all at once, without giving Offence to the greateſt Part of his Subjects. He reſolved therefore in his own Mind, to bring it about by Degrees, and to that end to begin with a Thing abſolutely neceſſary: And that was, to remove the People's Prejudice in favour of the Monks.

Divers Opinions upon that Account.

He orders the Monaſteries to be viſited,

To that purpoſe, he ordered a general Viſitation of the Monaſteries, to know perfectly the Titles of their Eſtates, the Behaviour of the *Fryars* and *Nuns*, how the *Rules* of each *Order* were obſerved, and other Things of the like Nature. He did not queſtion but this

this Viſitation would diſcover ſeveral conſiderable Abuſes, which being made publick, would ſenſibly diminiſh the Veneration People had for *the Religious*, and pave the Way to his Deſign. He was extremely incenſed againſt the Monks, whom he looked upon as Diſturbers of his Repoſe. On the other Hand, the Proſpect of getting by their Eſtates did not a little contribute, without doubt, towards cauſing him to puſh the Matter with great Earneſtneſs. *Thomas Cromwell* was pitched upon to manage this Inquiry by the Name of *Viſitor-General*. This Choice was a plain Sign what the King's Intent was, ſeeing he employed a Perſon who was any thing ſooner than a Friend to the *Monks*. *Cromwell* having appointed his *Subſtitutes* or *Commiſſioners* *, gave them very particular Inſtructions under Eighty-ſix Articles, and the Viſitation began in *October*. One may eaſily gueſs that among ſo great a Number of *Monaſteries* as were in the Kingdom, moſt of which had never been viſited but very negligently, many were found abounding with Irregularities, as well in reſpect of the Lives of the *Fryars* and *Nuns*, as in regard to the Obſervance of *the Rule*, and the Management of the Temporalities. The *Viſitors*, who were not their Friends, and doubtleſs had orders to terrify them, gave them to underſtand they were going to be expoſed to the King's utmoſt Severity, and the Rigour of the Law. Then they ſuggeſted to them, that to ſave themſelves harmleſs, and withal to hide all their Diſorders, the beſt way was to reſign their *Houſes* to the King, who, upon that Conſideration, would take care to provide for each of them in particular. A good Number of *Priors* being terrified by the *Viſitors*, choſe to follow their Advice, their *Monks* agreeing to it, ſome to avoid Puniſhment, others to enjoy their Liberty, and ſome for want of Reſolution to ſtand out *. The Reports

1535.

and leaves the Management to Cromwell.

Several Abbots and Priors ſurrender their Houſes to the King.

* Particularly *Leighton*, *Lee* and *Petre*, Doctors of Law, Dr. *John London* Dean of *Wallingford*, &c.

** The firſt Surrender was by the Abbot of *Langden*, who, upon Dr.

1535. *The Account of the Visitation is published.*

ports of the *Commissioners* were made publick, that every body might be satisfied that the King had not without Reason and Necessity ordered this general Visitation. The Truth is, in some Monasteries were found out monstrous Disorders and horrible Crimes, not only with respect to the Debaucheries of the *Fryars* and *Nuns*, but chiefly on the Score of the *Images* and *Relicks*, for which a shameful Trade was driven to enrich the *Monasteries*, by cherishing the People's *Superstition* *. This occasioned an Ordinance of the King's, who, as supreme Head of the *Church* of *England*, discharged from their *Vows* such as were *professed* under Four and Twenty Years of Age, and allowed all the rest to quit their *Houses*, and live like *Seculars* if they pleased *1. But as most were accustomed to an idle Life, and perceived, when they forsook their Monasteries, they should be forced to work for their Livelihood, the Liberty the King gave them had no great Effect. Besides, there were doubtless many, who out of Conscience, thought not proper to lay hold of the King's Leave. Wherefore,

The King gives the Monks leave to quit their Monaste-

Henry

Dr. *Leighton*'s breaking open his Door of a sudden, was found in Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a *Lay-Brother*. The Original of this and the other Surrenders are in the *Augmentation-Office*. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 191.

* They found great Factions in the *Houses*, and barbarous Cruelties exercised by one Faction against another, as either of them prevailed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superstition. In some they found the Instruments and other Tools for multiplying and coining. But for the Lewdness of the Confessors of *Nunneries*, and the great Corruption of that State, whole *Houses* being found almost all with Child; for the Dissoluteness of *Abbots* and the other *Monks* and Friars, not only with *Harlots* but married Women; and for their unnatural Lusts and other brutal Practices: These, says *Burnet*, are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on in a Work of this Nature. The full Report of this *Visitation* is lost; yet *Burnet* saw an Extract of a Part of it concerning 144 *Houses*, that contains Abominations in it equal to any that were in *Sodom*. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 191.

*1 The Men, if in *Orders*, were to have a Priest's Habit given them and 40 Shillings in Money; the *Nuns* were to have only a Gown, such as *Secular* Women wore. Some however for surrendering their *Houses* got small Pensions. *Herbert*.

Henry ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity to take other Meaſures. 1535.

It was this Year firſt before Cardinal *Campegio* loſt the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, which was given to *Nicolas Shaxton* a Friend to the Reformers. Shortly after, the *See* of *Worceſter* was taken from *Ghinuas* an Italian, and conferred on *Hugh Latimer*, great Friend of *Cranmer*'s. *John Hilſey* was promoted to the *See* of *Rocheſter*, vacant by the Death of *Fiſher*; and *Edward Fox* to that of *Hereford*. *Change of ſome Biſhops.*

Among all the King's Enemies, or ſuch as envied him, none gave him more Uneaſineſs than his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, and it was not without Reaſon. During the whole Time of that Prince's Minority, *Henry* had fomented the Troubles of *Scotland*, nay, had made appear that his Deſigns intended to become Maſter of that Kingdom. *James* was fully acquainted with it; and though he ſhowed great Regard for the King his Uncle, he let him ſee however that he did not deem him his Friend. *Henry* therefore ran the Hazard, that in caſe the Innovations in Religion cauſed Diſturbances in the Kingdom, the King of *Scotland* would take occaſion to be revenged, by aſſiſting the Male-contents. Theſe Apprehenſions were the better grounded, as the Emperour knowing the King of *Scotland*'s Diſpoſition, had already laboured to inſpire him with Suſpicions and Jealouſies againſt *France* and *England*: Nay, he would have concluded a League with him, as I obſerved, had not *Francis* broken his Meaſures, by procuring a Peace between *England* and *Scotland*. But this Peace hindered not but that *Henry* was always jealous of that Quarter. So, to make himſelf eaſy, he formed a Project to inſtill into the King of *Scotland* the Reſolution to follow his Example, and renounce the Pope's Obedience. He conſidered this as a ſure Means to preſerve between the two Kingdoms a ſtrict Friendſhip which would greatly turn to his Advantage in his preſent Circumſtances. He ſent him therefore in the firſt place a long Letter, ſetting forth the Reaſons of his Conduct *Henry tries to perſuade the King of* Scotland *to renounce the Pope.* Buchan. Herbert.

A. 1535. *He demands an Interview.*

Conduct with regard to the Pope. Then he dispatched an Ambassador to propose an Interview, fancying that a Conference with him would be of more weight than whatever he should say to him by Letter or Ambassador. But though the Reformation had already crept into *Scotland*, *James* had no mind at all to embrace it. So the *Ecclesiasticks* about his Person were not at much Pains to dissuade him from accepting the Interview, wherein they were afraid some Things might happen prejudicial to their Religion. Mean while *James*, not being willing openly to refuse the Conference the King his Uncle demanded, gave him Hopes of his Consent, after certain Difficulties started on Purpose, were removed. But at the same Time he demanded of the Pope a *Brief*, whereby he should be enjoined to have no Interview with the King of *England*. When the *Brief* was come, he gave the King his Uncle notice of it, who having prepared for his Journey, was extremely offended at this Refusal. Hence sprung a Quarrel between them, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

James excuses himself on the Score of the Pope's Prohibition.

Death of the Duke of Milan.

Before I conclude the Year 1535, I must not forget to relate an Event which very much changed the Face of the Affairs of *Europe*. I mean the Death of *Francisco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, which happened in the Month of *October*. As that Prince left no Issue by *Catharine* of *Denmark* the Emperour's Niece, whom he had lately married, the Dutchy of *Milan* as Fief of the Empire, was fallen to the Emperour, who might dispose of it as he pleased. Wherefore the Fears and Jealousies of the Pope, the King of *France* and the *Venetians*, were revived on this Occasion, each of them having Reason to be apprehensive that the Emperour would keep that Dutchy for himself or give it to his Brother the King of the *Romans*. In that Case, *Italy* would of Course fall again into Slavery, and the King of *France* lose the Prospect he had entertained of recovering that Dutchy. To make them easy, the Emperour declared he had no Design to keep *Milan*, but intended to present some Prince with

The Emperour feigns not to intend to keep that Dutchy.

with it, who ſhould afford no Suſpicion to thoſe whoſe concern it was to preſerve the Peace of *Italy*. Afterwards he wiſely made uſe of it as a Decoy to amuſe the King of *France*. But in reality he had never any Mind to let it go. 1535.

Queen *Catharine* ended her Days the Beginning of the Year 1536 *. Though her Virtue had gained her an univerſal Eſteem, ſhe died however little lamented by the Publick, becauſe ſhe embarraſſed alike her Friends and Enemies. Before ſhe expired, ſhe dictated a very tender Letter to the King, who ſeemed to be much affected by it *1. But in all Appearance his Grief was of no long Continuance. He was very fond of her when he was firſt married, her Mildneſs and Modeſty having gained more upon him than ſhe could expect from her Beauty, which was not extraordinary. In Time his Affection abating, he treated her with Indifference, though ever with great Civility. At laſt, after he had reſolved to put her way, her obſtinate refuſal to comply with his Will, made him look upon her as an Enemy. Wherefore he uſed her rigorouſly when the Sentence of Divorce was pronounced, even to 1536. *Death of Queen Catharine.* Herbert.

* On the 18th of *January* at *Kimbolton*, in the 50th Year of her Age, 33 Years after ſhe came into *England*. In her Will, ſhe appointed her Body to be buried in a Convent of *Obſervants* (who had done and ſuffered moſt for her,) but the King ordered it to be laid in the Abby-Church of *Peterborough*, which he afterwards converted to a *Cathedral*.

*1 In the Title ſhe called him, *My moſt dear Lord, King and Husband*, and concluded with ſaying, *I make this Vow, that mine Eyes deſire you above all Things*. "She adviſed him to look to "the Health of his Soul. She forgave him all the Troubles he had "caſt her into. She recommended their Daughter *Mary* to him, "deſiring he would be a loving Father to her. She alſo deſired "he would provide Matches for her Maids, who were but three; "and that he would give her Servants one Year's Wages more "than was due to them." She was a devout and pious Princeſs, and led a ſevere Life. In her Greatneſs ſhe wrought much with her own Hand, and kept her Women well employed about her, as appeared when the two Legates came once to ſpeak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of Silk about her Neck, and told them ſhe had been within at Work with her Maids. Few ſuch Queens now-a-days!

1536. to the not ſuffering her to keep ſuch Servants as treated her like a Queen. At leaſt he publickly forbid the giving her that Title, though he was forced to connive at her Diſobedience.

Parliament meets. The Parliament meeting the 6th of *February*, finiſhed the Work begun, by aboliſhing every Thing which could any way relate to the *Papal* Power, that there might not be the leaſt Pretenſe left to acknowledge his Authority. But the King had a farther View. And that was to ſuppreſs the Monaſteries as well to be revenged of the Monks, and prevent their ill Deſigns, as to get their Eſtates. In all Appearance the late Viſitation of the Monaſteries had ſatisfied him that the Monks were as unſerviceable to Religion, as prejudicial to his Affairs in his preſent Circumſtances.

Reaſon of altering the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions. As among the *Conſtitutions* obſerved in the *Church* of *England*, there were not a few that had a manifeſt Relation to the *Papal* Authority which was no longer recognized, it was abſolutely neceſſary to annul them and make others, which ſhould have for Foundation the King's *Supremacy*. The Parliament had already paſſed an *Act*, empowering the King to appoint Thirty-two Commiſſioners to examine ſuch as were to be aboliſhed. But the King was in no haſte to do that, becauſe by the Confuſion in that reſpect his Authority was much more extenſive. The *Papal* Power was aboliſhed by *Act* of Parliament, and yet it ſubſiſted ſtill in the *Conſtitutions*, which not being abrogated, threw the *Clergy* into great Perplexities because they knew not what to do. But this was what the King wanted, to the End the *Clergy* might be more at his Devotion, ſince he could equally proſecute them as Guilty, whether they kept or not kept them. The Parliament taking this Contrariety into Conſideration were pleaſed to remedy it, by confirming the Power formerly given to the King, to appoint Commiſſioners to alter theſe Conſtitutions. This was a ſort of reproaching him for his Negligence in that Reſpect. But he made as if he took no notice of it and left the Matter in the ſame State it was.

He had another Thing in his Head which affected him much more, namely, the ſtriking the Blow he was meditating againſt the Monks. In this Seſſion, he repreſented to the Parliament that the great Number of Monaſteries in the Kingdom were a Burden to the State, and earneſtly deſired them to remedy the Evil by ſuch Means as they ſhould judge proper. Whereupon it was enacted, That all *Houſes* of 200*l.* a Year and under ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and their Effects given to the King. Of this ſort there were three hundred ſeventy-ſix, and a Revenue of thirty-two Thouſand Pounds a Year fell to the Crown, with above a Hundred Thouſand Pounds worth of Plate, Goods, Ornaments of the Churches, and other Things. A new Court was erected, called *the Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, which was to take Cognizance of all Matters relating to this new Acquiſition *. The erecting of a *Court* for ſo ſmall a Revenue, was a clear Evidence enough that the King had no Deſign to ſtop there, but that he intended to get into his Hands the Revenues of all the Monaſteries in the Kingdom.

1536. Act *for Suppreſſing the leſſer Monaſteries.* Act. Pub. XIV. 575. Herbert. *Court of* Augmentations *erected.*

The *Convocation* ſitting as uſual, at the ſame Time with the Parliament, a Motion was made there, that there ſhould be a Tranſlation of the Bible in *Engliſh*, [to be ſet up in all Churches,] and the ſame was approved of. It muſt be obſerved that the King's Intent therein was only to let the People ſee that there was nothing contrary to the *Holy Scriptures* in what he had done againſt the Pope. But *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and the reſt of the Reformers had much farther Views. They were in Hopes that when the *Bible* ſhould be in the Hands of the People, they would ſee their Errour in abundance of other Things which they had taken hitherto to be eſſential to Religion. But

Reſolution to let the People have the Bible *in* Engliſh. Burnet.

* The Court was to conſiſt of a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, an Attorney and Sollicitor, 10 Auditors, 17 Receivers, a Clerk, an Uſher and a Meſſenger. Beſides the preſent ones, the King was to have the Lands of all thoſe *Houſes* that had been diſſolved within a Year before this *Act*. Burnet, Vol. I. 194.

1536. But they took Care to hide their Designs from the King, well knowing how contrary they were to his. *Henry* was obstinately bent against all Reformation of Doctrine, and consequently they were to bring him insensibly and by Degrees to what they desired. They succeeded in part, but they wanted a great deal of carrying Matters so far as they expected at first. Mean while, they thought it a great Step to obtain his Consent that it should be moved in the *Convocation*, to let the People have the *Bible* in *English*, and to have got the Motion approved. As there was then no other Version of the *Bible* in *English* but what *Tindal* had made at *Antwerp* without the Publick Authority, the *Convocation* petitioned the King for a good Translation, which he was pleased to take upon himself *.

The King takes it upon himself.

The Parliament is dissolved.

Henry having obtained of the Parliament every Thing he desired, thought it Time to dissolve it, which he did on the 14th of *April*, after having continued it six Years. Never had Parliament sat so long since the Beginning of the Monarchy.

The Care *Henry* took to screen himself from the Cabals of the Monks, and his other domestick Enemies, did not make him negligent of his Affairs Abroad, and unmindful of the Means to parry the Emperour's Blows. *Francis* was invading the Duke of *Savoy*, and it was but too manifest that his Intent was to open himself a Way to the *Milanese*. But as this was a great Undertaking, considering the State *France* was in, the Emperour could not believe he would have engaged in it without being first sure of *Henry's* Assistance. Wherefore he resolved to do his utmost to break

* It is not known to whom that Work was committed, or how they proceeded in it. For the Account of these Things has not been preserved, nor conveighed to us, with that Care that the Importance of the Thing required. Yet it appears that the Work was carried on at a good rate: For three Years after this it was printed at *Paris*, which shows they made all convenient haste, in a Thing that required so much Deliberation. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 197.

break their Union. After the Death of *Sforza*, he kept up a private Negotiation with *Francis*, about re-ſigning the Dutchy of *Milan* to one of his Sons, and he acted in that Matter ſo dexterouſly, that the Treaty ſeemed to be very near a Concluſion. This could not but rouze *Henry*'s Jealouſy. He plainly ſaw that if the Negotiation ended to the King of *France*'s Satisfaction, he would hardly be any longer mindful of his Concerns. On the other ſide, the Emperour no ſooner heard of the Death of his Aunt Queen *Catharine*, but he ſent and offered *Henry* to renew their Alliance, and bury in Oblivion all that had paſſed. But leſt he ſhould be taken at his Word, he required three Conditions, which left him at Liberty to ſpin out the Affair to what length he pleaſed, his Aim being only to ſow Diſcord between *Francis* and *Henry*, by making them ſuſpicious of each other. The firſt of theſe Conditions was, that *Henry* ſhould be reconciled to the Pope, to which end he offered his Mediation. By the ſecond, he demanded a ſtrong Aid againſt the *Turks*. By the third, that purſuant to their Treaty in 1518, he ſhould ſide with him in the Defenſe of *Milan*, againſt the Attacks of the *French* King. *Henry* replied, That what had been done againſt the Pope could not be revoked: That as ſoon as *Chriſtendom* ſhould be in Peace, he would act againſt the *Infidels*, as became a *Chriſtian* Prince: That he was very ready to renew his Alliance with the Emperour, provided it were done without Prejudice to the King of *France* his Ally; that being Friend to both, he might be better enabled to bring about their Reconciliation; or if he could not ſucceed in that, to aſſiſt him that ſhould be unjuſtly attacked: That as to the reſt, he refuſed not to be Friends with the Emperour, provided he would own that the Rupture came from him. The Emperour perceiving that *Henry* was upon his Guard, thought not fit to puſh the Matter any farther. Indeed *Henry* could eaſily ſee that his Aim was to ſet him at Variance with *France*, ſince at the very Time that theſe Things were in Agitation, *Francis* imparted to him

1536. *He promiſes* Milan *to a Son of* Francis, *and offers an Alliance with* Henry.

Henry's *Anſwer.*

1536. the private Negotiation about the Dutchy of *Milan*. Moreover he warned him that the Emperour intended to force him to return to the Pope's Obedience, and that it was only upon that Condition, he offered to yield up the *Milaneſe*.

Henry tries to ſide with the League of of Smalcald.

All theſe Proceedings of the Emperour making it appear to *Henry* that he ſought Occaſion to attack him, he reſolved to purſue his Negotiation with the *Proteſtants* of *Germany*, that he might raiſe him Diſturbances in thoſe Parts, that ſhould break his Meaſures with regard to *England*. To that ſame Purpoſe he had ſent *Edward Fox* to them laſt Year. But they would not be his Cullies, being unable to perſwade themſelves, as he would fain have made them believe, that he had an Inclination to their *Faith*, whilſt he ordered their Brethern to be burnt in *England*. So not to be drawn in by faint Hopes, to do his Buſineſs at their Expence, they delivered to his Ambaſſador the Terms on which they were willing to join in ſtrict Union with him. The Terms were, *That* he ſhould embrace the *Augsburg*-Confeſſion: That he ſhould defend it with all his Power in a free Council: *That* he ſhould agree upon no Place for the holding of the Council without their Conſent: *That* if the Pope called a Council of his own Head, *Henry* ſhould join with them in proteſting againſt it: *That* he ſhould accept of the Title of *Protector of the League*: *That* he ſhould never return to the Pope's Obedience: *That* he ſhould not aſſiſt their Enemies: *That* he ſhould find a Hundred Thouſand Crowns for the Occaſions of the League, and two Hundred Thouſand if the War laſted any Time. Laſtly, they added, That when he ſhould have declared his Mind upon theſe Articles, they would ſend Ambaſſadors and agree with him upon every Thing elſe.

The League propoſing Terms.

He is at a loſs about them.

Theſe Propoſals threw *Henry* into ſome Perplexity. He ſaw that the ſole Aim of the *Proteſtants* was to ſupport their Religion, and that was the Thing however which put him the leaſt to a ſtand. He was by no means pleaſed with the *Augsburg*-Confeſſion, and yet

yet he plainly perceived that in Caſe he openly rejected it, there was no likelihood of his being able to join with the League of *Smalcald*. On the other ſide, it concerned him to keep up this Negotiation, as well becauſe the *Proteſtants* might be ſerviceable to him, as to keep the Emperour in Awe by that Conſideration. So his Intereſt required that he ſhould give a favourable Ear to theſe Propoſitions. But withal he reſolved to inſert in his Anſwer ſome Thing which ſhould afford him room to break off, if he thought proper. He replied therefore, that he was willing to furniſh the Sums required, in Caſe a League, which he would treat about with their Ambaſſadors, ſhould be concluded between them: That although he was ſenſible what danger the Title of *Protector of the League* would expoſe him to, yet he was content to accept it, provided there were between him and them a Conformity of Doctrine, otherwiſe he could not engage to defend a *Faith*, the Truth whereof he was not convinced of: That therefore he deſired them to ſend Commiſſioners with Powers to mollify ſome Articles of the *Augsburg*-Confeſſion, which he could never agree to. Moreover as to the Supplies, he required that the Engagement ſhould be mutual, whether he or they were attacked. In fine, he demanded that they ſhould approve in an authentick manner of his Divorce, and promiſe to juſtify it in a Council. Theſe Propoſals of both Sides were of a Nature to keep a Treaty a long while on Foot. But although the Members of the League of *Smalcald* ſaw no great likelihood of a ſtrict Union, they appointed however *Sturmius*, *Draco*, *Bucer*, and *Melanchthon* to go and confer with *Henry* and his *Divines*. It was eſpecially provided in their Inſtructions that nothing ſhould be concluded to the prejudice of Emperour or Empire. This Negotiation was broke off by the Death of *Ann Bullen*, which fell out ſhortly after, and which very much altered the Face of Affairs as well as the King's Mind, in reſpect to the Reformation which ſhe openly countenanced.

1536.

His Anſwer. March 12.

The Proteſtants ſend Doctors to him.

1536. *The King falls in Love with* Jane Seymour, *and grows Jealous of the Queen.* Burnet.

Two Paſſions at the ſame Time invaded the King's Breaſt; a violent Love for *Jane Seymour*, Maid of Honour to the Queen, and an extreme Jealouſy of the Queen his Wife. It is very likely that the latter was a Conſequence of the former. When *Ann Bullen*'s Enemies found that ſhe no longer held in the King's Heart the Place ſhe had formerly enjoyed, inſtead of fearing to accuſe her of Unfaithfulneſs to the King her Spouſe, they believed they ſhould do him a Pleaſure, by furniſhing him with a Pretenſe to juſtify his Change. It is certain the King had loſt that Affection for the Queen, which made him ſurmount ſo many Obſtacles to poſſeſs her, whether Enjoyment had quenched his firſt Flames, or the Queen's Indiſcretions had given the King cauſe to ſuſpect her, he ſo wholly gave himſelf over to Jealouſy, that it was not in his Power to get the better of it, and perhaps he never endeavoured it much. Be that as it will, the Reaſon of it was this. The Queen had a great Friendſhip for her Brother the Lord *Rochford*. But ſhe could not bear his Wife, who lived very ill with her Huſband, and had a very bad Character, as will evidently appear hereafter. It was this Lady that whiſpered in the King's Ear the firſt Report that the Queen was Unfaithful, and that ſhe had a Criminal Commerce with her Brother the Lord *Rochford*. Theſe Seeds fell upon a Soil already prepared to receive them. The King, prejudiced by his Paſſion for *Jane Seymour*, was overjoyed to find in the pretended Unfaithfulneſs of the Queen, a Means to help him to the Poſſeſſion of the Perſon he loved. As ſoon as Queen *Ann*'s Enemies ſaw how the King ſtood affected towards her, they took Care to ruin her quite in his Favour, by accuſing her of ſundry Intrigues with her own Domeſticks. Theſe Enemies were the ſame with thoſe of the Reformation. They imagined ſhe had put the King upon all his Proceedings againſt the Pope, on Purpoſe to favour the new Religion. But ſuppoſing ſhe had done nothing towards them, it was enough to hate her that ſhe had been the Cauſe, by inſpiring

Motives of the Queen's Enemies to ſacrifice her.

inſpiring the King with Love, ſince that had occaſioned *Catharine*'s Divorce, and conſequently all the Innovations in Religion. Policy might likewiſe have a ſhare in their Project. They were fully ſenſible that as long as *Ann* lived ſhe would be an invincible Bar to a Reconciliation with *Rome*, whereas if ſhe were once out of the way, they hoped that all Difficulties would be eaſily removed. The Duke of *Norfolk* inwardly burned with a Deſire to ſee Religion again eſtabliſhed upon the ſame Foot it was before theſe Alterations, though like a good Courtier, he forbore to let his Maſter know any ſuch Thing. His Quality, his Zeal, his Credit, had made him Head of the Party of the old Religion, and as he had the King's Ear, it was in his Power to do ill Offices to the contrary Party. The King's Jealouſy of the Queen was too fair an Occaſion to let it ſlip, ſince at the ſame Time he could ſerve his Party, and make his Court to his Maſter. So it is commonly believed that this Lord contributed the moſt to the Queen's Downfal, becauſe among all her Enemies, he had the moſt Acceſs to the King. But however, whether it was he or another, the King was inſpired with a Jealouſy which threw him into a ſort of Fury. This is no great Wonder, conſidering his Temper, the moſt Impetuous and moſt Impatient that ever was. The Queen was accuſed of a Criminal Commerce, not only with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, but alſo with *Henry Norris* [Groom of the Stole,] *Francis Weſton* and *William Brereton* [of the King's Privy Chamber,] and one *Mark Smeton* [a Muſician.] It muſt be confeſſed that the Queen had ſome indiſcreet Ways with her, which the King never minded, whilſt he was not prejudiced againſt her, but which afterwards were too capable of confirming his Suſpicions *. Beſides, as ſoon as he lent an Ear to what was ſaid againſt her, it is very probable, her Enemies were very diligent to give an ill Turn to her moſt innocent Words

1536.

She is accuſed of Adultery and Inceſt.

* She was, ſays *Burnet*, of a very chearful Temper, which was not always limited within the Bounds of exact Decency and Diſcretion. She had rallied ſome of the King's Servants more than became her.

1536. or Actions. Without doubt *Henry* was some Time tormented with Jealousy before he discovered it. But at last it broke out at a solemn Justs held at *Greenwich*, from whence he suddenly withdrew with Signs of great Anger, the Cause whereof no Body could devise. In all likelihood he had observed something that confirmed him in his Suspicions, which no Body but himself took notice of. *Sanders* says, the Queen dropping her Handkerchief, one of her Gallants took it up and wiped his Face with it. But this Author is the only Person that relates this Circumstance *. However that be, the King was no sooner gone from the *Justs*, but he ordered the Lord *Rochford*, *Norris*, *Weston*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* to be apprehended. At the same Time the Queen was confined to her Chamber, and next Day conveyed to the *Tower*. But what plainly showed the Design of her Enemies to strike her home, was there procuring an Order to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to retire to his Palace at *Lambeth*, for fear if he could come to speak with the King, he would find Occasion to vindicate the Queen.

She is apprehended.

Snares are laid for her.

It is not strange that a Princess in her sad Condition should be distracted in her Thoughts; and that having no body to advise with, she should fall into the Snares her Enemies laid for her. Her Uncle's Lady, the Lady

* *Burnet* who was at more than ordinary Pains to learn all he could concerning this Affair, observes that this Circumstance is not in *Spelman*, a Judge at that Time, who writ an Account of the Matter with his own Hand, in his Common-place Book, of which *Burnet* had a Sight. *Spelman* says, the Business was discovered in a very different manner. *As for the Evidence* (says he) *of this Matter, it was discovered by the Lady* Wingfield, *who had been a Servant to the Queen, and becoming on a sudden infirm some time before her Death, did swear this Matter to one of her* ——— And here unluckily the rest of the Page is torn off. By this it seems there was no legal Evidence against the Queen, and that it was a Witness at second Hand who deposed what they heard the Lady *Wingfield* swear. Who this Person was we know not, nor in what Temper of Mind the Lady *Wingfield* might be when she swore. And this it seems was that which was brought to the King at *Greenwich* during the *Justs*, who did thereupon immediately return to *Whitehall*, being the 1st of *May*. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 197.

Lady *Bullen*, was appointed to lie in the Chamber with her, with whom ſhe was very much at variance, and from this Lady, who was placed there on purpoſe to watch her, it came to be known that during her Confinement, ſhe ſaid ſome Things which helped to confirm the King's Suſpicions. However, upon her Examination, ſhe poſitively denied ſhe had ever been unfaithful to the King. Only when ſhe was told that *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* had accuſed her, though ſhe might have eaſily ſeen this was done purely to bring her to ſome Confeſſion, ſhe believed ſhe ought not to conceal certain Things which had paſſed betwixt her and them. She ſaid concerning *Norris*, that asking him one Day why he did not go on with his Marriage, he replied, there was no haſte. Whereupon ſhe ſaid, that ſhe plainly ſaw he was in hopes of having her, in caſe the King ſhould die. This ſeems to argue there was ſome Familiarity between her and *Norris*. Otherwiſe, ſuppoſing the Truth of the Fact, it is hard to conceive that a Queen ſhould think of talking in ſuch a Manner to one of her Domeſticks. 1536. *She confeſſes ſome Paſſages.*

As for *Smeton* the Muſician, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her Chamber but twice. That the laſt Time ſhe ſaw him there, ſhe aſked him why he was ſo ſad; and that in her Converſation with him he had the Boldneſs to tell her, *No, no, Madam, a Look ſuffices me* *.

As for *Weſton*, ſhe owned he had taken the Liberty to tell her, He loved her, and that ſhe thereupon defied him *1.

* She ſaid, " *Smeton* was never in her Chamber but when the " King was laſt at *Wincheſter*; and then he came to play on the " Virginals: She ſaid, " She never ſpoke to him after that but on " *Saturday* before *May* Day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the " Window; and then ſhe aſked him, why he was ſo ſad: He ſaid, " it was no matter. She anſwered, You muſt not expect I ſhould " ſpeak to you as if you were a Nobleman, ſince you are an in- " ferior Perſon. No, no, Madam, ſaid he, a Look ſuffices me". *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 199.

*1 She ſeemed more apprehenſive of *Weſton* than of any body. For on *Whitſon-Monday* laſt he ſaid to her, " That *Norris* came " more

1536. But after all, the Queſtion is to know whether the Regiſters from whence this Examination is taken are to be depended upon, or whether the Examination was impartially ſet down in writing. It is true, this Doubt alone is not ſufficient to clear the Queen. But then, when it is conſidered ſhe had for Adverſary a Huſband who was a King, and jealous even to Madneſs, it is very likely that they who were employed to examine her, gave her Words ſuch a Turn and Senſe, as favoured the King's Deſigns, by pretending to ſet down the Subſtance of her Anſwers inſtead of her very Words.

As for the Lord *Rochford*, all the Evidence for his pretended Familiarity with the Queen his Siſter, amounted to no more than that he was once ſeen leaning on her Bed.

Depoſitions of the Complices. When theſe Men were examined, *Norris* ſwore he believed the Queen innocent, and perſiſted in his Aſſeveration to his laſt Breath. *Smeton* confeſſed, he had known the Queen carnally three times; but he was never confronted with her; nay, he was condemned before ſhe was brought to her Tryal, and ſo could not be a Witneſs. This makes very much for the Queen, ſince it is not likely ſuch an Evidence would have been voluntarily neglected, had it been deemed as good as it appears to be. But probably it was feared that *Smeton* would retract or the Queen confound him, if he was brought Face to Face with her. The reſt pleaded *Not Guilty*. But for all that they were condemned and executed *.

Three

" more to her Chamber upon her Account than for any body elſe " that was there She had obſerved that he loved a Kinſwoman " of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not loving his Wife. " But he anſwered her, That there were Women in the Houſe " whom he loved better than them both: She asked, who is that; " your ſelf, ſaid he; upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe defied him ". *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 199.

* Their Trial came on the 12th of *May*, on which Day they were tried by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*,

Three Days after the Queen and the Lord *Rochford* her Brother were brought to be tried by their *Peers*, the Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord *High-Steward* for that Occaſion *. The Queen was accuſed of proſtituting herſelf to her Brother and four other Men, and of conſpiring the King's Death. But this laſt Charge being without any Foundation, it was not thought proper to inſiſt upon it. The Queen and the Lord *Rochford* pleaded *Not Guilty*, and yet they were condemned without its being ever known upon what Evidence the Sentence was grounded. Judgment was given that the Lord *Rochford* ſhould be beheaded and quartered. As for the Queen, ſhe was condemned to be *burnt* or *beheaded* at the King's Pleaſure. 1536. *She is condemned with the Lord* Rochford.

It is very probable that the King believed the Queen guilty, and that, prejudiced as he was, Signs and Tokens were to him ſubſtantial Proofs. But can the ſame Thing be ſaid of the *Peers* who condemned her? Did *Remarks on the Sentence.*

Hall. They were twice indicted, and the Indictments were found by two Grand Juries in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middleſex*. The Crimes they were charged with being ſaid to be done in both Counties. All proteſted their Innocence, only *Smeton* confeſſed, *he had well deſerved to die*, which gave Occaſion to many Reflections. They were all beheaded but *Smeton*, who was hanged. It was generally ſaid, he was bribed into that Confeſſion, and had his Life promiſed; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. *Norris* had been much in the King's Favour, who ſent for him and offered him his Life if he would confeſs his Guilt. He generouſly rejected the Offer, affirming, that in his Conſcience he thought the Queen Innocent, and that he would die a Thouſand times rather than ruin an innocent Perſon. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 201. Vol. III. p. 120.

* With him ſat the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquiſs of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, with Twenty-five more *Peers*. The Charge ran, *That ſhe had procured her Brother and the other Four to lye with her, which they had often done; that ſhe had ſaid to them, that the King never had her Heart; and had ſaid to every one of them by themſelves, that ſhe loved them better than any Perſon whatever, which was to the Slander of the Iſſue that was between the King and her.* And this was Treaſon according to the Statute made in the 26th Year of this Reign (ſo that the Law made for her and her Iſſue, is now made uſe of to deſtroy her.) It was added in the Indictment, that ſhe and her Complices *had conſpired the King's Death*; but this it ſeems was only put in to ſwell the Charge. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 202.

1536. Did their Conſcience ſuffer them to ſentence a Queen to Death upon bare Surmiſes? I ſay upon Surmiſes, ſince had there been ſolid Proofs, it is not at all likely they ſhould have neglected to publiſh them, in order to juſtify a Sentence of this Nature, which was *unprecedented* in *England*. They were not ſo reſerved afterwards in the Caſe of another of *Henry*'s Queens, who was really guilty of the like Crime. All that can be ſaid in favour of thoſe who paſſed Sentence on *Ann Bullen* is, that the Dread they were under of turning againſt themſelves the King's Fury, if they complied not with his Humour, made them conſider Marks and Signs as real Proofs. It is obſervable, that there were but Twenty-nine *Peers* preſent at the Trial, though there were then Fifty-three in *England*, as appears by the Summons to Parliament directed to them ſhortly after. This gives Occaſion to conjecture, that according to the Method introduced by Cardinal *Wolſey*, in the Condemnation of the Duke of *Buckingham*, care was taken to remove thoſe who were ſuſpected not to have ſo much Complaiſance as to gratify the King's Paſſion at the Expence of their Conſcience. As for Dr. *Burnet*'s ſaying in his Hiſtory, that *Ann Bullen*'s Father was among her Judges, it is known he unſaid it afterwards.

The Queen is beheaded. The Sentence was executed on the 19th of *May*. *Ann* ſuffered Death with great Conſtancy, after having made to the Standers-by a ſhort Speech, wherein ſhe neither confeſſed nor denied the Crime ſhe was condemned for. She contented herſelf with acknowledging the Obligations ſhe had to the King, with praying for him, and deſiring the Prayers of the People for herſelf *. It is commonly thought that the Apprehenſions

* Her Carriage the Day ſhe died will beſt appear from the following original Letter of Sir *William Kingſton* Conſtable of the *Tower* to *Cromwell*.

SIR,

" THESE ſhall be to advertiſe you, that I have received your " Letter, wherein you would have Strangers conveyed out " of the *Tower*, and ſo they be by the Means of *Richard Greſſam*, " and

henſions ſhe was under of drawing the King's Anger on her Daughter *Elizabeth*, prevented her from inſiſting upon her own Innocence. As ſhe knew the King's Temper perfectly well, and as ſhe could not vindicate herſelf without charging him with Injuſtice, ſhe was afraid *Elizabeth* would become the Sacrifice of the King her Father's Reſentment. However that be, this was the tragical End of *Ann Bullen*, whom ſome have cried down with great Vehemence, and whoſe Conduct others have with as great Care juſtified, with- 1536.

Different Opinions about the Queen.

" and *William Cooke*, and *Wytſpoll*. But the Number of Strangers " paſt not Thirty, and not many of thoſe armed; and the Am- " baſſador of the Emperour had a Servant there, and honeſtly put " out: Sir, if we have not an Hour certain, as it may be known " in *London*, I think here will be but few, and I think a reaſonable " Number were beſt, for I ſuppoſe ſhe will declare herſelf to be " a good Woman for all Men but for the King, at the Hour of " her Death. For this Morning ſhe ſent for me, that I might be " with her at ſuch a time as ſhe received *the good Lord*, to the In- " tent I ſhould hear her ſpeak as touching her Innocency alway to " be clear. And in the writing of this ſhe ſent for me, and at my " coming ſhe ſaid: Mr. *Kingſton*, I hear I ſhall not die afore Noon, " and I am very ſorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this " time and paſt my Pain. I told her it ſhould be no pain, it was " ſo ſottle. And then ſhe ſaid, I heard ſay the Executioner was " very good, and I have a little Neck, and put her Hands about it, " laughing heartily. I have ſeen many Men and alſo Women exe- " cuted, and that they have been in great Sorrow, and to my " Knowledge this Lady has much Joy and Pleaſure in Death. Sir, " her Almoner is continually with her, and had been ſince Two " a-Clock after Midnight. This is the Effect of any thing that is " here at this time, and thus fare you well".

Yours,

WIL. KINGSTON.

She was beheaded a little before Noon, in the Green on *Tower-Hill*, There were preſent the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. Her Head was cut off by the Hangman of *Calais*, as being more expert at his Buſineſs than any in *England*: Her Eyes and Lips were obſerved to move after her Head was cut off, as *Spelman* writes; her Body was thrown into a common Cheſt of Elm that was made to put Armour in, and was buried in the Chapel within the *Tower* before Twelve a Clock. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 203.

1536. without any one's yet being able to know for certain whether she was guilty or innocent. The Enemies to her Daughter *Elizabeth* and the Reformation, have blackened her Reputation as much as possible, fancying by that to give a mortal Wound to the *Protestant* Religion. For a contrary Reason, the *Protestants* have omitted nothing that could help to give of her a quite different Idea. But Both have gone upon a false Principle, since the Goodness of a Religion depends not upon the Life and Conversation of the Professors. For my Part, if I may have leave to speak my Opinion, I can never believe that the *Peers*, her Judges, had sufficient Evidence to condemn her as guilty of defiling the King's Bed. However, it cannot be denied that by some Familiarities little becoming a Queen, she gave too great an Advantage over her. As she was young and handsome, without doubt she was not displeased to see the Effect of her Beauty upon all sorts of People, imagining that the Love she inspired them with very much heightned her Merit. Wee see too many Ladies liable to this Infirmity. Be this as it will, it is certain that the Spirit of Party has not a little contributed to the Diversity of Opinions concerning this Queen. Had she not countenanced the Reformation, she would have undoubtedly fewer Accusers among *the Catholicks*; and had she led the King to persecute *the Reformed*, not many of these would undertake to clear her. This is the Way of the World. People are innocent or guilty according to the Party they are of. But besides this general Reason, a particular one may also be found in the Carriage of *Ann Bullen*. She was of a very gay Temper, which had charmed the King, but which after some Years of Enjoyment, served only to raise his Jealousy. On the other Hand, it cannot be denied that she had very good Qualities, and particularly great Charity to the Poor, to whom a few Days before her Disgrace she had given Two Thousand Pound. A Circumstance in the Story of her Death shows likewise that she had a very tender Conscience. After

ſhe was condemned, ſhe fell upon her Knees to the Lady *Bullen* her Siſter-in-law *, and conjured her for God's ſake, to tell the Princeſs *Mary* that ſhe begged her Pardon for her ill Uſage of her. This Charity, and this Tenderneſs of Conſcience would little become a Woman, who ſhould carry on a ſhameful and criminal Commerce with Four Men and her own Brother. But they would be very conſiſtent with a great deal of Indiſcretion and a little Coquetry. 1536.

Though the King had procured the Queen's Condemnation, he was not ſatisfied. He was pleaſed to give her before ſhe died a freſh Cauſe of Mortification, by annulling their Marriage. To that purpoſe he cauſed her to be ſifted and turned ſo many ways, that at laſt ſhe was wrought upon to confeſs a Contract between her and the Lord *Piercy*, now Earl of *Northumberland*, though that Lord proteſted upon his Salvation, that there never was any formal Promiſe of Marriage between them. It was believed that this Confeſſion was drawn from her, by her being given to underſtand that the King would at no other rate be prevailed upon to mitigate that cruel Part of her Sentence of being *burnt*, into the milder Part of *having her Head cut off*. However that be, upon this ſame Confeſſion the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was forced to paſs a Sentence of Divorce between the King and her, and to declare their Daughter *Elizabeth* Illegitimate. What is moſt ſtrange in the King's Proceedings, is, the Artifice he made uſe of, in cauſing the Queen to be condemned before her Marriage was nulled. Had the Divorce been made before the Sentence, ſhe could not have been condemned for an Adultereſs, ſince her Marriage with the King muſt have been conſidered only as a Concubinage. But *Henry* had got ſuch an abſolute Sway over his Subjects, that his Will was the ſole Meaſure of Juſtice and Law. Nay, he ſo little regarded the Publick and his own Reputation, that he married

Henry nulls his Marriage with Ann Bullen.

The King marries Jane Seymour.

* *Burnet* ſays, it was to the Lady *Kingſton*, the Conſtable of the Tower's Lady. Vol. I. p. 204.

1536. married *Jane Seymour* the next Day after *Ann Bullen*'s Death, which argued so strong a Passion, that it served greatly to justify the deceased Queen.

The Princess Mary *reconciled to the King.* Herbert.

The Death of *Ann Bullen* revived the Hopes of *Mary* the King's Daughter by his first Wife *Catharine*. Her Attachment to the Queen her Mother, and her obstinate Refusal to conform herself to the late *Acts* of Parliament, had put her quite out of the King's Favour, who could not bear Contradiction. But the late Event having made the Friends of *Rome* imagine the King might be reconciled to the Pope, they advised *Mary* to accommodate herself to the Times, for fear of losing the Fruits this Change might produce. As there was nothing now that kept the Emperour and the King at a Distance, it was hoped the *Act* which declared her Illegitimate might be repealed, provided she made her Submission to the King her Father. To that End she resolved to write a very humble and respectful Letter to the King, wherein she protested for the future she would have no other Sentiments but His. But *Henry* not satisfied with a Submission expressed in such general Terms, would have her, before he restored her to favour, sign certain Articles which she had hitherto rejected: Namely, the Supremacy, the Renunciation of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Unlawfulness of her Mother's Marriage. *Mary* tried all ways to be excused. But at length, finding the King remained inflexible, she signed them, though contrary to her Opinion, hoping that the Ill she committed in acting against her Conscience, would be productive of much Good *. As for the Princess *Elizabeth*, then about three Years old, she was divested of the Title of *Princess of Wales*, which she had enjoyed from her Birth. However, the King continued still to breed her up in the Court with all the Care and Tenderness of a Father.

A new

* There is one Circumstance which shows the Frugality of that Time. In the Establishment that was made for her Family, there was only 40 *l.* a Quarter assigned for her Privy-Purse. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 208.

A new Parliament meeting the 8th of *June**, an *Act* was paſſed to ſettle the Succeſſion, the Sentence of Divorce between the King and *Ann Bullen* having rendered of no Effect that which was made after their Marriage. By this new *Act* the other was repealed, and the Iſſue of the King's two firſt Marriages was declared Illegitimate, and diſabled from ever inheriting the Crown. Moreover, the *Act* confirmed *Ann Bullen*'s Sentence as being grounded upon very juſt Cauſes*1, and ſettled the Crown after the King's Death upon the Iſſue of Queen *Jane*, or of any other Queen whom he might marry afterwards. Finally, they gave the King full Power to declare the Succeſſion to the Crown, either by his *Letters Patents* under the Great Seal, or by his *laſt Will* ſigned with his Hand; [and if any ſo deſigned to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp upon thoſe before them, or to exclude them, they were declared Traytors;] as were alſo thoſe who ſhould maintain the Lawfulneſs of the former Marriages. Hence it may be eaſily gueſſed, with what an abſolute Sway *Henry* then reigned, ſince, without any Examination, the Parliament approved of all his Actions, and granted him even more than he deſired, by giving him Power to ſettle the Order of his Succeſſors. By that it was in the King's Power to re-place *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in ſuch order as he ſhould pleaſe, or to exclude them altogether. This is a very clear Evidence that the Parliament had not Juſtice and Equity ſo much in View as the pleaſing the King.

1536. *Parliament. New Act of Succeſſion.* Herbert

As

* *Burnet* obſerves, that if full Forty Days be neceſſary for a Summons, then the *Writs* muſt have been iſſued out the Day before the late Queen's Diſgrace; ſo that it was deſigned before the *Juſt*, at *Greenwich*, and conſequently did not flow from any thing that then appeared. Vol. I. p. 209.

*1 Queen *Ann* is ſaid in the *Act*, to have been inflamed with Pride and *carnal* Deſires of her Body; and having confederated herſelf with her Complices, to have committed divers Treaſons to the Danger of the King's Royal Perſon, (with other aggravating Words) for which ſhe had juſtly ſuffered Death, and is now attainted by Act of Parliament. *Ibid.* p. 210.

1536. As soon as Pope *Paul* III had notice of *Ann Bullen*'s Death, he entertained Hopes of getting all that had been done in *England* revoked. To that End, he privately told his Mind to Sir *Gregory Cassali* formerly the King's Ambassador, and having first excused himself about the Sentence of Excommunication which he had given, but which was not yet published, he gave him to understand that he would willingly close with any Expedients which should be deemed proper to bring about a good Agreement between the King and him. But *Henry*, who some few Years ago would have done a great deal to obtain the Pope's Favour, was not now in the same Mind. Nothing was capable of bringing him to let go the Authority he had acquired over the *Clergy*, as well as over the rest of his Subjects, and which rendered his Power more extensive than he expected at first. On the contrary, to cut off all the Pope's Hopes, he got the Parliament to confirm by two new *Acts* whatever had been done against him. By the first, all Persons were to incur the Pains of a *Præmunire*, who endeavoured to restore in *England* the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; and all Officers both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* were commanded, under several Penalties, to punish those who should dare to break this *Statute*. The second nulled and abolished all Dispensations, Immunities and Privileges flowing from the Court of *Rome*, saving to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* the Power of confirming what should not be contrary to the Law of God, or common Decency, [which Confirmation was to pass under the Great Seal.]

The Pope tries to make up Matters with Henry,

who rejects his Proposals.

Statute against the Pope.

Another about the Marriage of the King's Relations. Occasion of it.

In this Session two considerable *Acts* more were passed, but which related not to Religion. By the first, it was forbid, under severe Penalties, to marry in the next Degrees of the Blood Royal without the King's Licence first had. This Statute was made on account of *Thomas Howard* Brother of the Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom *Margaret Douglass*, Niece to the King [and Daughter to the Queen of *Scotland*, then living in the *English* Court] had plighted her Faith, without designing

ſigning to acquaint the King her Uncle with it. *Henry* offended at their Boldneſs, ſent them both to the *Tower*, and to prevent the like Attempts for the future, procured the above-mentioned *Act*. By the Second it was provided, that all Uſurpations of the Parliament upon the Royal Authority, before the King was Twenty-four Years of Age, might be repealed by *Letters Patents* under the Great Seal. Thus it is that both *Houſes* of Parliament employed their whole Authority to give the Sovereign a Power which his Predeceſſors had never enjoyed, as if they had been met purely for that Purpoſe. 1536.

Another Statute in favour of the King.

But it was not only with reſpect to *Civil* Government, that the Bounds of the Royal Authority were enlarged. The *Clergy*, unwilling to be behind the Parliament in that Point, uſed the ſame Endeavours to become agreeable to the King, by approving all his Proceedings. The *Convocation* meeting at the ſame Time, confirmed the Sentence of the Invalidity of the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen*, upon the ſame Ground which had ſerved to procure it, namely, a Pre-Contract with the Lord *Percy*, though that Lord denied it upon Oath.

The Clergy *approves the King's late Divorce.* Burnet.

In a few Days after the lower *Houſe* of *Convocation* ſent to the upper *Houſe* Sixty-ſeven Opinions, which they thought worthy to be condemned. At the ſame Time the Deputies made great Complaints againſt thoſe who would make Innovations in Religion. Theſe Complaints were levelled at *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, *Shaxon*, *Latimer*, and ſome others who were noted as the Heads or Promoters of the Reformation, though they were not named *. Care was taken to mix with theſe Sixty-ſeven Opinions, the moſt part whereof were drawn from the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*, ſeveral

Complaints againſt the Reformers.

* *Burnet* obſerves, that *Cranmer* promoted the Reformation, *prudently* and *ſolidly*. *Latimer*, *zealouſly* and *ſimply*; *Shaxon*, with much indiſcreet *Pride* and *Vanity*. Vol. I. p. 214.

1536. Tenets of the old *Lollards*, and the *Anabaptists*, to insinuate that those of whom they complained favoured them all alike. The Enemies of the *Reformers* hoped to make them lose the King's Favour, who affected a great Rigour against such as were termed *Hereticks*. After the Death of *Ann Bullen* they scarce doubted but all those whom she had loved or protected would have a share in her Ruin. But they were disappointed in their Expectations. *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* were never more in the King's Favour, who even gave presently after to *Cromwell* a fresh Mark of his Esteem, by constituting him his *Vicegerent* in all *Ecclesiastical* Matters. So instead of the lower *House*'s Complaints being any Detriment to the Reformation, or Reformers, they seem rather to have added to the Credit of the two Heads. This was quickly visible when it was seen that they had perswaded the King to go one Step farther in the Reformation, by retrenching in the Publick Worship, such Ceremonies as were not founded upon the Word of God. This Resolution being taken, the King acquainted the *Convocation* that he wished them to set about the Examination of the Ceremonies, to the End such as were useless and insignificant might be retrenched.

Cromwell is made Vicegerent. Herbert.

Articles proposed by the King to the Clergy.

But those who were against the Reformation had a much greater Reason to be alarmed, when some Days after *Cromwell* brought into the Upper *House* of *Convocation*, Articles drawn up by the King himself, containing sundry Alterations in the *Doctrines*, with Orders to examine them, and report to the King the Result of their Debates. Then it was that the two Parties openly divided, the one to promote, and the other to oppose the Reformation. *Cranmer* was at the Head of the first, and with him joined *Goodrich* Bishop of *Ely*, *Shaxton* of *Sarum*, *Latimer* of *Worcester*, *Fox* of *Hereford*, *Hilsey* of *Rochester*, *Barlow* of St. *David*'s, *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, was Head of the Second. And with him were *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, *Tonstal* of *Durham*, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, *Longland*

Grand Debates between the two Parties.

of *Lincoln*, *Sherburn* * of *Chicheſter*, *Nix* of *Norwich* *1, *Kite* of *Carliſle*. Theſe who were private Favourites of the Pope's Intereſt, ſtill hoping for a Reconciliation with *Rome*, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all Innovations, for fear the Breach ſhould become the wider. But this Party lay under a great Diſadvantage, in that *Cromwell* and *Cranmer*, who had the King's Ear, ſuggeſted to him that moſt of the Abuſes which they required to be aboliſhed, had a direct Tendency to ſupport the uſurped Power of the Pope. In ſhort, after many Debates, the *Convocation* agreed upon certain Articles which were digeſted in form of *Conſtitutions*, the Subſtance whereof is as follows : 1536.

Conſtitutions made by the Clergy.

I. The *Holy Scriptures* are laid down as the Foundation of Faith, together with the three *Creeds*, the *Apoſtles*, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanaſian*, and the four firſt *General Councils*.

II. The Neceſſity of *Baptiſm* was eſtabliſhed in the Second, which forbids alſo its being repeated.

III. In the Third, *Pennance* is reckoned neceſſary to Salvation, conſiſting of *Contrition*, *Auricular Confeſſion*, and Amendment of Life.

IV. The Fourth eſtabliſhes as a Fundamental Doctrine the *real Preſence of Chriſt*'s Body in the *Euchariſt*.

V. In the Fifth it is ſaid, that Juſtification is attained by Regeneration, which conſiſts of *Contrition*, *Faith*, and *Charity*.

* *Sherburn*, upon what Inducement is not known, reſigned his Biſhoprick, which was given to *Richard Sampſon* Dean of the Chapel. A Penſion of 400 *l.* being reſerved to *Sherburn*, and confirmed by this Parliament.

*1 *Nix* had alſo offended the King ſignally, by ſome Correſpondence with *Rome*, and was long kept in the *Marſhalſea*, and was convicted and found in a Præmunire : But the King conſidering his old Age, upon his Submiſſion pardoned him. He died the laſt Year, though *Fuller* in his ſlight way makes him ſit in this Convocation. *Burnet*.

1536. VI. It is appointed in the ſixth, that *Images* ſhould ſtand in the Churches, but that in *cenſing*, *kneeling*, and *offering* to them, People ſhould not do it to the *Image*, but to God and his Honour.

VII. In the Seventh, *Saints* are to be honoured, but without believing that ſuch Things are to be obtained at their Hands, as belonging only to God to beſtow.

VIII. In the eighth, *Saints* are to be prayed to, provided it be done without Superſtition. The Days ſet apart for their Memories are to be obſerved; unleſs the King ſhould leſſen the Number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

IX. The *Ceremonies* uſed in the Church are to be retained, as the *Veſtments* of the Prieſts, *Holy Water*, *Holy Bread*, bearing *Candles* on *Candlemas*-Day, giving *Aſhes* on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, bearing *Palms* on *Palm-Sunday*, creeping to the *Croſs* on *Good-Friday* and kiſſing it, hallowing the *Font*, and other *Exorciſms* and *Benedictions*.

X. The Tenth declares it good to pray for the *Dead*, but that it is neceſſary to correct the Abuſes which had been advanced under the Pretence of *Purgatory*, the Pope's *Pardons*, *Maſſes* ſaid in certain Places, or before certain Images. In fine, that ſince we don't know the State Souls are in after Death, nor the Place where they are, we ought to recommend them to God's Mercy in general Terms only.

The King approves them.

Theſe *Conſtitutions* having been preſented to the King, who corrected them in ſeveral Places *, were ſigned by *Cromwell*, *Cranmer*, ſeventeen *Biſhops*, forty *Abbots*

* The King did not correct the engroſſed and ſigned Articles, as *Rapin* and others have been led to imagine, by miſunderſtanding *Burnet*'s Words in his Vol. I. p. 217. For his meaning was, (as he explains it himſelf in Vol. III. p. 123) That there are ſeveral Draughts of theſe Articles that are in many Places corrected by the King's own Hand, ſome of which Corrections are very long and very material. Of theſe he ſpoke, and not of the engroſſed Articles ſigned by the *Convocation*.

Abbots and *Priors*, and fifty *Archdeacons* and *Proctors*, of the lower Houſe of *Convocation*, among whom was *Polydore Virgil* [Archdeacon of *Wells*,] Author of a Hiſtory of *England*, publiſhed afterwards by the King's Order. Theſe Articles being made Publick, occaſioned great Variety of Cenſures. Thoſe that deſired a Reformation had got ſome Ground with reſpect to *Images* and *Purgatory*, but chiefly in that the Scriptures were made the Standard of *Faith*, becauſe they hoped from that Principle to draw one Day ſome Inferences of very great Moment. But what had been decided concerning *Auricular Confeſſion*, and the *real Preſence* of *Chriſt*'s Body in the *Euchariſt* troubled them extremely. Not only were theſe Articles directly contrary to their Sentiments, but they plainly ſaw how difficult it would be to reviſe them, by Reaſon of the King's Prejudice, who believed them to be unqueſtionable. The other Party were under an unſpeakable Conſternation, to ſee Articles ſo long ſince determined, brought under Examination, the *Papal* Authority aboliſhed, and the Exiſtence of *Purgatory* called in Queſtion. Thus theſe *Conſtitutions* pleaſed neither Party. The one thought the *Reformers* had behaved too faintly, in not puſhing the Reformation farther, and could not forbear blaming their Compliance, in ſuffering *Doctrines* ſo repugnant to Truth, to be eſtabliſhed. But it was replied, that all could not be done at one Time, and that it would have been imprudent obſtinately to require that the *Errors* the People were not yet ſenſible of, ſhould be cut off all at once. The other Party were very angry alſo with the Biſhops, for having ſo baſely abandoned *Truths* admitted ſo many Ages ſince, by the *Catholick Church*. But the Truth is, it was not in the Power of either Party to do otherwiſe. The King himſelf managed the whole, having ſettled in his Cabinet *Council* what he thought fit to alter or keep. But there was not one of his *Council* that dared to be againſt his Opinion, or that believed it prudent to combat his Sentiments, for fear a two great Oppoſition ſhould produce

1536.

Opinions of the two Parties upon theſe Articles.

1536. duce a quite contrary Effect. All that a Man could do, was to try to enlighten the King's Mind mildly and insensibly, without striving to bring him by a sort of Compulsion, to what he thought reasonable.

The King being cited to a Council *advises with the* Convocation.

Before the *Convocation* broke up, the King communicating to both *Houses* a Summons he had received to a *Council*, which was to meet at *Mantua*. The Pope, without consulting him, had called this *Council* in concert with the Emperour, and was to preside in it by his *Legates*. So *Henry* might well expect to lose his Cause before such a *Council*, had he been so unwise as to submit to its Decisions. Indeed he had appealed from the Pope to a *General Council*; but there were many Queries to be resolved, in order to know whether this appointed at *Mantua* was lawful, and fortified with a sufficient Authority. Mean while, before he returned an Answer to the Summons, he was pleased to advise with the *Clergy*, who after mature Deliberation, presented to him a Writing to this Effect: That a true and lawful *General Council* was a very good Means to preserve the Peace and Union of the *Church*; but that before a *Council* was called, it was necessary to consider, First, who had Authority to call one. Secondly, if the Reasons for calling one were weighty. Thirdly, who should be the Judges in the same. Fourthly, what should be the manner of Proceeding. Fifthly, what Points ought to be discussed there. Then it was declared that neither the Pope nor any Prince in the World had Power to call a *General Council*, without the Consent of all the Sovereign Princes in *Christendom*. Pursuant to this Declaration, *Henry* published a Protestation against the *Council* which was to meet at *Mantua*, wherein he spoke plainly and roundly of the Designs and Conduct of the Pope. He concluded with saying, that he could not consider as Free and General, a Council wherein the Bishop of *Rome* should preside, which should meet in a suspected Place, and which must be composed only of a small Number of Prelates till such

The Clergy's *Answer.*

The King protests against the Council *of* Mantua.

such Time as the War between the Emperour and *France* was over. 1536.

The Parliament is prorogued.

The 18th of *July* the Parliament was prorogued, after a Session but of forty Days, wherein however several *Acts* of Moment were passed.

Reginald Pole falls out with the King Herbert.

At this Time, Cardinal *Pole* was in high repute for his Learning and Eloquence. His Name was *de la Pole*; but every where except in *England* he is so well known by that of *Polus*, that one cannot now call him by any other, without running the risk of confounding the Reader. He was descended of *Michael de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and Favourite of *Richard* II. From that Time this Family continually increased in Greatness, insomuch that in the Reign of *Henry* VI the Earl of *Suffolk* was honoured with the Title of *Duke*. After that, a Lord of this same Family married a Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence* Brother to *Edward* IV. Of this Marriage were born among other Children, *Reginald de la Pole*, or *Polus*, the Cardinal I am speaking of, who consequently was Cousin to the King *. As he was a younger Brother, he was designed for the *Church*, which also his natural good Qualities made him very fit for. In his younger Years, he had made so great Progress in all the Sciences, that the King intending to raise him to the highest Dignity of the *Church*, had given him the *Deanery* of *Exeter*, with several other Benefices that he might go and finish his Studies Abroad. He went first to *Paris*, where he stayed some Years, and where he forfeited in some Measure the King's Favour, for refusing to concur with his Agents, in procuring the Determinations of the *French* Universities, in the Business of the Divorce. This hindered not however but that he returned to *England*, where he was present as

* This is one of the greatest Mistakes concerning Families *Rapin* has been Guilty of. Cardinal *Pole* was no ways related to *de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Cardinal's Father Sir *Richard Pole* Knight of the *Garter* was a *Welshman*, and married *Margaret* Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*. See Note, p. 115. of this Volume.

1535. *Dean* of *Exeter*, at the *Convocation*, which acknowledged the King *ſupreme Head of the Church of* England *. There is even Reaſon to preſume he was not of the Number of thoſe who were againſt this new *Title*, becauſe he kept his *Deanery* ſeveral Years after. At length he travelled to *Italy*, and lived ſome Time at *Padua*, where he contracted a Friendſhip with *Bembo*, *Sadolett*, and ſome other celebrated Wits. The Reputation he acquired in theſe Parts, made the King deſirous to call him Home, intending to reward his Merit, which was univerſally known. But *Pole* ſtill declined on ſome Pretenſe or other to comply with the King's Deſire. At laſt finding Delays could prevail no longer, he was forced to write to the King the true Reaſon of his Refuſal. And that was, he could not approve either of his Divorce, or his Separation from the *Apoſtolick See*. *Henry*, who was extremely deſirous to win him, ſent him a Writing containing his Apology, and the Reaſons of his Proceedings againſt the Pope. Upon which *Pole* wrote his Book *De Unione Eccleſiaſtica*, wherein he takes the Liberty to ſpeak of the King in very offenſive Terms, comparing him to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and exhorting the Emperour and the reſt of the Princes to turn their Arms againſt him. He was not ſatisfied with ſending over to the King his Book in *Manuſcript*, but had it printed and publiſhed *1. *Henry* provoked, as one may eaſily gueſs, at ſuch a violent and diſreſpectful Behaviour, tried to decoy him to *England*, by writing to him how much he eſteemed his Book, deſiring him withal to come over and explain ſome difficult Paſſages by Word of Mouth. *Pole* took Care how he

* He ſays himſelf he was not Preſent, which ſhows that at that Time he was contented to be ſilent in his Opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppoſe what was doing. *Burnet*, Vol. III. p. 124.

*1 Some believe that the Spring of this Oppoſition he made to the King was a ſecret Affection he had for the Lady *Mary*. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 221.

he ſuffered himſelf to be thus entrapped. So the King perceiving his Artifice took not Effect, deveſted him of all his Dignities, the Loſs whereof was amply made up to him by the Pope and Emperour. Some Time after, he was rewarded with a *Cardinal*'s *Hat*. By that he became ſtill more attached to the Pope's Intereſt, and a greater Enemy to the King, who not being able to reach his Perſon, made his Family and Kindred feel the Effects of his Indignation. 1536.

Suppreſſions of the leſſer Monaſteries. Burnet.

The Suppreſſion of the leſſer *Monaſteries*, enacted in the laſt Seſſion of the late Parliament, was not done till *Auguſt*, though the *Commiſſioners* appointed for that Purpoſe had received their Inſtructions ever ſince *April*. In all Appearance the King had a Mind to ſee the Iſſue of the new Parliament before they proceeded in the Matter. As their Account was ſuppreſſed in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, one cannot ſay poſitively what it contained. What is certain, is, that the Sticklers for the Pope and the old Religion accuſed them of committing numberleſs Extortions and Robberies, and of having made falſe Reports of what they diſcovered in this *Viſitation*, in order to leſſen the Horror People conceived of their Oppreſſions. This may be partly true. Nay, it is not unlikely that theſe Men, either from a Deſire to make their Court to the King, or from a Greedineſs to enrich themſelves, went beyond their Inſtructions. On the other Side, it is alſo probable that their Accuſers highly aggravated the Crimes they laid to their Charge. However that be, vaſt Multitudes were extremely diſguſted at the Suppreſſion of ſo many *Religious Houſes*, which they had held in great Veneration. All the *Friars* of theſe *Houſes* who wanted to become *Seculars*, had a Diſpenſation from the King, and the reſt were removed to the larger *Monaſteries*, which were not meddled with. The *Churches* and *Cloyſters* were pulled down, and the Materials ſold to the King's Uſe.

One

1536. *Abundance of People discontented.*

One may easily judge that the *Monks* spared no Pains to spirit up the People to a Rebellion. They found their work so much the more easy, as great Discontents reigned every where. The Nobility and Gentry took it very ill that the King should have the Estates of the suppressed *Monasteries*, the most Part whereof were founded by their Ancestors. Besides, they were deprived of the Conveniency of providing for their younger Children, when they were overstocked, and of lodging as they travelled in these *Houses*, where they were always well entertained. The poorer Sort of People murmured still louder, because Multitudes of them lived by the Alms which were daily distributed by these *Houses*. In short, the devout Bigots thought the Souls of their Ancestors must now lie in *Purgatory*, since so many *Masses* which were said for their Deliverance were abolished by the Suppression of the Monasteries.

The Disorders of the suppressed Houses published.

The Court hearing of these Murmurs, endeavoured to compose them, by publishing the Disorders which had been discovered in these *Houses*. But this signified nothing. Besides, that these Reports were deemed very much aggravated, 'twas said, why were not these Abuses severely punished and reformed, without destroying whole *Houses* for ever? At last, *Cromwell* found out an Expedient to allay these Discontents in part, by advising the King to sell the Lands of the suppressed *Monasteries* at very easy Rates, and oblige the Purchasers, under severe Penalties, to keep up the wonted Hospitality. But this Expedient was not capable of entirely appeasing the Murmurs of the People, though the King strove to please them in some measure, by erecting a-new One and Thirty of these *Houses* *.

The King sells their Lands at easy Rates.

Whilst

* The Purchasers being obliged to keep up the old Hospitality, (which they were to do upon the Penalty of paying every Month 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to be levied by *the Justices of the Peace*, who were impowerd to enquire of the Matter) the common Sort, who, like those

Whilſt the People were in this Fermentation, the King took it in his Head to publiſh, in the Name of *the Vicegerent*, ſome *Injunctions* to regulate the Behaviour of Perſons in *Holy Orders*, many of whom led very irregular Lives. Theſe *Injunctions* contained nothing but what had been ordained by divers *Synods* *. And yet the *Clergy* were extremely offended, becauſe they could not endure to ſee themſelves ſubject to the Orders of the *Vicegerent*, whoſe Slaves, as they ſaid, they were going to be in a much greater Degree than they

1536. *Injunctions to the Clergy.*

The inferior Clergy murmur at them.

thoſe of old, that followed Chriſt for the Loaves, were moſt concerned for the Loſs of a Dinner on *Sunday* and Holidays, were in a great Meaſure ſatisfied; and the Gentry, by having good Bargains, were drawn in to like what was done, and to aſſiſt the Crown for ever in the Defence of theſe Laws, their own Intereſt being interwoven with the Rights of the Crown. The Commiſſioners, as was but juſt, paid all the Debts of the ſuppreſſed *Monaſteries:* But when *Relicks* happened to be pawned, it ſeems they refuſed to redeem them. Thus one Man loſt Forty Pound which he had lent upon St. *Andrew's Finger*, except one Ounce of Silver with which it was covered. The Writers that live near the time ſay, about Ten Thouſand *Friars* and *Nuns* were ſet to ſeek for their Livings. The *Abbots* and *Priors* had ſmall Penſions. *Burnet*, *Herbert*.

* The Preamble to theſe *Injunctions* ran thus: "In the Name of "God Amen. By the Authority and Commiſſion of the excellent "Prince *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of "*France*, Defender of the *Faith*, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth "ſupreme Head under *Chriſt* of the Church of *England*. I *Thomas* "Lord *Cromwell*, Privy-Seal, and *Vicegerent* to the King's ſaid "Highneſs, for all his Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, "do, for the Advancement of the true Honour of Almighty "God, encreaſe of Virtue, and diſcharge of the King's Majeſty, "give and exhibit unto you —— theſe *Injunctions* following, *&c.*" This was the firſt *Act* of pure *Supremacy* done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the Two *Convocations*. They were penned, it is like, by *Cranmer*. They were not reliſhed by the Majority of the *Clergy*. The great Profits they made by their Images and *Relicks*, and the *Pilgrimages* to them, were now taken away; and yet ſevere Impoſitions were laid on them: A Fifth for Repairs; a Tenth at leaſt for an Exhibitioner; and a Fortieth for Charity, which were cried out upon as intolerable Burdens. Their Labour was alſo increaſed, and they were bound up to a ſtrict Life. In ſhort, the very ſame Opinions about Pilgrimages, *Saints*, &c. and about inſtructing the People in the Chriſtian Religion in the vulgar Tongue, for which the *Lollards* were not long ago burnt, were now ſet up by the King's Authority. *See* Burnet's *Collection*, Vol. I.

1536. they had been the Pope's. Thus the inferior *Clergy*, the *Monks* and the *Bigots* being alike concerned in what had been already done, and in what, very probably, was intended to be further done, inspired those on whom they had any Influence, with a Spirit of Rebellion, which quickly broke out into a Flame.

Insurrection in Lincolnshire. Herbert.

The first Rising was in *Lincolnshire*, where Dr. *Mackerel* Prior of *Barlings* drew after him a great Body of Men, whom he headed under the Name of *Captain Cobler*. The Rebels forthwith sent their Grievances to the King in a very humble Manner, telling him, they acknowledged his *Supremacy*, and were content he should enjoy the *Tenths* and *First Fruits* of the *Livings*, but withal prayed him to advise with his Nobility about redressing their Grievances. By that they taxed the King indirectly with following the Counsels of *Thomas Cromwell*, who was of a mean Extraction. These Grievances were, *That* he had suppressed a great Number of Monasteries; *That* large *Subsidies* had been granted by Parliament without any Occasion; *That* he admitted into his *Council* Persons of mean Birth, whose sole View was to enrich themselves, instead of consulting the Good of the *State*; *That* several Bishops had subverted the antient Faith, and embraced new Doctrines at all times condemned by the *Church*; *That* having seen so many *Religious Houses* plundered, they were afraid the *Churches* would undergo the same Fate.

The Grievances of the Rebels.

The King's Manifesto.

The King returned an Answer to these Grievances in a large *Manifesto*. But as his Reasons were grounded upon Principles which the Male-contents admitted not, the *Manifesto* had no great Effect. Mean while the King was at no small Loss; his Troops were but few, and he had certain Advice that a like Insurrection was preparing in *Yorkshire* and the other neighbouring Counties. He ordered however the Duke of *Suffolk* to march, though with few Troops, and try to stop the Progress of the Rebels. But the Duke finding himself too weak, thought it more proper to see to appease the Commotion by way of

Negotia-

Negotiation than by Arms. So when he ſent to the Male-contents the King's Anſwer to their Grievances, he took occaſion to let them know that they ſhould not deſpair of Pardon. Upon which, ſome of their Heads privately ſent him word, that they had joined with the Rebels purely to bring them back to their Duty, wherein they hoped to ſucceed, provided the King would be pleaſed to grant them a General Pardon. The Duke diſliked not this Overture, which afforded him a Handle to write to the King, and ſolicite him in their behalf, offering however to march againſt the Rebels if he was ordered. At the ſame time, the King received News that the *Yorkſhiremen* had taken up Arms, and as he was apprehenſive the others would join them, he made haſte and iſſued out a Proclamation, granting an abſolute Pardon to all thoſe that ſhould return to their Homes. The Proclamation ſucceeded according to Expectation. The Rebels immediately diſperſed, and by ſo doing freed the King from great Perplexity. Some however chooſe rather to go to the *Yorkſhire* Rebels than accept of the Pardon *. 1536.

The Rebels accept of a Pardon.

The Inſurrection of *Yorkſhire* was much more dangerous than that of *Lincolnſhire*. This laſt ſeemed to have been made by Accident, and by a ſudden Motion. The other was in purſuance of a ſettled Deſign, wherein were concerned ſeveral Perſons of Note, who only waited before they declared, to ſee how the People in general ſtood affected. One *Aske*, a Man of good Judgment, headed the Male-contents of thoſe Parts, where the Diſtance of the Court, and the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, made the People more bold than in other Places; beſides that, the *Monks* had all long had greater Credit in the *Northern* Counties than any where elſe in the Kingdom. Ever ſince *July*, *Aske* had attempted to win the Lord *Dacres*, who had amuſed him ſome time with hopes that his Negotiation would have a good Iſſue. In all probability this Lord ſent

A more dangerous Rebellion in Yorkſhire.

Aske *head of the Rebels.*

* Captain *Cobler* was taken and executed. *Burnet.*

1536. ſent the King the firſt News of the Plot. At laſt the Male-contents took up Arms, and flocked toge ther in very great Numbers about the End of *Auguſt* juſt after the *Lincolnſhire* Rebellion broke out. A ſoon as they ſaw themſelves ſtrong enough, they would not ſuffer the Lords and Gentlemen to ſtand neuter at Home, but forced them either to fly away or ſide with them, and to ſwear they would be true to the Cauſe they had taken in Hand. This Cauſe was properly Religion, as they plainly gave to un derſtand, by putting a *Crucifix* in their Banners * Beſides, they re-eſtabliſhed the Monks in ſome o the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries. As they met with no Oppoſition, becauſe the King's Forces were employed againſt the Rebels of *Lincolnſhire*, they made great Progreſs at firſt, and ſtill much greater, after *Rich mondſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and the County of *Weſtmoreland* engaged on their Side

The Earl of Shrewſ- bury *riſes for the King.*

George Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury* was the only Perſon that ventured to take up Arms for the King without receiving his Commiſſion, though he was not ignorant that at ſuch a Juncture his Proceedings might be ill conſtrued. But as he meant well, he hoped the King would forgive a Fault which he committed purely for his Service. And indeed the King ſent him a Com miſſion, conſtituting him his Lieutenant againſt the Rebels. At the ſame time, he ordered the Duke of *Suffol*

* Their March was called *the Pilgrimage of Grace*, and to in veigle the People, ſome Prieſts marched before them with *Cro* in their Hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with th *Five Wounds* and a *Chalice*, and every one wore on his Sleeve a Badge an Emblem of *the Five Wounds* of *Chriſt*, with the Nam *Jeſus* wrought in the midſt. All that joined them took an Oat " That they entered into this *Pilgrimage of Grace* for the Love " God, the Preſervation of the King's Perſon and Iſſue, the purif " ing the Nobility, and driving away all baſe-born and evil Cou " ſellors; and for no particular Profit of their own, nor to " Diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill any for Envy, but to take befo " them the *Croſs* of *Chriſt*, his Faith, the Reſtitution of " *Church*, and the Suppreſſion of *Hereticks* and their Opinion Theſe were ſpecious Pretences. So People flocked about th *Croſſes* and *Standards* in ſuch Numbers, that they grew 40,0 ſtrong. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 229.

Suffolk not to ſtir from *Lincolnſhire*, leſt the Male-contents there ſhould take it in their Heads to go and join with thoſe of the *North*. Moreover, he gave Commiſſions to ſeveral Lords to levy Troops, whilſt on his Part he drew together as many as poſſible, in order to form an Army, the Command whereof he deſigned for the Duke of *Norfolk*. But, either from the Backwardneſs of the People, or for ſome other Reaſon, the Army was not ſtrong enough to make head againſt the Rebels. 1536.

The Duke of Norfolk *commands the King's Forces.*

Whilſt the King was making theſe Preparations, *Aske* was not idle. He approached *Pontfract*-Caſtle, where the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Lord *d'Arcy* were, and conſtrained them to ſurrender the Place. As theſe two Lords were reckoned Well-wiſhers to the Pope, many People believed they were not ſorry that the Want of Proviſions furniſhed them with a Pretence to deliver up *Pontfract* to the Rebels, and march with them in their other Expeditions *. Shortly after, *Aske* took alſo *York* and *Hull*, and by fair or foul Means obliged all the Nobility of the County to join with his Army *1. Thus this Affair grew daily more important, and the Court became apprehenſive that the reſt of the Kingdom would follow the Example of the *Northern* Counties. This Apprehenſion was the more reaſonable, becauſe at the ſame time there were in all Parts Men who made it their Buſineſs to ſpread Reports capable of inciting the whole Nation to rebel, by putting them in fear of the utter Subverſion of the Religion they had hitherto profeſſed.

The Archbiſhop of York *and the Lord* d'Arcy *ſurrender* Pontfract, *and are ſuſpected.*

The Rebels take York *and* Hull.

Mean

* They were both made to take the Oath in the Note above.

*1 *Henry Cliſſord* Earl of *Cumberland*, (17 *Hen.* 8.) Grandſon of the Lord *Clifford*, ſlain in the 1 of *Ed.* 4. held out this Caſtle of *Skipton* againſt all that Force, though 500 Gentlemen (retained at his Coſt) had deſerted him. Sir *Ralph Evers* alſo defended *Scarborough* Caſtle till he was relieved, though himſelf and Men had nothing but Bread and Water for twenty Days. *Herbert*,

1536. *The King tries to amuse the Rebels.* Mean while the King chose to amuse the Rebels, till his Army was ready. The 20th of *October*, he sent to them a Herald with a Proclamation to be read to the Troops. *Aske* gave the Herald Audience, sitting in State with the Archbishop on the one hand, and the Lord *d'Arcy* on the other. But when he heard the Contents of the Proclamation, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. *Henry* finding Matters were in an ill Way, dispatched the Duke of *Norfolk* with what Troops he had drawn together, with whom were to join those that were under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and some others, levied in haste by the Marquiss of *Exeter*. But these three small Bodies [making in all but 5000 Men] bore no Proportion to the Forces of the Rebels. So the King found himself obliged to publish a Proclamation, commanding all the Nobility to meet him [at *Northampton*] the 7th of *November*. Mean time *Aske*, at the Head of Thirty thousand Men, advanced towards *Doncaster*, where the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquiss of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, were encamped with 5000 Men only, and without any other Remedy but to defend the Pass of the River lying between the two Armies. But as it was fordable in several Places, they would doubtless have been at a sad Non-plus, if a great Rain, which fell very seasonably, had not made the River unpassable. This was certainly a very lucky Accident for the King. If his Troops had been defeated on this Occasion, as it was very likely, considering their small Number, it would have done him an unspeakable Damage.

The Duke of Norfolk *marches against the Rebels.*

Accident which hinders the Royal Army from being defeated.

Sentiments and Conduct of the Duke of Norfolk. I have before observ'd, that the Duke of *Norfolk* approv'd not of the Alterations which had been made in Religion. For which Reason, it could not but be very disagreeable to him to command the King's Army against People who had taken up Arms in a Cause which he could not dislike. Mean while, he saw himself in a very slippery Business, since he was as much afraid of conquering as of being conquer'd. In the first Case, a Victory over the Rebels would infallibly

fallibly cut off all Hopes from the Party he ſecretly favour'd; in the ſecond Caſe, he ran the Riſque of being ſuſpected by the King, and forfeiting his Favour. Luckily for him, his Inability to hurt the Rebels, helped him out at this Pinch, by affording him a Handle to proceed with them by way of Negotiation. As he held Intelligence with ſome of their Leaders, he ordered it ſo by their means, that they came to a Reſolution to preſent a very humble *Petition* to the King. That done, they acquainted the Duke with it, intreating him to back it with his Intereſt. The Duke readily granted their Requeſt; but he told them, that in order to obtain a favourable Anſwer from the King, there muſt be a Ceſſation of Arms, during which he took upon him to go himſelf and preſent their *Petition*. This Propoſal being cloſed with, the Ceſſation was agreed upon, and the Duke ſet out for *London**. At ſuch a Juncture, this Ceſſation was very advantagious to the King, becauſe his Army being very weak, he wanted Time to raiſe more Forces. For this very Cauſe, many of the Rebels ſeeing that, contrary to all Reaſon, the King had Leiſure given him to draw his Troops together, and imagining they were betray'd by their Leaders, withdrew to their Homes. 1536.

A Truce very advantagious to the King.

The Diſcord which began to ſpread among the Rebels, gave the King ſome Proſpect of coming off at a cheap Rate. And therefore he delay'd ſending an Anſwer to their *Petition*, expecting that their Army would diſperſe by degrees. But the Leaders perceiving at length that the Court ſpun out Matters on purpoſe, and that thoſe Delays muſt utterly ruin their Affairs, renewed their Hoſtilities, and reſolved once more to attack the Royal Army. Had this Reſolution been executed, it would have, probably, chang'd the Face of Affairs very much; but another great Rain ſo ſwelled the River which parted the two Armies,

Henry tries to gain time.

* Together with Sir *Ralph Elecker* and *Robert Bowes*, whom the Rebels ſent with him. *Herbert.*

1536. that it was not poſſible for them to paſs it*. The King hearing of this, thought it neceſſary to give them ſome ſort of Satisfaction, for fear they ſhould put their Reſolution in practice before he was ready. To that End, he ſent them an Anſwer to their *Petition*; but it was expreſs'd in ſuch general Terms, that they could not depend upon what was promiſed therein. At the ſame time, he propoſed that if they would ſend three hundred Deputies to *Doncaſter*, Commiſſioners from him ſhould meet them there, and treat about a Peace. His Aim was to gain Time, imagining, the three hundred Deputies would never agree, and that their Diſſention, by prolonging the Negotiation, would afford him Leiſure to have his Army in a Readineſs. A few Days after, the Duke of *Norfolk* returning to *Doncaſter*, ſent word to the Rebels that he had brought them a general Pardon, Ten only excepted, Six of whom were named, and Four not. But this Pardon was unanimouſly rejected, becauſe the ſix Perſons named were ſome of the Heads, and becauſe every one was in fear of being one of the Four whom the King had reſerv'd. So the King had no other View but to ſow Diſcord among them, and to make way for the Treaty at *Doncaſter*, which they accepted at laſt, and ſent their three hundred Deputies thither*1. The Court was in hopes, theſe Deputies would never agree about their Demands, and that their Diſputes would afford the Time that was wanted. But as it was eaſy for the Leaders to dive into the Court's Deſign, they gave the Deputies their Inſtructions in Writing, from which they were not to depart. Theſe Inſtructions contain'd

Artifices of the Court.

Conference at Doncaſter.

* The ſecond Swelling of the River was not according to *Herbert*, &c. till after the Conference at *Doncaſter*, when the Rebels upon the King's rejecting their Demands, reſolved to attack *Doncaſter*.

*1 Among whom were *John* Lord *Scroop*, Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, *Thomas* Lord *D'Arcy*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, *Robert Aſk*, *&c.* who were to treat with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *William Fitzwilliam*, Admiral of *England*, &c. *Herbert*.

Ten Demands, which the Deputies made at the Conference held at *Doncaſter* the 6th of *December*. 1536.

The Rebels Demands.

I. They demanded a general Pardon without any Exception.

II. That a Parliament ſhould be held at *York*.

III. That a Court of Juſtice ſhould be erected there, that the Inhabitants of the *Northern* Counties might not be brought to *London* upon any Law-Suit.

IV. That ſome *Acts* of the late Parliaments which were too grievous to the People, ſhould be repeal'd *.

V. That the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould be declared Legitimate.

VI. That the *Papal* Authority ſhould be eſtabliſhed again upon the old Foot.

VII. That the ſuppreſſed *Monaſteries* ſhould be reſtored to their former State.

VIII. That the *Lutherans* and all Innovators in Religion ſhould be puniſhed ſeverely.

IX. That *Thomas Cromwell* and *Audley* Lord Chancellor ſhould be removed from the Council, and excluded from the next Parliament.

X. That *Lee* and *Leighton*, Viſitors of the *Monaſteries*, ſhould be impriſoned and brought to account for their Briberies and Extortions.

The Conference breaks up.

As the Deputies had not Power to temper theſe Demands, ſo the King's Commiſſioners were not authorized to grant them. The King took care how he pulled down in a Moment what had coſt him many Years to erect. Thus the Conference ended without any Fruit. The Duke of *Norfolk* was very ſorry to ſee that the Matter was like to be decided by Arms. He would have been heartily glad, the King would have granted the Rebels all their Demands. But he

The Duke of Norfolk *labours to make up Matters without a Battle.*

* Namely, Thoſe for the laſt *Subſidy*, being a *Fifteenth*, for *Uſes* for making Words *Miſpriſion* of *Treaſon*, for the *Clergy*'s paying their *Tenths* and *Firſt Fruits* to the King. *Herbert*.

1536. knew too well his Humour and Character, to venture to ſay ſo much to him. Mean while, he was under great Perplexity, he muſt either betray the King's Intereſt, or reſolve to fight the Rebels contrary to his Inclination, and with great Hazard of incurring Diſgrace. At leaſt, he could not avoid, purſuant to the Intent of the Court, ſpinning out the Affair till the King was ready to march, and then he ſaw that the Ruin of the Rebels was inevitable. In this Perplexity, he choſe to write to the King, that the Number of the Rebels daily increaſing, there was danger of their making ſome Attempt which it would be hard to withſtand; that therefore, to prevent the Miſchief which might enſue, it was his Opinion, if his Highneſs pleaſed, that ſome of their Demands ſhould be granted. Upon this Letter, the King empowered him to offer them a general Pardon without Exception, and to promiſe them in his Name, that the next Parliament ſhould be held in the *North*: But withal, he ordered him not to make uſe of theſe Means except in Extremity, and when the Caſe was deſperate. The Duke receiving theſe *Powers*, thought not proper to delay the making uſe of them, ſince it was the only Way to free him from his Streights: He was unwilling openly to betray the King's Intereſt, and on the other hand, he did not care to be inſtrumental to the Rebels Deſtruction, whoſe Sentiments he approved, though he durſt not ſhow it. So, after having by his Emiſſaries, prevailed with the Leaders to comply with the King's Offers, Matters were agreed, and every Man returned to his own Home, to the great Sorrow of the *Monks* and *Bigots*, who had expected quite another Iſſue of their Efforts to excite the People to rebel *. But this Agreement hindered not the *Friars* and *Eccleſiaſticks* in thoſe Parts from continuing to keep up among the People a rebellious Spirit,

The Rebels accept of the Pardon.

* The King ſent alſo a long Anſwer to their Demands, which the Reader may ſee in *Burnet*. Vol. I. p. 232. and *Herbert*, p. 207.

which

which broke out again, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Something muſt be ſaid now of the Matters between the Emperor and the King of *France*, wherein all *Europe* was concerned. 1536.

Affairs between the Emperor and Francis.

When *Francis* I. began the War in *Savoy*, about the end of the laſt Year, the Emperor was in *Sicily*, returning from his *Tunis*-Expedition, but in no Condition to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*. This made him chuſe to try to cool the King of *France*'s Eagerneſs by a Negotiation, till he ſhould be able to aid his Ally. The Death of *Franciſco Sforza*, which fell out in the mean time, furniſhed him with an Opportunity. He intimated to the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding at his Court, that he would not diſpoſe of the Dutchy of *Milan*, till he knew the King of *France*'s Sentiments on that Subject. *Francis* being informed of it, demanded the Dutchy for his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Emperor put him in hopes that he would give it to his third Son the Duke of *Angoulême*, upon certain Terms, which left it in his Power to ſpin out the Negotiation to what length he pleaſed. And indeed, he amuſed him in this manner till *April* 1536, one while ſticking to the Perſon of the Duke of *Angoulême*, another while giving ſome Hopes that he might in the end be prevailed with to confer the Dutchy upon the Duke of *Orleans*. *Francis* having a Mind at laſt to put an end to the Buſineſs, and knowing that the Emperor intended to go to *Rome*, ſent the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to get a poſitive Anſwer from him: But for fear the Events of the War might create ſome Obſtacle to this Negotiation, he order'd Admiral *Brion*, who commanded in *Piedmont*, to ceaſe Hoſtilities.

Bellay.

Negotiation about the Dutchy of Milan.

The Emperor arrives at Rome.

Whilſt the Cardidal of *Lorrain* was on his Journey, the Emperor being come to *Rome*, went a few Days after to a publick *Conſiſtory*, which met at his Requeſt. There, before the Pope and the Cardinals, he inveigh'd againſt the King of *France*, giving to underſtand, that he was the ſole Author of the Wars that had afflicted *Europe* ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne. He took occaſion from thence to ſay, that inſtead of

He offers before the Pope and Cardinals to decide his Quarrel with the French *King in ſingle Combat.*

1536. ſhedding ſo much innocent Blood, it would be better to decide their Quarrel by ſingle Combat with Sword and Poignard, [in their Shirts] in ſome Iſland, or in a Boat. But next day the *French* Ambaſſador demanding whether he had intended to challenge the King his Maſter, he replied, he had no ſuch Intention; but meant only, that the Expedient he offered ſeemed to him to be more reaſonable than a War.

He prepares his Forces. Some time after, the Emperor being at *Sienna*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* went to him, and in the Audiences he had of him, he diſcovered that he had never deſigned to give the Dutchy of *Milan* to a Prince of the Royal Family of *France:* He ſent therefore the King word that he muſt expect War. And indeed, the Emperor was now drawing together all his Forces, purpoſing to bring three Armies into the Field, one in *Piedmont*, which he intended to command in Perſon, another in *Picardy*, and a third in *Champagne*. His Deſign was already ſo publick, that *Francis* could not be ignorant of it. So, fancying that the Emperor meant to exert himſelf moſt in *Picardy*, he called home the greateſt Part of his Army in *Piedmont*, having firſt ordered *Turin* and the other Places he had conquered in that Country to be well ſtored with Ammunition.

Francis draws his Troops out of Italy.

The Emperor marches into Provence.

The *French* Troops quitting *Piedmont*, the Emperor cauſed *Turin* to be inveſted, and whilſt the Siege was carrying on, he headed his Army, and marched towards *Provence*. *Francis*, who was then at *Lyons*, made haſte and provided *Marſeilles* with Neceſſaries, and ordered two Camps to be fortified, one of *Cavaillon*, under the Command of the Marſhal *de Montmorency*, the other of *Valence*, where he came himſelf. There it was that he received the ſad News of the Death of his Son the Dauphin, who was poiſon'd by *Montecuculli*.

Francis forms two Armies.

The Emperor beſieges Marſeilles, *and raiſes the Siege, and returns to* Spain.

The Emperor having entered *Provence*, took *Aix*, and then went and laid Siege to *Marſeilles*, which was begun the 25th of *Auguſt*, and raiſed the 9th of *September*. He had ſo ill taken his Meaſures, that not knowing

knowing how to maintain his Army in *Provence*, he was forced to retire in the utmoſt Diſorder, not without danger of being defeated in his Retreat, if *Francis* had thought fit to attack him. He came to *Genoa* the 2d of *October*, and imbarked for *Spain*. This was the Iſſue of the *Provence-Expedition*, which he had been long meditating, and by means of which he hoped to give a mortal Wound to *France*. 1535.

Whilſt the Emperor was waging War in *Provence*, the Count of *Naſſau* entered *Picardy* with an Army of Thirty Thouſand ſtrong, and took *Guiſe* by Storm. After that he beſieged *Peronne*, which was relieved by the Duke of *Guiſe*. *Campaign in* Picardy.

Francis returning to *Paris* with unſpeakable Satisfaction, for having diſappointed the Emperor's Deſigns, met upon the Way *James* V King of *Scotland*, who was come to demand his Daughter *Magdalen* in Marriage. It was not without much-ado that he was wrought upon to grant his Requeſt, becauſe the Princeſs being ſickly, it was thought that marrying would but ſhorten her Days; but the King of *Scotland* expreſſing a very earneſt Deſire for the Marriage, it was concluded in *December*, and Nuptials were celebrated the 1ſt of *January* 1537. Let us return now to the Affairs of *England*. *Marriage of the King of* Scotland *with* Magdalen *of* France. Buchan. Mezera.

The *Northern Rebellion* had been appeaſed, but in ſuch a manner, that the Cauſe of it was ſtill in being the Malecontents having received no Redreſs of their Grievances, except only that the King had promiſed to call a Parliament in the *North*, which he never intended to do. The Pretence he uſed was, that they left in the *Monaſteries* the *Monks* they had reſtored. But this was a Blind, if ever there was one, ſince it was not their Buſineſs to turn them out, but the King's, who had the Power in his own Hands, whereas they had nothing more to ſay, ſince they had laid down their Arms. The King knowing how the People of the *North* ſtood affected, ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* to remain there with his Army, to keep them in awe. So the Duke buſied himſelf for ſome time, with cauſing 1537. Henry *breaks his Word with the Rebels.* Herbert.

1537. Persons of all Conditions to swear to be true to the King, a Remedy not at all proper for such sort of Evils, since the same Compulsion which extorts Oaths from discontented People, serves also for an Excuse to break them upon occasion. In the mean time *Aske*, who had commanded the Rebels, was order'd to Court, where he was well received; but the Lord *d' Arcy*, who had stood off a little, before he obeyed the like Order, was sent to the *Tower*, upon his Arrival at *London*.

New Insurrection stirred. Shortly after, two Gentlemen of the *North*, *Musgrave* and *Tilby*, put themselves at the Head of Eight Thousand Malecontents, and came before *Carlisle*, in order to take the City. But being repulsed, the Duke of *Norfolk* came upon them unexpectedly, and entirely routed them. *Musgrave* had the Luck to escape; but *Tilby* and seventy more that were taken with him were hanged on the Walls of *Carlisle*. Sir *Francis Bigot* and one *Halam* attempted also to surprize *Hull*: But they were made Prisoners themselves, and executed.

Aske *and the Lord* d' Arcy *executed.* These Attempts rendered the King so fierce, that he put to Death *Aske* and the Lord *d' Arcy*, notwithstanding the general Pardon to appease the first Insurrection. The Lord *d' Arcy* accused the Duke of *Norfolk* of favouring the Rebels, which perhaps was but too true. But the Duke cleared himself, or rather, the King thought not fit to examine the Matter thoroughly*. Mean while, as he knew, the Emperor

* *Aske* had left the Court without Leave, and being taken again, was hanged in Chains on a Tower in *York*. The Lord *d' Arcy* and the Lord *Hussy* were arraign'd at *Westminster* before the Marquis of *Exeter*, then High Steward, and found guilty of Treason. The Lord *Hussy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*, the Lord *d' Arcy* on *Towerhill*, the 20th of *June*, and buried in St. *Botolph*'s Church. He endeavoured to purge himself, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; and pleaded that the long Services he had done the Crown for 50 Years, he being Fourscore, together with his great Age and Infirmity, might mitigate the King's Displeasure. He died much lamented, every body thinking he had hard Measure. Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest*, and *William Lumley*, suffered at *Tyburn*, and *Margaret Cheney*, alias Lady *Bulmer*, was burned in *Smithfield*. *Burnet*. *Stow*.

was

was contriving ſome Plot in *Ireland*, he gave Order that *Thomas Fitzgerald*, Son of the late Earl of *Kildare* and five of his Uncles, after a long Impriſonment at *London*, ſhould ſuffer Death for a Terrour to the *Iriſh*. But the Earl of *Kildare*'s youngeſt Son had the good Fortune to eſcape, and fled for ſhelter to Cardinal *Pole* *. 1537. *Six of the Families of* Kildare *put to death.*

The King could not be perſwaded but that it was the Monks who helped the moſt to keep up and foment the People's Diſcontents. He conſidered them as the chief Authors of the late Inſurrections, and conſequently as his perſonal Enemies. He fancied he ſaw in their Behaviour, that if they had the Power in their Hands, they would not ſpare him, and therefore he formed a Project of deſtroying them in order to prevent their Deſigns. In that he found his Account two Ways, by ridding himſelf of his Enemies, and by enjoying their Spoils. It is not to be doubted that this laſt Conſideration had alſo a ſhare in his Project of Vengeance againſt them. The Suppreſſion of the leſſer *Monaſteries* having only whetted his Appetite, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the reſt and ſeize their vaſt Poſſeſſions. To compaſs his Ends the more eaſily, he made uſe of the ſame Means he had practiſed to ſuppreſs the leſſer *Monaſteries*; that is, he appointed a very ſtrict *Viſitation* for thoſe that remained, not at all queſtioning but the Diſcoveries which ſhould be made, would promote his Deſign. *The King reſolves to ſuppreſs all the* Monaſteries. *He appoints a ſtrict* Viſitation.

The 12th of *October* the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who was chriſtened *Edward*. But his Birth coſt his Mother her Life, who died two Days after ſhe was brought to Bed *1. As the King had cauſed his *Birth of Prince* Edward. *Death of Queen* Jane.

* He was packt up in a Bundle of Clothes and conveyed to *Ireland*, and ſo to *France*, and from thence to the *Low-Countries*, in both which Places being required of our King, he at length fled to Cardinal *Pole*, who finding him a fit Inſtrument for his Purpoſes, kept him till he might be reſtored to his Country and Place.

*1 The Queen was delivered at *Hampton Court*, and died the 24th of *October*, as appears in a Journal written by *Cecil*, that was in

1537. his two Daughters by his former Marriages to be declared Illegitimate, nothing could be more acceptable than the Birth of a Son, who put the Succession of the Crown out of all Diſpute. And therefore in a few Days he conferred upon him the Title of *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornwal*, and *Earl of Cheſter*, as his Heir Apparent. At the ſame Time he created *Edward* the Queen's Brother, and the new born Prince's Uncle, *Earl of Hertford* *.

Edward Seymour *made Earl of* Hertford.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the War continued all the while between the Emperour and the King of *France*; but it was interrupted in *Picardy* by a ſix Months Truce concluded in *July*, which was followed by another in *November*, for *Italy*. As by the laſt Truce it was agreed that each Party ſhould keep what he was poſſeſſed of, the Duke of *Savoy* was alike ſtript by his Enemies, and by thoſe he had called to his Aſſiſtance. The common Fate of petty Princes!

The War continues between the Emperour and Francis. Bellay. *Truce for* Picardy *and* Italy.

The Queen of *Scotland* died in *July*, to the great Joy of thoſe who dreaded the Progreſs of the Reformation, becauſe that Princeſs had been brought up by her Aunt the Queen of *Navarre*. *Buchanan* ſays, that the Cuſtom of wearing Mourning was firſt introduced into *Scotland* on occaſion of her Death, which Cuſtom was not however yet thoroughly eſtabliſhed in his Time, though it had been then of forty Years ſtanding. *James* V made them eaſy, who were afraid

Death of the Queen of Scotland. Buchan.

James V *demands* Mary *of* Guiſe *in Marriage.*

in 12 Days after *Edward*'s Birth: So it is in the *Herald*'s Office. *Strype*. She died not by the Cruelty of the Surgeons ripping up her Belly to make way for the Prince's Birth, as ſome Writers gave out, but as the original Letters yet extant, ſhow ſhe died, after being well delivered, of a Diſtemper incident to Women in that Condition. *Burnet*. Queen *Jane* was buried in the *Quire* at *Windſor*, whoſe Loſs ſo much afflicted the King, he having always found her Diſcreet, Humble, and Loyal, that nothwithſtanding ſome good Offers, he continued a Widower above two Years. *Herbert*.

* Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, was made *Earl of Southampton*, and in *March* following Sir *William Paulet* Treaſurer of the King's Houſe, was created Lord St. *John*, and Sir *John Ruſſel* Controuler, Lord *Ruſſel*. Herbert.

afraid he had been biaſſed by the deceaſed Queen, in Favour of the new Religion, by demanding in Marriage *Mary of Guiſe*, Siſter of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. 1537.

Diviſions in Germany *about Religion.* Sleiden.

The Affairs of Religion daily grew more important in a great Part of *Europe*, by Reaſon of the Progreſs of the Reformation. Thoſe who had embraced it, wiſhed only to live in quiet with Liberty of Conſcience. But that was what the *old* Religion would never allow them. The Glory of God, and Zeal for the Intereſts of the *Church*, were a Cover for this Denial. But the real Cauſes were firſt, The Pride of moſt Men who cannot bear to be told that their Opinions are wrong. Secondly, The Temporal Intereſt of the *Clergy*, who wherever the Reformation took Place, ſaw themſelves bereaved of their rich Benefices, the Revenues of the *Church* being applied by the *Reformed* to uſes very different from thoſe they had hitherto been put to. Thirdly, the Pope's Intereſts who daily loſt his Subjects, his Revenues, his Credit, his Authority. There was another particular Cauſe in *Germany*, which kept up the Troubles occaſioned by Religion; and that was, the Emperour and the King of the *Romans* his Brother, had formed a Deſign to make uſe of the Pretenſe of cauſing the *Proteſtants* to return to the Pale of the *Church*. For this Reaſon, inſtead of qualifying Matters, they fomented the Diviſions to the utmoſt of their Power. The *Proteſtants* complained among other Things, of a *Council*'s being called at *Mantua*, contrary to an expreſs Promiſe that it ſhould be held in *Germany*. Beſides, they meant not to ſubmit to the Deciſions of a *Council*, where the Pope preſided, and which as far as they perceived, would be nothing leſs than free. The Emperour amuſed them with evaſive Anſwers, till Things ſhould be ready to attack them. Mean while the Pope, having put off the opening of the *Council* from *May* to *November*, charged in the Interim the Cardinals *Contarini*, *Sadoletti*, *Pole*, *Bembo*, all Perſons of great Fame, to examine wherein the

They are fomented by the Emperour.

Grievances of the Proteſtants.

The Emperour's evaſive Anſwers.

Church

1537. *The Pope Orders Commissioners to examine the State of the Church and Religion.*

Church had need of being reformed. These able *Divines* found nothing amiss as to the *Doctrines*. They only drew up as to *Discipline*, a List of sundry trifling Matters, which in their Opinion deserved to be rectified. To these alone they thought the Reformation ought to be confined.

The Emperour's Designs.

Mean while the Emperour was considering in good earnest of the Affairs of *Germany*, though he took great Care to hide his Designs from the *Protestants*. In order to free himself from all other Matters, and be able to fall upon them with Odds, he had concluded the Truce with *Francis*, hoping it would soon be followed by a Peace. He fully perceived that the *Smalcaldick League* would be an everlasting Bar to the Execution of his vast Projects, by *Francis*'s and *Henry*'s Endeavours to bring it over to their Interests. So his chief Aim was to dissolve that League, that he might afterwards proceed against *England* with all the Forces of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*.

1538. *Final Resolution to suppress all the* Monasteries. Herbert.

Henry easily guessed that *Charles* V and *Francis* I. had agreed to a Truce purely in Order to strike up a Peace very soon, and that the Peace would rob him of the Assistance of *France*. So finding he had nothing to trust to but his own Forces in Case he should be invaded, he considered betimes of the Means to prevent Insurrections at Home, which must needs be a great Clog to him, if he should be engaged in a foreign War. He knew that the *Monks* hated him mortally. They were the Men that inspired the *English* with a Spirit of Rebellion, so much the more dangerous as Religion was the principal Cause. So to deprive the Pope and Emperour of such a Support in his own Realm, he came to a Resolution to suppress all the *Religious Houses* remaining in *England*. He had a farther Motive also which was not inconsiderable, namely, to have a Fund sufficient to maintain the War, without being forced to over-burden his Subjects. But as the Suppression of Part of the Monasteries had already occasioned Troubles in the Kingdom, it was very likely that the Suppression of all would

would raiſe ſtill greater. Wherefore he believed he ſhould be able to prevent all Commotions, by putting the People out of Conceit with the Monks. To that End, the Report of the laſt *Viſitation* being brought to him, he ordered it to be publiſhed out of Hand. It is very probable that the Facts which were inſerted concerning the diſorderly Lives of the *Friars* and *Nuns* were ſet forth ſo as to be ſubſervient to the King's Deſigns. But what conduced the moſt to recover People out of the Superſtitious Fondneſs they had for the *Religious Houſes*, was the Diſcovery of the Frauds which were committed there with reſpect to *Relicts* and *Images*. Had the Buſineſs been only the Debaucheries of the *Monks* and *Nuns*, it might have been objected that it was enough to make ſtrict Inquiry of thoſe who were Guilty, and to puniſh them ſeverely. But as to the *pious* Frauds (as they are called,) one could hardly think but that the whole Society had a Hand in the Cheat. For this Reaſon then, the King, in order to make them as viſible as the Sun, took Care to expoſe to the Sight of all the World, the *forged Relicks* found in the Monaſteries, and the *Springs* by which the *Images* of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, or any of the *Saints* were made to move, which was looked upon by the ignorant Multitude as the Effect of a Divine Power. If the Reader deſires to ſee a particular Account of theſe *pious* Impoſtures, he will find one though withal very ſhort, in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*. Theſe Frauds being thus detected, whatever had ſerved to engage the People in Superſtition was by the King's Order burnt in Publick *. But what grieved the *Votaries* moſt

1538.

Henry *publiſhes the Report of the laſt* Viſitation.

Several pious Frauds are diſcovered.

* And here, ſays Lord *Herbert*, out of our Records I ſhall mention ſome of the *Images* and *Relicks* to which the Pilgrimages of theſe Times brought Devotions and Offerings; as our *Lady*'s *Girdle* ſhowed in eleven Places, and her *Milk* in eight. The *Felt* of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, a Remedy for the Head-Ach; the Penknife and Boots of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a Piece of his Shirt, much reverenced by Great bellyed Women; the Coals that roaſted St. *Laurence*; two or three Heads of St. *Urſula*, *Malchus*'s Ear

1538. Becket's *Bones burnt, and his Shrine seized.*

most was, to see the Bones of *Thomas Becket*, commonly called St. *Thomas of Canterbury*, publickly burnt. They accused the King of being swayed in this by a Sacrilegious Avarice, that he might have a Pretense to seize the rich *Shrine* of that *Saint*, whereon besides other precious Stones, was a very fine Diamond, offered in 1177 by *Henry* I. King of *France*, when he came in *Pilgrimage* to *Canterbury* *. This Proceeding

Ear, and the paring of St. *Edmund*'s Nails, the Image of an Angel with one Wing, which brought hither the *Spear*'s *Head* that pirced *Christ*'s Side; an *Image* of our *Lady* with a Taper in her Hand, which burnt 9 Years together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out, and was now found to be but a Piece of Wood. The *Crucifix* of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called the *Rood of Grace*, was a famous Imposture, to which many *Pilgrimages* were made, being contrived so as to be able by the help of Springs to roll the Eyes, and move the Lips, to bow, to shake the Head, Hands and Feet. It was shewed publickly at *Paul*'s *Cross* by *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, and after a Sermon upon it, there broken in Pieces. Another great Imposture was at *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*, where the Blood of *Christ* brought from *Jerusalem* was showed in a Christal Vial, and was said to have this Property, That if a Man was in a Mortal Sin, and not absolved, he could not see it. Therefore every Man that came to behold this Miracle was forced to continue to make Presents, till he bribed Heaven to give him the sight of so blessed a Relick. This was now discovered to be the Blood of a Duck renewed every Week, and the one Side of the *Vial* was so thick that there was no seeing through it, but the other was transparent. It was so placed near the Altar, that one in a secret Place behind could turn which Side he pleased Outward There was brought out of *Wales* a huge Image of Wood, called *Darvel Gatheren*, which served for Fuel to burn one Friar *Forrest*, who advised People in Confession not to believe the King's *Supremacy*. Besides which, the Images of our *Lady* of *Walsingham*, of *Ipswich*, of *Penrise*, of *Islington*, and St. *John* of *Osulston*, called otherwise Mr. *John Shorne*, who was said to shut up the Devil in a Boot, and many others were publickly burnt. *Herbert*, *p.* 213. Comp. Hist.

* For 300 Years he was accounted one of the greatest *Saints* in Heaven, as appears from the Accounts in the *Leger-Books* of the *Offerings* to the three greatest Altars in *Christ*'s Church in *Canterbury*. In one Year there was offered at *Christ*'s Altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* At the *Virgin*'s Altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But at St. *Thomas*'s 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* The next Year the Odds grew greater. At *Christ*'s Altar not a Penny; at the *Virgin*'s only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* But at St. *Thomas*'s 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* The rich Stone was offered by *Lewis* VII of *France*, which our King set in a Ring and wore on his Thumb. The Spoil of the Shrine in Gold and precious

Proceeding exaſperated the Sticklers for the old Religion to ſuch a Degree, that they writ in a moſt virulent Manner to *Rome* againſt the King, comparing him to the greateſt Tyrants that ever lived. Whereupon, at *Rome* and other Places numberleſs Satyrs were penned, which painted out *Henry* as the moſt execrable of Men, to thoſe who were not uſed to *Hyperbolical* Expreſſions of the *Italians*. The King had his Spies at *Rome*, who acquainting him with what was publiſhed againſt him, informed him withal that to Cardinal *Pole* the Informations ſent from *England* were generally addreſſed, and that his Style was viſible in ſome of the Satyrs. This incenſed the King againſt the Cardinal ſo highly, that he made all his Family and Friends feel the Effects of it, inſomuch that he would ſooner Pardon any Crime, than that of holding Intelligence with him. It is ſtrange that the Cardinal, who ſeemed in other Reſpects to have a good ſhare of Prudence and Temper, ſhould give way to his Zeal, or his Paſſion againſt the King in ſuch a manner, that he doubted not by ſo unadviſed a Behaviour to expoſe his Friends to *Henry*'s utmoſt Reſentment. His Obſtinacy in that Reſpect was ſo great, that at length he was the Occaſion of his Mother's loſing her Head on the Scaffold, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. 1538.

Bitter Invectives againſt the King ſent to Rome.

He is very angry with Cardinal Pole.

All the King's Proceedings making the Pope underſtand that he was to expect no Alterations on his Part, he publiſhed at length the *Bull* of Excommunication, which had been drawn up and ſigned in 1535. Moreover he tried to ſtir up all the Princes of Chriſtendom againſt *Henry*, and offered the Kingdom of *England* to the King of *Scotland*, Nay, *Pole* maintained

Paul III. *publiſhes a* Bull *againſt the King.*

A violent Book of Poles.

precious Stones filled two Cheſts, which were ſo heavy that they were a Load to eight ſtrong Men to carry them out of the Church. His Name was ſtruck out of the *Kalender* : The Day of raiſing his Body, or as they called it, his Tranſlation, being the 7th of *July*, which was not only a *Holiday*, but every 50th Year there was a Jubilee for 15 Days together, and *Indulgence* granted to all that viſited his Shrine. *Burnet.*

1538. maintained in a Book he publiſhed ſhortly after, that it was more meritorious to fight againſt *Henry*, than againſt the *Turk*. But the Pope's Thunders had ſo loſt all their Force in *England*, that the *Bull* cauſed no Commotion, or if it had any Effect, it was quite contrary to what the Pope expected. *Henry* growing more and more incenſed againſt him, took ſo great Care to hinder him from executing his Deſigns, that he was drawn in by that Means to carry the Reformation much farther than he intended. As ſoon as he had News of the *Bull*'s being publiſhed, he required the Biſhops and Abbots to ſwear again to renounce the *Papal* Authority. At the ſame Time, the new Tranſlation of the Bible being brought to him, he ordered fifteen Hundred Copies to be printed, and ſet up in the principal Churches, being ſatisfied that nothing would be found there to ſupport the exorbitant Power the Pope aſſumed over all Chriſtendom *.

Henry orders the the new Verſion of the Bible *to be printed.*

The Vicegerents *Injunction about Images.*

Shortly after an Injunction was publiſhed by the Vicegerent, to teach the People the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments* in *Engliſh*. Moreover all Incumbents were ordered to inſtruct the People, by declaring that they muſt not truſt in other Men's Works, but in their own, and that *Relicks*, *Beads*, and the like were unneceſſary to Salvation. They were alſo to take down all Images, to which Offerings were wont to be made, and to ſuffer no Candles

* *Grafton* the Printer, printed 1500 at his own Charge. This Bible being preſented to the King by *Cromwell*, who procured the King's Warrant, allowing all to read it without Controul. For which *Cranmer* wrote *Cromwell* a Letter of Thanks, dated the 15th of *Auguſt*. The Tranſlation had been ſent over to be printed at *Paris*, the Workmen in *England* not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. It was recommended to *Bonner's* Care, then Ambaſſador at *Paris*, and much in *Cromwell's* Favour. It was printed in a large Volume; but upon Complaint of the *French Clergy*, the Preſs was ſtopt, and moſt of the Copies ſeized and burnt: But ſome were conveyed out of the Way, and the Workmen and *Forms* brought over to *England*, where it was now finiſhed. And one of theſe Bibles were to be ſet up in every Church, at the joint Charge of the Incumbent and the Pariſhoners. *Burnet.*

Candles to be ſet up before any Image, except our Saviour's. In fine, they were to ſuppreſs all the *Ora pro Nobis*'s which were added to the Prayers addreſſed to the *Saints* *. 1538.

This Injunction was deemed a mortal Wound to the old Religion, the Friends whereof were in the utmoſt Conſternation. But no Body durſt ſtir, ſo abſolute a Sway had the King acquired over his Subjects. Nay, the moſt diſcontented affected a blind Submiſſion to his Will, well knowing the leaſt Suſpicion was enough to ruin them. *Gardiner puts the King upon proſecuting the Reformed.*

Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was now returned from his Embaſſy to *France*. He was one of the zealous Sticklers for the old Religion. Nay, he was ſuſpected of having privately made his Peace with the Pope, and of holding Correſpondence with the Emperour. But he knew ſo well how to diſſemble his Sentiments, that he perſwaded the King it was nothing but the Devices of his Enemies, on purpoſe to ruin him. It is however certain, that although the King ſeemed ſatisfied, he had no great Eſteem for him, and yet he ſuffered him to be about his Perſon, on the Score of his great Compliance. His blind Condeſcenſion to the King's Will afforded him many Opportunities to ſerve the Party he privately favoured. The King looking upon him not as a ſuſpected Perſon, ſince he ſo readily complied with his Orders, gladly liſtened to him when he ſpoke againſt the *Sacramentarians*, being ſtill extremely prepoſſeſſed in Favour of the Doctrine of the real Preſence of *Chriſt*'s Body in the *Sacrament*. Then *Gardiner* could explain his Sentiments without Fear, becauſe they ſquared with the Kings. He inſinuated to him, that as long as he left that *Doctrine* untouched, he would never be accuſed of Innovations in Religion, but would rather be extolled, for having purged it by preſerving the *Eſſentials*. Thus *Gardiner* drew him *Submiſſion of the* Engliſh *to the King's Will.*

* Every Incumbent was likewiſe enjoined to keep a Regiſter of *Weddings*, *Chriſtenings* and *Burials*.

1538. in to persecute the *Sacramentarians*, not so much from a Religious as from a Political Motive. He knew the King's Temper to be impatient of Contradiction. And therefore, by engaging him to maintain a *Doctrine* which those of the new Religion could not admit, he was in hopes their Resistance would provoke him against them, and thereby he would be brought the more easily to be reconciled to the Pope. That is, in plain *English*, he made use, to put the King quite out of Conceit with the *Protestants*, of the same Means they employed to prejudice him against their Adversaries. But neither could succeed. *Henry* reformed himself but by halves, and was never reconciled with the Court of *Rome*. As he was grown absolute, he would never suffer his Subjects to go greater Lengths than himself, but compelled them to stop where he was pleased to stop, alike severe, or rather unmerciful to those who refused to follow him, and to those who had a mind to out-go him. He showed this Year an Instance of Rigour capable of making the *Reformers* despair of any farther Progress.

Henry *disputes publickly with* Lambert. Burnet.

One [*John Nicolson*, alias] *Lambert*, having been informed against as a *Sacramentarian* *, the King convened a great Assembly in *Westminster-Hall*, where he was pleased himself to dispute publickly with the Party accused. The Match was by no means equal. *Lambert*

* *Lambert* had been Minister to the *English* Merchants at *Antwerp*, where being acquainted with *Tindal* and *Frith*, he became of their Opinion. He afterwards kept School at *London*, and hearing Dr. *Tailor* preach of the real Presence, he came to him upon it, and gave him his Reasons in writing why he could not believe the Doctrine he preached. *Tailor* carried these Arguments to *Cranmer*, who was at that time of *Luther*'s Opinion, which he had drank in from his Friend *Osiander*. *Latimer* was of the same Belief. *Lambert* being brought before them, they studied to make him retract his Arguments, but all was in vain, for *Lambert* fatally appealed to the King. Whereupon *Gardiner* persuaded the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The King was soon prevailed with. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Bishops to come and hear this Trial. In *November*, on the Day prefixed, there was a great Appearance in the *Hall*. The King's Guards were all in White, and so was the Cloth of State. *Burnet*.

Lambert ſtood alone without a Second; but the King was ſurrounded with a Crowd of Perſons, who applauded his Arguments, and deemed them invincible; whereas no body dared to open his Mouth to approve of what *Lambert* urged. The Diſpute ended with the King's putting it to the Choice of the unfortunate *Lambert*, either to abjure his Opinion or to be burnt. But what Advantage ſoever the King might ſeem to have, one may ſay he was himſelf worſted, ſince he was forced to fly to ſo rigorous a Method to convince his Adverſary, after having flattered himſelf with the Hopes of convincing him by dint of Reaſon, elſe, in all likelihood, he would not have engaged in the Diſpute. However, he ſucceeded not by this extraordinary Way, ſince *Lambert* choſe rather to die than abjure the Opinion he had all along been of*. *Henry* had no occaſion to be flattered. He had but too good a Conceit of himſelf. Nevertheleſs, *Gardiner* and the reſt of his Party took Occaſion from the Diſpute to extol him above the moſt learned *Divines* of the Age. By that, they inſpired him with ſuch an Opinion of his Learning, that he thought his Notions ought to be a Standard to all the World. But contrary to the Expectations of his Flatterers, this Conceit of himſelf was no leſs fatal to them than to the other Party, ſince he took the Reſolution to puniſh ſeverely and indifferently all thoſe who dared to ſwerve from what himſelf deemed reaſonable. 1538. *He is highly flattered*

Much about this time the Emperour concluded with *France* a Ten Years Truce, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently. *Henry*, not doubting but it was in order to invade him, conſidered of Means to raiſe him Troubles, which would divert him from his Purpoſe. The *Negotiations with the* German *Proteſtants.* Herbert.

* *Lambert* diſputed with Ten one after another, particularly the King, *Cranmer*, *Tonſtal* and *Stokeſly*. *Cromwell* read his Sentence, declaring him an incorrigible Heretick, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was ſoon after executed in *Smithfield* in a barbarous Manner, for when his Legs and Thighs were burned to the Stumps, there not being fire enough to conſume the reſt, two of the Officers raiſing his Body up with their Halberts let him fall into the fire, where he was quickly conſumed to Aſhes. *Burnet.*

1538. *Smalcaldrick* League furniſhed him with a good Opportunity. But the Preſervation of the *Augsburg-Confeſſion* being the ſole Foundation of that League, he did not ſee how he could come into it, to maintain a Religion all the Articles whereof he did not admit. Wherefore, his Deſign was, either to bring the *Proteſtants* to conclude with him a general League, which ſhould not be limited to the Defence of their Religion, or to prevail with them to content themſelves with the Reformation he had himſelf introduced into *England*. To that end he ſent Ambaſſadors * with Inſtructions to ſee who were the Confederates, and in caſe the League was confined to Religion only, to deſire them to ſend ſome of their ableſt *Divines*, to try whether they could agree upon a common Religion. The *Proteſtants* replied, That their League conſiſted of Twenty-ſix Imperial Cities, and Twenty-four Princes, among whom the King of *Denmark* was lately admitted: That at preſent they could not be without their *Divines*, but deſired him to declare his Mind poſitively as to the Propoſition they had made him, of embracing the *Augsburg*-Confeſſion. Some time after, they ſent over Ambaſſadors capable of diſputing upon the Points of Religion. But this Embaſſy was fruitleſs. *Henry* found in the *Germans* Men of a very different Stamp from his own Subjects, and little inclined to Compliance. They would not allow him *Communion in one Kind*, *Private Maſſes*, *Auricular Confeſſion*, *Celibacy of Prieſts*, and gave him their Reaſons in writing, to which he replied, though to very little purpoſe. As he could not put the ſame Choice to them as he had done to *Lambert*, he was forced to diſmiſs them without coming to any Concluſion, being as little ſatisfied with them as they were with him.

The Intereſt of the Reformers decline at Court. Burnet.

Mean while, the Intereſt of the *Reformers* began viſibly to decline at Court after the Queen's Death. There was only *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* that ſupported it by their Credit and Merit. The firſt however was

* *Chriſtopher Mount.*

was accuſed of being too Self-intereſted, and of thinking much more of his own than of the Concerns of Religion. As to the reſt of lower Rank, there were few of eminent Note. *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Sarum* was proud and litigious; *Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was deſpiſed for his Weakneſs and Simplicity; *Barlow*, who had been Prior of *Biſham*, and afterwards Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, had no great Judgment. Generally the Preachers of the new Religion ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with an indiſcreet Zeal, and without conſidering the King's Temper, they followed the Motions of their Conſcience let what would be the Conſequence. So, never troubling themſelves about what might follow from their Zeal, they publickly preached *Doctrines* which the King had not yet approved, which very much conduced to prejudice the King againſt them, and all others who deſired to forward the Reformation. 1538. *Characters of the Heads of the Party.*

In the mean while *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford* departing this Life, the *Reformers* thought they had done a good Deed in helping *Edmund Bonner* to that *See*, who had been Ambaſſador in *Spain*, and afterwards in *France*, from whence he was lately recalled at the Inſtance of *Francis* I, who was not pleaſed with him. Shortly after they got him promoted to the *See* of *London*, vacant by the Death of *Stokeſley*. But they were greatly miſtaken in their Man, ſince this ſame Prelate who was ſo much obliged to them, became afterwards one of their moſt deadly Enemies. Bonner *is made Biſhop of* Hereford, *and then of* London.

At length, *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* ſeeing their Party decay, and that the King began to lend an Ear to the Enemies of the Reformation, in ſuch a Manner as made them dread the Conſequences, deemed it neceſſary to ſupport their Intereſt by means of a Queen, who ſhould afford her Protection. They had happily experienced how much *Ann Bullen* and *Jane Seymour* had helped to mollify the King's Temper with regard to *the Reformed*, and they did not queſtion but that, in caſe they could get him to marry one of the like Diſpoſition, ſhe would produce the ſame Effect. Cranmer *and* Cromwell *project to marry the King with a Proteſtant.*

1538. *They caſt their Eyes upon* Ann of Cleve.

fect. For that reaſon they turned their Eyes towards *Germany*, and *Cromwell* took upon him to negotiate a Match between the King and *Ann* of *Cleve*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*, and to the Dutcheſs of *Saxony*. We ſhall ſee next Year the Iſſue of this Negotiation, after I have ſaid a Word of the Affairs Abroad.

The Truce between the Emperour and Francis is prolonged. Bellay. Mezerai.

The Emperour's and King of *France*'s Forces were too equal for either to expect any great Advantage from a War they were left to wage all alone. *Francis* had taken his Meaſures wrong, in imagining that *Henry* would declare for him; that the Potentates of *Italy* would exert their utmoſt to ſhake off the Emperour's Yoke; and that the *Proteſtants* of *Germany* would embrace the Opportunity of the War to eſtabliſh that Liberty of Conſcience they were aiming at, and which they were threatned to be deprived of. But nothing of all this happening, he ſaw himſelf clogged alone with a Burden he could very hardly bear. On the other Side, the Emperour was afraid *Francis* would at length unite all theſe Powers againſt him, and that the Emperour of the *Turks* would lay hold on ſo fair an Opportunity to invade *Germany*. The Pope was afraid of the ſame Thing; and that, at the ſame time, the Coaſts of *Italy* would be infeſted by the *Infidels*. This, added to the Deſire of being revenged of the King of *England*, put him upon ſeeking Means to procure a Peace between the Emperour and the King of *France*, that *Henry* being left alone, might be the more eaſily invaded. To this end he propoſed to the two Monarchs a Meeting at *Nice*, where he offered to come in Perſon and act as Mediator. This Propoſal being accepted, they all Three met at that Place about the Middle of *June*, the Pope conferring ſometimes with the one, ſometimes with the other, without the Two Monarchs ever ſeeing one another all the while the Negotiation laſted. The Pope had his Reaſons for hindering them from talking together but by his Means. He had a Mind to treat privately of a Marriage between *Octavian Farneſe* his Nephew, and *Margaret* the Emperour's

Both inclined to Peace.

The Pope and Emperour.

natural Daughter, and Widow of *Alexander de Medicis*, and indeed the Project ſucceeded to his Wiſh. 1538.

Truce for Ten Years.

Mean while, as the Peace between the Emperour and the King of *France* could not be brought about, by reaſon of the many Difficulties which occurred, the Pope got the two Monarchs at laſt to conſent to a Ten Years Truce, which had much the ſame Effect as a Peace. The Truce being concluded, *Paul* III conſidered out of hand of Means to form a League againſt the *Turks*. But as ſeveral Reaſons hindered the Kings of *France* and *England* from coming into it, he was forced to conclude it with the Emperour, the King of the *Romans* and the *Venetians*.

League againſt the Turks.

Francis I. *ſlights* Henry.

As ſoon as *Francis* had no longer any Thing to fear from the Emperor, he grew very cool to *Henry*, though he had careſſed him mightily as long as he ſtood in need of him. *Henry* was extremely nettled at it, and was pleaſed to ſhow his Reſentment, by ordering *Bonner* in his return from *Spain* to ſtop at the Court of *France*, and demand an *Engliſh* Rebel who had taken Refuge there, and the Arrears of his Penſion, there being now four Years due. *Bonner*, who was naturally very bold, delivered his Meſſage in ſo haughty a Manner, that *Francis*, offended at his Inſolence, ſent an expreſs Meſſenger to *Henry*, to know whether he had ordered his Ambaſſador to uſe ſuch Language to him, and to deſire *Bonner* might be recalled. *Henry* thought fit to comply with his Demand. But it appeared he was not very angry with *Bonner*, ſince at his Arrival he promoted him to the *See* of *Hereford*, and ſhortly after to that of *London*, as has been ſaid.

Bonner *behaves inſolently to the King of* France, *who has him recalled.*

Cardinal Pole *labours to raiſe the King Troubles.*

Whilſt *Henry* uſed all poſſible Precaution to ſcreen himſelf from the Attacks of his Enemies, Cardinal *Pole* was labouring with all his might, by means of his Friends in *Englaud*, to alienate from him the Hearts of his Subjects, by publiſhing every where that he had ſubverted all Religion to ſet up his own Whimſies. This Accuſation galled the King the moſt of all things, ſeeing he pretended that Religion conſiſted not in the Things he had changed, but in thoſe he had preſerved.

1538. This is what he ſtrove to make the People underſtand; becauſe he plainly perceived that the general Accuſation of having ſubverted Religion could not but breed a great Change in their Allegiance. And upon this Account it was that *Pole* and his Emiſſaries chiefly inſiſted upon that, in order to raiſe Diſturbances in the Kingdom. Several have thought that the Cardinal had in this ſome private Views which concerned not Religion. He was of *the Houſe of York* by his Mother, and it is ſaid alſo, he had an Inclination for the Princeſs *Mary*, and made all this ſtir in order to marry her, and ſet her on the Throne in the Room of her Father. At leaſt, there is reaſon to ſuſpect that his extraordinary Zeal was kept alive by ſome hidden Views, and that in acting for the Pope he was labouring to make his own Fortune. But this is only Conjecture. However that be, Sir *Jeffrey Pole*, near Relation of the *Cardinal*'s *, privately acquainted the King that he held Correſpondence with *Henry Courtney* Marquiſs of *Exeter*, Grandſon of *Edward* IV *1; with *Henry Pole* *2, Lord *Montague*; with Sir *Edward Nevil* *3, and with Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Maſter of the Horſe, and Knight of *the Garter*; and that he made uſe of for that purpoſe a Prieſt and a Mariner. Whereupon all theſe Perſons were apprehended, condemned and executed *4; but the Informer was pardoned as a Reward for his Intelligence. No other Circumſtances of their Trial are known but their correſponding with *Pole*, an unpardonable Crime, as the King then ſtood affected to the Cardinal.

The Cardinal's private Views.

Several of his Correſpondents in England *are executed.*

Suffragan Biſhops. Act Pub. XIV. 585. During the Courſe of this Year, *Henry* eſtabliſhed ſeveral *Suffragan*-Biſhops. He required alſo of all *the Religious* a new Oath, whereby they expreſsly renounced the *Papal* Authority, and acknowledged the King's

* The Cardinal's own Brother.

*1 By the Princeſs, *Catharine* married to the Earl of *Devonſhire*.

*2 Another of the Cardinal's Brothers.

*3 Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*.

*4 *Thomas* Lord *Audley* ſitting as High-Steward.

King's *Supremacy*. There were ſome that refuſed to ſwear, but I know not in what manner they were puniſhed. 1538.

The Pope and Emperour being then buſy about their Preparations againſt the *Turk*, his *Holineſs* made uſe of that Pretence to put off the Meeting of the *Council* to the 1ſt of *May*, 1540, and at the ſame time he removed it from *Mantua* to *Vicenza*. *The Council is removed to* Vicenza. Sleiden.

The Marriage of the King of *Scotland* with *Mary* of *Lorain* being concluded this Year, the new Queen came to *Scotland* about the Middle of *June*. *The new Queen arrives in* Scotland.

The laſt Viſitation of the *Monaſteries* tended only, as has been obſerved, to find out manifeſt Reaſons to ſuppreſs them. The King had already reſolved upon it, and the Enormities, true and falſe, of the Monks, were only a Cover for his Revenge, and perhaps for his Avarice. The Viſitation being over, he ſent into the ſeveral *Counties* Commiſſioners to receive the Surrenders the *Abbots* and *Priors* were to make of their *Houſes*. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, abundance of theſe Surrenders, which, though very involuntary, contained however the feigned Reaſons which had moved the *Monks* and their *Superiors* to reſign of their own accord all their Eſtates to the King. In ſome, they were made to ſay barely that they were induced thereto by juſt and reaſonable Cauſes. But in others of greater length they were made to alledge, " That what they had hitherto obſerved conſiſted only " in dumb Ceremonies, and other Conſtitutions of " the Biſhops of *Rome* and other foreign Potentates; " who had taken no care of their Inſtruction, or of " reforming the many Abuſes which had hitherto " prevailed in their *Houſes*; but that deſiring to live " for the future according to the Rule preſcribed by " *Chriſt*, and the *Evangeliſts*, and the *Apoſtles*, they " deemed it moſt fit for them to be governed by the " King their ſupreme Head on Earth: That there- " fore they ſubmitted themſelves to his Mercy, and " ſurrendered to him their *Houſes*, with all things be- " longing thereto: That they beſought him to grant *Surrenders of the Monaſteries to the King.* *Suppoſed Motives thereof.*

" to

1539. " to each of them a Penſion for their Subſiſtence, " and an expreſs Licence to take a ſecular Habit, " and to be admitted into *Livings* like other *Eccleſi-* " *aſticks* ". Others ſaid, " That they had conſide- " red that *Chriſtianity* conſiſted not in the practiſe of " *Ceremonies* in wearing *black*, *grey*, or *white* Habits, " and in nodding with the Head, wearing Cords " with great Knots about their Middle and the like, " wherein they had been inſtructed and ſeduced. But " that the true way of ſerving God was taught in the " Goſpel. And therefore, deſiring for the future to " walk by that good Rule, they ſubmitted themſelves " to the ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, " and renouncing all Superſtitions and foreign Tra- " ditions, they reſigned their *Houſes* to the King, with " all things thereunto belonging ". Others ſurren- dered their *Houſes* by way of Agreement between them and the King, for the Cauſes ſpecified in the Deed it- ſelf *. But we don't find in *the Collection of the Pub- lick Acts*, any Deeds of this kind at full length, wherein any of theſe Cauſes may be ſeen. It can only be ga- thered from what ſome Authors ſay, that theſe Cauſes were either that the *Houſes* were overwhelmed with Debts, or that the Revenues had been ill-managed, or that they were guilty of Crimes deſerving a ſevere Puniſhment, from which they were exempted on ac- count of the Surrender. Be this as it will, the King having taken the Reſolution to ſuppreſs all the *Mo- naſteries* at any rate, the Oppoſition of the *Abbots*, *Priors* and *Monks* would have been to no puopoſe. So plainly perceiving that by fair Means or foul they ſhould be forced to ſubmit to his Will, the greateſt Part thought it their wiſeſt way to do it with a good Grace, and to make the beſt Bargain they could for them-

* The general Form in which moſt of the Surrenders begins is, " That the Abbot and Brethren, upon full Deliberation, certain " Knowledge of their own proper Motion, for certain juſt and " reaſonable Cauſes, ſpecially moving them in their Souls and " Conſciences, did freely and of their own accord give and grant " their *Houſes* to the King ". *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 238.

emſelves. The *Abbot* or *Prior*, with the chief *Monks* 1539.
each *Houſe*, being won before-hand, either by Pro-
ſes or Threats, the reſt had hardly Courage enough
make a fruitleſs Reſiſtance *.

The firſt Suppreſſion of the leſſer *Monaſteries* was
ne by *Act* of Parliament. But the King was pleaſed
is ſhould appear to be altogether voluntary; as if the
bots, the *Priors* and the *Monks* had been induced of
eir own accord to ſurrender their *Houſes*. A Thing
notoriouſly falſe, that there was not a Soul but
hat muſt know that theſe Surrenders were extorted.
t muſt be confeſſed, that herein *Henry* ſtrangely a-
uſed the abſolute Power he had acquired over his
ubjects, of whom not a Man dared publickly to find
ault with his Conduct, and ſtill leſs openly to oppoſe
is Will. However, he uſed Artifice to make the
uppreſſion of the *Monaſteries* go down the ſmoother
ith them. Whilſt the Commiſſioners were buſy in
eceiving the *Surrenders*, he called a Parliament for
he 8th of *April*. At the ſame time, he cauſed a Re-
ort to be ſpread that the Kingdom was going to be
nvaded. He confirmed the Report by going in Per-
on to viſit the Coaſts, by commanding Forts and Re-
doubts to be built in ſeveral Places *1, and by giving
preſſing Orders to fit out a Fleet, and keep the Troops
n a Readineſs to march upon the firſt Notice. The
Drift of all theſe Proceedings was to let the People ſee
that

The King's Artifice to get the Suppreſſions received.

* Beſides Promiſes and Threats the King had another way of gaining the Abbots to his Will. Upon a Vacancy, an Abbot was put in only to reſign up *the Houſe*. For after the King's Supremacy was eſtabliſhed, the Abbots formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a *Conge d'elire* to the Prior and Convent, with a miſſive Letter, declaring the Name of the Perſon whom they ſhould chuſe: then they returned an Election to the King, who, upon that, gave his aſſent to it by a Warrant under the *Great Seal*, which was certified to the *Vicegerent*; who thereupon confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King to take the Oaths: upon which the Temporalities were reſtored. Thus all the *Abbots* were now placed by the King, and were generally pickt out to ſerve this Turn. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 236.

*1 Many of which (ſays my Lord *Herbert*) we have at this Day.

1539. that the Parliament would be obliged to lay heav
Taxes to withſtand the pretended Invaſion: but th
the King acquiring a large Revenue by the Suppreſſio
of the *Monaſteries*, would have no Occaſion for a *Su*
ſidy. The yearly Value of the *Religious Houſes*
mounted to One Hundred Sixty One Thouſand [O
Hundred] Pound *Sterling*, according to the Rate the
had been let to Farm laſt *. But it muſt be obſerve
that the *Abbots* and *Priors* foreſeeing the impendin
Storm, had ſet the yearly Rents very low, and raiſe
the *Fines* very high, that they might have wherewith
to ſubſiſt when they ſhould be out of their *Houſes* *1.
The King made as if he took no Notice of it, bein
on the contrary very glad the People were not ac
quainted with the whole Profit which accrued to hi
from theſe Suppreſſions. Beſides the Rents of th
Lands belonging to the *Monaſteries*, the King ha
moreover a very conſiderable Sum ariſing from th
Church-Ornaments, [Plate] Goods, Lead, Bells
Materials, of which he thought not proper to hav
the Value taken. But it may be conjectured by thi
one Article, that in the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbur*
alone there was found Five Thouſand Marks of Gol
and Silver in Bullion *2.

Revenues of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries. Burnet. Herbert.

The

* The Number of Monaſteries according to *Cambden* were 643, together with 90 Colleges, 2374 *Chantries* and *Fire-Chapels*, and 110 *Hoſpitals*. *Herbert*.

*1 This had been the Practice all along as well as juſt before the Diſſolution of the *Abbies*. The *Abbots* were wont to hold the *Leaſes* low and raiſe great *Fines*; by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater Number in their *Houſe*, and ſo enriched themſelves and their *Brethren* by the ſaid *Fines*. This turned greatly to the King's Advantage. *Burnet*.

*2 As this was the laſt Parliament the Abbots were ſummoned to, it will not be amiſs to inſert the Names and Number of the *Mitred* or *Parliamentary* Abbots, who in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign had their *Writs*, being 28; *Abbington*, St. *Albans*, St. *Auſtin's Canterbury*, *Battel*, St. *Bennet's* in the *Holm*, *Berdeny*, *Cirenceſter*, *Colcheſter*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, St. *Edmundſbury*, *Eveſham*, *Glaſſenbury*, *Glouceſter*, *Hide*, *Malmsbury*, St. *Mary's* in *York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramſey*, *Reading*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Taveſtock*, *Tewkesbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſtercomb*, to whom the *Prior* of St. *John's* may be added. *Burnet*.

The Downfal of the *Monks* was a great Occaſion of oy and Triumph to thoſe who had already embraced e Reformation, or that wiſhed it could be embraced ithout Danger. But they had not cauſe long to re- ice. *Henry* reſolving to ſhow, that in aboliſhing the *apal* Authority, and deſtroying the Monaſteries, he d not changed his Religion, gave very ſoon an un- ueſtionable Proof of it. The Parliament meeting e 28th of *April*, immediately made, by the Di- ection of the Court, a Law, intitled, *An Act for oliſhing diverſity of Opinions in certain Articles con- rning Chriſtian Religion.* This is the Law that is more ommonly known by the Name of *the bloody Statute.* The Pain of Burning or Hanging was enacted againſt hoſe,

1539. Henry *ſhows he intends not to alter Religion.*

The Parliament.

The bloody Statute.

I. Who by Word or Writing denied *Tranſubſtantiation.*

II. Who maintained that *Communion* in both Kinds as neceſſary.

III. Or that it was lawful for *Prieſts* to marry.

IV. Or that *Vows of Chaſtity* may be broken.

V. Or that *private Maſſes* are unprofitable.

VI. Or laſtly, that *Auricular Confeſſion* is not neceſſary to Salvation*.

By

* There was firſt a *Committee* appointed for examining the diffe- nt Opinions, and drawing up Articles for an Agreement, conſiſt- g of *Cromwell*, the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *ath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Bangor*, *Carliſle*, and *Worceſter*. But having ent Eleven Days in Debates, the Duke of *Norfolk* on the 16th of *May* told the Lords, that the *Committee* had made no Progreſs, not eing of one mind. Therefore he offered ſome Articles to their onſideration, that they might be examined by the whole Houſe, nd a perpetual Law made for the Obſervation of them. Theſe ere the Six Articles above. *Cranmer* argued againſt them three Days together, though his Arguments are loſt, there being nothing emaining of what paſſed in *the Houſe* but what is conveyed to us in he Journal, which is ſhort and defective. On the 24th of *May* the arliament, for what Reaſon is not known, was prorogued to the oth. When being met, the Chancellor moved in the King's Name hat a *Bill* might be brought in for puniſhing ſuch as offended againſt theſe

1539. *The Laws concerning Religion ſerve to increaſe the King's Authority*

By this and ſome former Laws, which ſettled w was to be believed in Matter of Religion, all the Su jects were almoſt equally liable to the *Pains* enact therein. Indeed, the laſt Law with thoſe that h been made before againſt the Pope's Authority, co tained the King's Belief but not the Nation's. The was hardly a Perſon in the Kingdom but what believ either *more* or *leſs*, and yet no body dared openly ſwerve from it either to the Right or Left. The *R formed* however were the greateſt Sufferers by it, a indeed it was made againſt them. *Gardiner* Biſhop *Wincheſter* was the real Author of it. He had hint to the King, that it was the only Means to hinder League from being formed againſt him; that what h had aboliſhed not being eſſential to Religion, nor con ſidered as ſuch by the Generality of *Chriſtians*, n Man of ſound Judgment could deem him *Heretica* as long as he maintained theſe Six Articles, which en tirely diſtinguiſhed *true Catholicks* from *Sectaries* an *Innovators*. This was really taking the King by h weak Side. But, beſides this Motive, the King ha another which was no leſs powerful, namely, by ad ding this Law to thoſe already made againſt the Pope he rendered his Subjects ſo dependent upon him, tha there was ſcarce a Man but what was obnoxious to b calle

Gardiner *Author of the Six Articles.*

theſe Articles. Whereupon a *Bill* drawn up by the Archbiſhop o *York*, was after long Conteſt brought to the Houſe the 7th of *June* it was read a ſecond Time on the 9th, and on the 10th it was en groſſed and read the third Time. When it paſſed, the King deſire *Cranmer* to go out of the *Houſe*, ſince he could not give his Conſen to it; but he humbly excuſed himſelf, for he thought he was boun in Conſcience to ſtay and vote againſt it. On the 28th. after pa ſing *the Houſe of Commons*, it had the Royal Aſſent. Beſides th Six Articles, "All the Marriages of Prieſts are declared void, and " a Prieſt lived with a Woman as his Wife, he was to be judged " *Felon*; and if as his Concubine, upon the firſt Conviction to for " feit all his Benefices, *&c.* and upon ſecond Conviction to ſuffe " as a *Felon*. The Women ſo offending were to be puniſhed i " the ſame Manner. For the Execution of this *Act* Commiſſion " were to be iſſued out to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their *Chanc* " *lors* and *Commiſſaries*, and ſuch others as the King ſhall name, t " hold their Seſſions quarterly or oftner, and to proceed upon *Pr* " *ſentments* by a *Jury*". Burnet.

called to an Account. So the Pope's Friends and the *Reformed* were alike in his Power. Conſequently they were equally concerned to take heed not to diſpleaſe him in any Thing, but rather blindly to ſubmit to his Will. *Cranmer* was the only Perſon who ventured publickly and for three Days together to argue againſt the *Bill* before it paſſed. But as ſoon as it was enacted by publick Authority, he ſent away his Wife into *Germany* till better Times *. 1539.

Cranmer argues againſt them in vain.

By another *Act* the Parliament granted to the King the Lands of the *Religious Houſes*, which were ſuppoſed to have been freely ſurrendered to him. So this *Statute* was rather a Confirmation of what had been done, than an Ordinance for the Suppreſſion of the *Monaſteries* *1. As the King had given to underſtand that

The Parliament grants the Lands of the Monaſteries to the King. He is empowered to erect new Sees.

* He married a Kinſwoman of *Oſiander*'s the Divine of *Noremberg*, during his Ambaſſy with the Emperour about the Year 1532. *Herbert.*

*1 This *Act* paſſed in the Houſe of *Peers* without any Proteſtation made by any of the *Abbots*, though it appears by the *Journal* that at the firſt Reading of it, there were 18 Abbots preſent, at the ſecond 20, and 17 at the third. It was ſoon diſpatched by the *Commons*, and offered to the Royal Aſſent. By it no Religious Houſes were ſuppreſſed, as is generally taken for granted, but only the Surrenders that either had been, or were to be made, were confirmed. The laſt Proviſo in it for annulling all Exemptions of *Churches* and *Chapels* had been a great Happineſs to the Church, if it had not been for the *Clauſe*; *That the King might appoint others to viſit them.* For many of thoſe who purchaſed theſe Lands with the impropriated Tithes, got this likewiſe in their Grants, that they ſhould be the Viſitors of the Churches formerly exempted, from whence great Diſorders have ſince followed, for the Incumbents being under no Reſtraints, have often been ſcandalous to the Church. This abuſe which firſt ſprung from the antient Exemptions granted by the *See* of *Rome* has not yet met with an effectual Remedy. It was queſtioned whether the Lands belonging to the Abbies ought to have returned ro the *Founders* and *Donors* by way of *Reverter*, or to have fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were holden by way of *Eſcheat*, or to have come to the Crown. The Endowments of the *Heatheniſh* Temples were in *Theodoſius*'s Time, after a mature debate, adjudged to the Emperour's Exchequer, upon this Reaſon, that by the Will of the *Donors* they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. But in *England* it went otherwiſe, for when the Order of the *Knights-Templars* was diſſolved, it was then judged in Favour of the Lord by *Eſcheat.*

1539. that he intended to employ the Revenues he had acquired in useful Foundations, the Parliament passed a *Bill* for giving the King Power to erect new Bishopricks.

An extraordinary Act for increasing the Royal Power.

Never was Parliament more devoted to the King's Will than this. They were not satisfied with approving whatever the King had done, but also whatever he might do for the Time to come. It was enacted this Session, That the same Obedience should be paid to the King's *Proclamations*, or to the *Orders* of the Council during a Minority, as to the *Acts* of Parliament. It was pretended that Cases might happen wherein the King might not have Time to call a Parliament, and yet it might be necessary for the good of the Realm that his Orders should be executed, otherwise there might be Danger of falling into great Inconveniences. Thus to avoid a possible, but withal an uncommon Inconvenience, another of much greater Consequence was run into, by giving the Sovereign a despotick Power. For if his Orders were to be obeyed without the Concurrence of the Parliament, he had no Business to call one if he did not think it proper, 'Tis true, there were some Limitations in this *Act*, as that no Person should be deprived of Life or Estate by Virtue of the King's Proclamation

And this must have held good if those Alienations and Endowments had been absolute without any Condition. But the Endowments being generally made in Consideration of so many *Masses* to be said for their Souls, then it was most just that upon a Non-performance of the Condition, and when the Cheat which the *Monks* had put upon the World was discovered, the Lands should have returned to the Founders, and their Heirs and Successors. Nor was there any Grounds for the Lords to pretend to them by *Escheat*, especially where their Ancestors had consented and confirmed those Endowments. Therefore there was no need of excluding them by any special Proviso. But for the *Founders* and *Donors*, certainly if there had not been a particular *Proviso* made against them, they might have recovered the Lands their Ancestors had superstitiously given away, and the Surrenders to the Crown could not have cut off their Title. But this *Act* did that effectually. It is true, many of them were of Royal Foundation, and these would have returned to the Crown without Dispute. See *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 262.

tion, nor any Laws or Cuſtoms broken or ſubverted thereby. But theſe Reſtrictions were expreſſed in ſuch ambiguous Terms, that it was eaſy for the King to evade them. Upon this *Act* were grounded the great Changes of Religion in the Nonage of *Edward* IV. 1539.

Another about Precedency.

In this ſame Seſſion the Parliament paſſed an *Act* to regulate the Precedency of the Officers of *State*, by which *Cromwell*, the King's Vicegerent in *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs, though a Lock-Smith's Son, had the Precedence of all Perſons next the Royal Family.

Sentence againſt the Marquiſs of Exeter, *&c. is confirmed. Counteſs of* Sarum *and Marchioneſs of* Exeter *attainted.*

Laſtly, The Parliament confirmed the Sentence of Death paſſed upon the Marquiſs of *Exeter*, and the reſt who had been executed for holding Correſpondence with Cardinal *Pole*. Moreover for the ſame Reaſon they attainted the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, the Cardinal's Mother, and the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, without bringing them to a Tryal. This laſt *Act* met with great Oppoſition in the Parliament, many objecting that the condemning of Perſons without hearing their Defenſe, was a Breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable Rules of Juſtice. But *Cromwell* having ſent for the Judges to his Houſe, aſked them, whether the Parliament had Power to condemn Perſons accuſed without a Hearing? The Judges replied, that it was a nice and dangerous Queſtion; that Equity, Juſtice, and all ſorts of Laws required that the Accuſed ſhould be heard; that however, the Parliament being the ſupreme Court of the Realm, from which there could be no Appeal, no Man has a Right to diſpute the Validity of their Sentences, of what Nature ſoever they might be. This was ſaying in a round-about Way, that the Parliament in ſo doing would commit an Injuſtice, for which no Body could call them to an Account. *Cromwell* having reported to the Parliament the Opinion of the Judges, the two Ladies of the Blood-Royal were condemned to dye, by a Sentence which eſtabliſhed a *Precedent* the moſt pernicious that had ever been ſeen in *England*, and which proved fatal to its Author, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Mean while the King granted a full Par-

1539. Act. Pub. XIV. 652. Decem 1.

don to the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and a Reprieve to the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, who was not executed till two Years after. Thus the King daily acquired ſome freſh Degree of Power. It might be ſaid that he uſurped it not, ſince the Parliament gave it him, if the Circumſtances of the Times had not rendered the Parliament it ſelf Slaves to his Will.

The King takes Care to encourage Cranmer.

Cranmer had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Law of the ſix Articles, and ſuch an Oppoſition would have infallibly been the Ruin of any other Perſon but that Prelate. The King had an Eſteem for him which could not be eaſily changed, becauſe he was perſwaded the Archbiſhop acted wholly according to the Dictates of his Conſcience, whereas he thought quite otherwiſe of the reſt of his *Miniſters* and Courtiers. The blind Compliance they had for him, ſerved only to make him deſpiſe them, though he liked very well to take Advantage of their Baſeneſs. So having a real Eſteem and a ſincere Affection for *Cranmer*, and imagining that he muſt needs be very much caſt down with the paſſing of the *Act* contrary to his Opinion, and even apprehenſive of having diſpleaſed him by his Oppoſition, he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to encourage him, and aſſure him of his conſtant Kindneſs to him *. *Cranmer* very thankfully received this Teſti-

* *Burnet* ſays, the King ſent for him firſt, and next Day ordered the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* and *Cromwell* to dine with him. When they were at Table with him at *Lambeth*, they ran out much in his Commendation, and acknowledged he had oppoſed the *Act* with ſo much Learning, Gravity, and Eloquence, that even thoſe that differed from him were much taken with what he ſaid, and that he needed to fear nothing from the King. *Cromwell* ſaid, when Complaints were brought againſt any of his Counſellors, the King received them, but would not ſo much as hearken to any Complaint of the Archbiſhop. From that he went on to make a Parrallel between him and Cardinal *Wolſey*: That the one loſt his Friends by his Haughtineſs and Pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his Mildneſs and Gentleneſs. Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* ſaid, he might beſt ſpeak of the *Cardinal*, for he knew him well, having been *his Man*. This nettled *Cromwell*, who anſwered, that though he had ſerved him, he never liked his manner, and that though the Cardinal had deſigned (if his Attempt

Teſtimony of his Royal Eſteem and Goodneſs. Shortly after the King talked with him himſelf about the Law of the ſix Articles, and was pleaſed that he ſhould explain to him the Reaſons which had induced him to oppoſe it. Nay, he ordered him to put all his Arguments in Writing, though by the *Statute* itſelf it was a Crime that deſerved Burning. But however *Cranmer*, truſting to the King's Equity, drew up a Memorial on that Head, which he intended to give him. This Writing being loſt by Accident, was found by one who was going to carry it to the King, if *Cromwell* had not prevented him *. Doctor 1539.

He orders him to give him Reaſons for oppoſing the ſix Articles. Burnet.

tempt for the Popedom had ſucceeded) to have made him his Admiral, yet he had reſolved not to accept it. To which the Duke of *Norfolk* replied with a deep Oath, *That he lied*, with other reproachful Language. *Collier* ſays, *Cromwell* told the Duke, that he (the Duke) offered to ſerve the Cardinal as his Admiral, upon which the Duke ſaid that it was a Lie. This troubled *Cranmer* extremely, who did all he could to reconcile them. But they were never afterwards hearty Friends. *Burnet.*

* *Cranmer*'s Secretary having writ out the Book in a fair Hand, and returning with it from *Croydon*, where the Archbiſhop was then, to *Lambeth*, found the Key of his Chamber carried away by *Cranmer*'s Almoner; ſo being obliged to go over to *London*, and not daring to truſt the Book with any one, carried it with him. Some that were in the *Wherry* with him, would needs go to *Southwark*-Side to ſee a Bear baiting, where the King was in Perſon. The Bear broke loſe into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out and left the Secretary alone. The Bear got into the Boat with the Dogs about her and ſunk it. The Secretary ſhifting for himſelf, loſt the Book in the Water. But being brought to land, he ſaw his Book floating upon the Water. So he deſired the Bear-ward to bring it him; who taking it up, gave it to a Prieſt that ſtood there to ſee what it might contain. The Prieſt finding it to be a Confutation of the ſix Articles, told the Bear ward whoever claimed it would be hanged for his Pains. The Secretary thinking to mend the Matter, ſaid it was his Lord's Book. This made the Fellow more untractable being a ſpiteful Papiſt, and an Enemy to the Archbiſhop. So that he would not give it back. Whereupon the Secretary applied to *Cromwell*, who was then going to Court, where he expected the Bear-ward would be, in order to deliver the Book to ſome of *Cranmer*'s Enemies. And ſo it happened, whereupon *Cromwell* called to him, and took the Book out of his Hands, threatening him for meddling with a Privy-Counſellor's Papers. *Burnet.*

1538. *Burnet* makes this to be a very great and lucky Eſcape for *Cranmer*. But ſince the King himſelf had ordered him to compoſe this Writing, the Danger does not ſeem to be ſo great, unleſs it is ſuppoſed the King would have condemned him unheard. But this Suppoſition deſtroys it ſelf, by the particular Eſteem the King had for him.

Shaxton *and* Latimer *reſign their* Sees, *and are ſent to the* Tower.

Shaxton Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *Latimer* of *Worceſter*, were not dealt with ſo favourably. As they could not bring themſelves to approve of the Law of the ſix Articles, they believed that by reſigning their Biſhopricks, they ſhould be leſs expoſed to the Attacks of their Enemies. But they did not come off at ſo eaſy a Rate. They had no ſooner put the *Inſtruments* of their *Reſignation* into the King's Hands, but they were *preſented* as having ſpoken againſt the ſix Articles and committed to the *Tower*.

Inquiry of thoſe who rejected the ſix Articles.

Upon the Parliament's breaking up, the King ſent *Commiſſioners* into the ſeveral Counties, to make Inquiry of thoſe who were againſt the ſix Articles, being determined rigorouſly to execute the *Statute*. As *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* could not but be miſtruſted in this Affair, the Enemies of the Reformation eaſily made the King ſenſible, that to leave to them the naming of theſe *Commiſſioners* would be labouring in vain. And indeed, Perſons who ſtoutly oppoſed the *Act* were very unfit to ſee it put in Execution in the manner the King deſired. Some of the contrary Party therefore were appointed, who executed their Commiſſion with ſuch immoderate Zeal and Paſſion, that they cauſed the Deſigns of thoſe who employed them to prove abortive. In the City of *London* alone, there were within a few Days above five Hundred Perſons thrown into Priſon upon that Account. Nay, the King was ſhown, that contrary to his Intention, the *Commiſſioners* had laid Snares for theſe Priſoners to draw them to diſcover Opinions which they intended to conceal, by obeying the Laws. Beſides, ſince in ſo little a time, ſuch Numbers had been impriſoned in *London*, it was eaſy to judge how many there might be

be in all the reſt of the Kingdom, and of what ill Conſequence ſo rigorous an Inquiry would be, ſince it would occaſion the Death of numberleſs Perſons of all Ages and Sexes. This is what the Chancellor, who was no Enemy to the Reformation, repreſented to the King, and thereby prevailed with him to pardon all the Priſoners. From this Time to *Cromwell*'s Death, the Proceedings upon this *Act* were ſuſpended as it were, though it was in force all the while, ſo that it was only long of the King that it was not executed. Thus every Thing was regulated by the King's Will, who forwarded or retarded the Execution of the Laws according to the Times and Perſons. This is what gained him a blind Condeſcenſion from both Parties, every one fearing his own Ruin according to the Humour and Mind the King was in. It is certain, thoſe that deſired a Reformation, were conſtrained to make as if they approved of many Things which in their Hearts they deteſted, and that *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* who had moſt acceſs to the King, dared to preſs him only indirectly to advance the Work already begun. By that Means they kept their Ground, and were enabled to do their Party Service. Their Adverſaries ſteered the ſame Courſe, and went ſtill greater Lengths in their Compliance, well knowing it was the only way to win the King's Confidence. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, though a Favourer of the Pope, and perſwaded that the King had no *Spiritual* Authority at all, took a Commiſſion from him, which adjudged to him both the *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Power of his Biſhoprick, *during his good Pleaſure* *. After this one muſt not wonder at the exceſ-

1539.

The King pardons them all.

Extreme Condeſcenſion of both Parties for the King.

Burnet.

* The Subſtance of the Commiſſion was: That ſince all Juriſdiction both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, flowed from the King as Supreme Head, it became thoſe who exerciſed any Power only by the King's Courteſy, gratefully to acknowledge that they had it only of his Bounty; and to declare they would deliver it up again when it ſhould pleaſe him to call for it. And ſince his Vicegerent could not look into all Matters, therefore the King did empower *Bonner* in his own ſtead to exerciſe all the Parts of Epiſcopal Authority,

1539. five Power which the King daily acquired, ſince every Body ſtrove with Emulation to ſubmit to his Will. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was one of the Heads of the Favourers of the old Religion, to whom he did great Service by a profound Diſſimulation. He ſhowed an exceeding Zeal to put in Execution as well the *Act* of the ſix Articles, as thoſe formerly made againſt the Pope. He thereby maintained his Credit, though when all was done, the King had but little Eſteem for him.

Value of what the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries *produced.* Herbert.

The actual Suppreſſion of the *Monaſteries* was begun and ended in the Courſe of this Year. The Commiſſioners appointed for that Purpoſe, ſettled all Matters relating thereto. They awarded Penſions to the *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Monks*, and *Nuns*, for their Livelihood. They valued the Plate, Goods, Ornaments of the Prieſts, of the Altars, of the Churches, and ordered what *Houſes* ſhould be demoliſhed, and what left ſtanding.

Burnet.

I have already taken notice that the Rents of all the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries amounted to one Hundred Sixty Thouſand [one Hundred] Pound Sterling. But if it be true that this Valuation was made only upon the Foot of the laſt Leaſes, and that theſe were not above the tenth Part of the real Value, as ſome affirm, it follows that theſe Rents were worth above ſixteen Hundred Thouſand Pound, beſides the ready Money which accrued to the King by the Sale of the Effects. Here was wherewithal to make noble Foundations, uſeful to the *Church* and *State*, had all theſe Riches been employed that way. The King ſeemed at firſt to have formed ſuch a Deſign. Nay, it was that which had ſerved for the principal Ground of the Suppreſſion of the *Monaſteries*. But the Greedineſs of the Courtiers and Favourites allowed but a very ſmall Part to be laid out upon Things uſeful and neceſſary. *Henry* had at firſt reſolved to erect eighteen new

The King lays out the Money in needleſs Things.

thority, for which he is duly commiſſioned; and this to laſt during the King's Pleaſure only. See the Original Collect. 14. Vol. I. *Burnet.*

new Biſhopricks; but as the Money was laviſhed away, he found Reaſons to reduce them to a much leſs Number. In ſhort, he contented himſelf with founding ſix, and eſtabliſhing *Canons* in ſome *Cathedrals* which the *Monks* had poſſeſſed. In all which he employed but eight Thouſand Pounds a Year. He laid out likewiſe Part of the Money in fortifying ſome Ports, and all the reſt was ſquandered away in Preſents and other needleſs Expences. For this Cauſe he could not avoid the Blame of having plundered the *Church*; whereas had he employed the beſt Part of theſe Riches in Things uſeful to the *Church* and *State*, he would have gained the Bleſſings of his Subjects and their Poſterity. As to the Parliament, they are inexcuſable for having put into the King's Hands ſuch immenſe Riches deſigned for pious Uſes, without taking Care about the manner how they ſhould be laid out. This is no ſlender Evidence of what has been already obſerved, that the Parliaments met in this Reign merely to be inſtrumental in gratifying the King's Paſſions, without ever examining either the Motives or Conſequences of what he required of them. *Henry* had alſo formed the Project of Founding a College for young Students, that they might qualify themſelves for the Service of the State, either in Embaſſies or other Affairs of the Government *.

1539.

Remarks upon the Conduct of the Parliament.

* As this was the nobleſt Deſign that ever was projected in *England*, it will not be amiſs to give a ſhort Account of it. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* (who was afterwards one of the wiſeſt *Miniſters* that ever this Nation bred,) together with *Thomas Denton* and *Robert Cary*, were ordered to make a full Project of the Nature and Orders of ſuch a *Houſe*, which they brought to the King in Writing, the Original whereof is ſtill extant. The Deſign of it was, that there ſhould be frequent *Pleadings* and other Exerciſes in the *Latin* and *French* Tongues; and when the King's *Students* were brought to ſome Ripeneſs, they ſhould be ſent with his Ambaſſadors to foreign Parts, and trained up in the Knowledge of foreign Affairs; and ſo the *Houſe* ſhould be the Nurſery for Ambaſſadors. Some were alſo appointed to write the Hiſtory of all Embaſſies, Treaties, and foreign Tranſactions; as alſo of all *Arraignments* and publick *Tryals* at Home. But before any of them might write on theſe

1559. But this Project fell to the Ground with many others, becauſe the King having ſold the Lands of the ſuppreſſed *Abbies*, did not much care to put to ſuch Uſes the ready Money which was raiſed by the Sale. He choſe rather to laviſh it upon his Pleaſures, or his Courtiers, who uſed all ſorts of Artifices, Condeſcenſions, and baſe Flatteries, to procure ſome Part of theſe vaſt Riches.

The Proteſtants avoid the Emperour's Snares. Sleidan.

Whilſt *Henry* was buſied with his domeſtick Affairs, he had an Eye however to what paſſed Abroad. The Emperour made laſt Year as if he firmly intended to adjuſt the Religious Differences which occaſioned Troubles in *Germany*. But this was only to draw Money from the *Proteſtants*, that he might employ it in his War with the *Turk*. He expected that upon the bare Hopes he was pleaſed to give them, that he would at length redreſs their Grievances, they would drain themſelves on his Account of Men and Money, and by that very Thing would render themſelves leſs formidable. But the *Proteſtants* would not ſuffer themſelves to be bubbled to ſuch a Degree. They plainly ſent in Anſwer to his Demand, that they could do nothing for him, before they had ſufficient Security they ſhould be left in Peace.

and Henry's. *Henry* finding that a Rupture between the Emperour and the *Proteſtants* was not far off, ſent freſh Ambaſſadors to *Germany* to ſtrengthen the Reſolutions of the *Smalcaldick* League, by giving Hopes he would

theſe Subjects, the Lord *Chancellor* was to give them an Oath, that they ſhould do it truly, without reſpect of Perſons, or any other corrupt Affection. This noble Deſign miſcarried. But if it had been well regulated, it is eaſy to gather what great and publick Advantages might have flowed from it. Among which it is not inconſiderable, that we ſhould have been delivered from a Rabble of ill Writers of Hiſtory, who have without due Care or Inquiry delivered to us the Tranſactions of that Time ſo imperfectly, that there is ſtill need of inquiring into *Regiſters* and *Papers* for theſe Matters: Which in ſuch a *Houſe* had been more clearly conveyed to Poſterity, than can now be expected after ſuch razure of Records, and other Confuſions, in which many of theſe Papers have been loſt. *Burnet.*

would come into it, and be declared Protector. But the *Germans* had already dived into his Deſign, which was only to amuſe them, that the Emperour might be under continual Apprehenſions of his joining with them. They anſwered therefore, as they had done once before, that the ſole Intent of their League was to maintain the *Augsburg-Confeſſion*, and if the King refuſed to admit that *Confeſſion*, it was in vain to treat about other Points: That moreover, they heard with extreme Grief, that he perſecuted in his Realm ſuch as held the ſame Opinions with them in ſundry Articles of Religion, and therefore, as long as he left the *Act* of the Six Articles in Force, there was no likelihood that he really intended to join with them. *Melancthon* writ him a Letter in very ſtrong though reſpectful Terms, to ſhow him the Unreaſonableneſs of the *Act*. 1539

Henry, to whom all ſtooped in *England*, and whoſe Will was a Law, was offended at the Stoutneſs of the *German* Princes. On the other Hand, *Gardiner*, who dreaded of all Things the King's Union with the *Smalcaldick-League*, failed not to take hold of this Occaſion to divert him from it, by flattering his Vanity. He repreſented to him, that it was very ſtrange petty Princes ſhould pretend to be a Pattern to a great Monarch, and dictate to the moſt learned Prince in *Europe*, in Matters of Religion. He added, that whatever the *Proteſtants* might pretend, they would never be for his *Supremacy* in *England*, becauſe in ſo doing they would be engaged tacitely to own that the Emperour had the ſame Right in *Germany*. This was a great Miſtake, ſeeing there was a wide Difference between the Authority which the King had over his Subjects, and that which the Emperour could claim over the Sovereigns and free Cities of *Germany*. However, he attained his Ends, that is to ſay, he begot a great Coldneſs between the King and the *Proteſtants*.

Gardiner *diverts the King from his Deſign to join with the Proteſtants.* Burnet.

Gardiner's

1539. *Bibles are set up in the Churches.*

Gardiner's Artifices might have been more prejudicial to the Reformation, if, on the other Side, the *Reformers* had not had a Counter-Battery, which was of wonderful Use to them. The King was jealous of his *Supremacy* to such a Degree, that he omitted nothing which could serve to support it. Indeed, the absolute Power he had acquired over his Subjects placed him above all Opposition; but he wished of all things the Nation was satisfied of the Justice of that Title. Hence the *Reformers* took Occasion to remonstrate to him, that nothing but the Reading of *the Holy Scriptures* could undeceive the People of the false Notion they had entertained of the *Papal* Authority. By this means they had already obtained, that there should be a *Bible* fastned with a Chain in every Church, to the End every body might have liberty to go and peruse it. But as abundance of People scrupled to read the *Scriptures* diligently before all the World, for fear of being suspected of *Heresy*, *Cranmer* meeting with a favourable Opportunity, represented to the King, that it was necessary to give his Subjects leave to have a *Bible* in their Houses. He insinuated to him, that every one having liberty to read it, would easily be convinced that the Pope's pretended Authority had no manner of Foundation in *the Scriptures*. This was an innocent Stratagem, to procure the People an Opportunity to instruct themselves in many other Articles, though the King minded one only. *Gardiner* readily perceived the Consequence of the Archbishop's Request, and plainly seeing the King was inclined to grant it, he did all he could to parry this Blow. He disputed upon this Head with *Cranmer* in the King's Presence, who hearkened to them very attentively. At last, perceiving solid Learning in what *Cranmer* said, and nothing of it in the Reasonings of his Adversary, he rose up suddenly, saying to *Gardiner*, that such a Novice as he was not to vye with an old experienced General*. Shortly after, he issued out a Proclamation,

People allow'd Bibles in their Houses.

Gardiner *opposes it.*

* *Gardiner* challenged *Cranmer* to show any Difference between the

clamation, declaring, that he was very desirous to have his Subjects attain the Knowledge of true Religion in God's Word; and therefore he would take care they should have an exact Translation of the *Bible*. He forbid however, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies which might arise from the Difference of the Versions, the selling of any *Bibles* but what should be approved by the *Vicegerent*. 1539. *Proclamation about the Bible.* Act. Pub. XIV. 650. Nov. 14.

About the End of this Year was seen a fresh Effect of the mutual Confidence which appeared between *Charles* V and *Francis* I. A Mutiny arising in *Gaunt* by reason of a Tax laid upon Wine by the Governour of the *Low-Countries*, the Mutineers applied to the King of *France* to implore his Protection, and even offered to submit to him. But he did not think proper to accept of their Offers. On the contrary, he informed the Emperour of what was plotting against him. This seems to be something strange, considering that hitherto he had never pretended to much Generosity to that Monarch. But the Reason of this Proceeding was, the Emperour decoyed him still with the Hopes that he would restore to him the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by that means he diverted him from the Thoughts of recovering it by Arms. However this may be, the Emperour's Presence in *Flanders* being the only thing that could appease the Sedition of *Gaunt*, he was at some Loss which way to get thither in time. It was dangerous going by Sea, as well because of the Season, as because he had no Fleet to convoy him. The Way by *Italy* was no safer, by reason he could not afterwards cross *Germany* without passing through the Territories of the *Protestant* Princes. There was no other way left but to go by *France*, which he resolved upon, though he had as much reason to suspect that Kingdom as *Germany*. But he hoped to amuse the King by means of the Dutchy of *Milan*, as he did in effect. He set out therefore and entered *The Emperour crosses* France *to go to* Gaunt.

the Authority of the *Scriptures* and of the Apostolical *Canons*, which he pretended were equal to the other Writings of the *Apostles*. Upon which they disputed some time. *Burnet.*

1539. entered *France* with a ſmall Train, upon the Securit of a Safe-Conduct only. Nay, he refuſed to take i Hoſtage the Dauphin and his Brother the Duke o *Orleans*, who came and received him at *Bayonne*, o fering to ſtay in *Spain* as long as he ſhould be in th King's Dominions. Where-ever he came, the ſam Reſpect was paid him as to the King himſelf, and h arrived at *Paris* the 1ſt of *January* 1540.

The King's Marriage with Ann *of* Cleves *is concluded.* Herbert.

Henry's Marriage with *Ann* of *Cleves* being at length concluded by *Cromwell*'s Diligence, who had been charged with the Negotiation, the Princeſs arrived in *England* about the End of the Year 1539, at the very time the Emperour was travelling through *France* in his way to the *Low-Countries*. *Henry* receiving Advice of her being come to *Rocheſter*, went down *Incognito*, being very impatient to ſee whether he had been impoſed upon. But, to his Sorrow, he found her very different from what her Picture, drawn by *Hans Holbin*, had made him to expect. This firſt Sight gave him ſuch an Averſion for her, that he would have immediately broke off the Match, if he had not been with-held by ſtrong Reaſons *. The ſame Conſiderations which had made him conclude it were in Being, and there were others which obliged him to conſummate it. The Duke of *Cleves* was the Emperour's Neighbour in *Flanders*, and had alſo a Pretenſion as well as he to the Dutchy of *Guelders*, after the Death of the Duke of that Name. Conſequently, in caſe of a War between the Emperour and *England*, that Prince could give the Emperour a very troubleſome Diverſion in *Flanders*. On the other Side, his Siſter was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, Head of the *Smalcaldick-League*, with whom it was of great Moment to the King to live in a good Underſtanding.

She arrives in England.

The King diſlikes her

But

* He ſwore, when he firſt ſaw her, they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him. *Nicholas Wotton* Doctor of Law, employed in this Buſineſs, gives her this Character, She could both write and read in her own Language, and ſew very well; but for Muſick (in which the King delighted) it was not the Manner of the Country to learn it. *Herbert.*

But this was not all. The Emperour, who was then in *France*, was labouring with all his Power to take off *Francis* I. from the Intereſts of *England:* Nay, *Henry* had private Intelligence that the Emperour offered to give the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans* upon that Conſideration. If therefore, in ſuch a Juncture, he ſhould have ſent back the Princeſs of *Cleves* without marrying her, he ran the Risk of falling out entirely with the Princes of *Smalcald*, at a time when he ſaw himſelf upon the Point of being forſaken by the King of *France*, who was growing by degrees unmindful of the Aid he had received from him in his moſt urgent Occaſions. So lamenting his Misfortune to be forced to marry a Princeſs for whom he had conceived an Averſion, he reſolved to make this Sacrifice on the 6th of *January* 1540. But he was ſtill leſs pleaſed after his Marriage than before, and even then he determined to be divorced from her. He concealed his Sentiments however as much as poſſible, tho' it was eaſy for all the World to ſee the Vexation and Trouble he was under. *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into this Marriage, quickly felt the Effects of his Reſentment, though the King was exceeding careful to hide it from him *.

1539.

1540. *He marries her however, and bears* Cromwell *an ill will.*

The Parliament meeting on the 12th of *April*, *Cromwell* made a Speech to *both Houſes*, informing them that the King ſeeing with extreme Concern ſo great Diviſion among his Subjects in Matters of Religion, had appointed Commiſſioners to examine the Points in diſpute, that the Articles of Faith might be fixed without reſpect of Parties, according as they ſhould be found to be grounded upon the Word of God: That he was very deſirous his People ſhould have the Knowledge

Parliament. Herbert. *The King appoints Commiſſioners to examine the Doctrines of Religion.*

* *Cromwell* asked him next Day how he liked her; the King told him, he liked her worſe than he did. For he ſuſpected ſhe was no Maid, and had ſuch ill Smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he ſhould ever conſummate the Marriage. This was ſad News to *Cromwell*, who knew how nice the King was in theſe Matters, and that ſo great a Misfortune muſt needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief Promoter of it. *Burnet.*

1540. Knowledge of the Truth; but then he was reſolved to puniſh without Mercy ſuch as ſhould preſume to prefer their private Opinions to thoſe which ſhould be eſtabliſhed. The *Commiſſioners* named by the King were approved of, and had Orders to ſet about this Examination without delay *. Two Days after the King created *Cromwell Earl of Eſſex* *1.

Cromwell *created Earl of* Eſſex.

During this Seſſion the Parliament ſuppreſſed the Order of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, who are now called Knights of *Malta*. Their Dependence on the Pope and Emperour was the Cauſe or Pretence of their Ruin. It is no queſtion but the Deſire of having their Spoils induced alſo the King to procure their Suppreſſion. And indeed, the Parliament gave him all their Lands as they had done thoſe of the Abbies. Though they had large Revenues both in *Ireland* and in *England*, the King allowed however but Three Thouſand Pound for their Maintenance after their Suppreſſion *2. The Affair being over, the Parliament was prorogued to the 20th of *May*.

Knights of St. John *ſuppreſſed.* Herbert.

Crom-well's *Diſgrace.*

In a few Days after there fell upon *Cromwell* a Storm, which very probably had been gathering ſome time before. This *Miniſter* had many Enemies, and was much envied. He was Son of a Farrier or Locksmith;

* The King appointed the two Archbiſhops, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Hereford*, St. *David's*, and Eleven Doctors, to draw up an Expoſition of thoſe Things that were neceſſary for the Inſtitution of a *Chriſtian*-Man. He alſo appointed the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter* and *Landaff*, to examine what Ceremonies ſhould be retained, and what was the true Uſe of them. Theſe *Committees* were to ſit conſtantly *Mondays*, *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, and on other Days in the Afternoon only. *Burnet*.

*1 One would think by this that the King was not angry with him about his Marriage, ſince he conferred ſo great a Title on him. *Henry Bourcheen* Earl of *Eſſex*, the laſt of his Family, venturing to ride a young Horſe, had the Misfortune to be thrown, and by the Fall to break his Neck. *Dugdale*.

*2 He allowed 1000 *l.* Penſion to the Prior of St. *John's* near *London*, and 500 Marks a Year to the Prior in *Ireland*, (for there was but one *Houſe* in each Kingdom) with very conſiderable Allowances for the *Knights*, amounting in all to 3000 *l.* a Year. The Houſe in *Ireland* was at *Kilmainan*. Burnet.

ſmith; and though his Birth was mean, he was raiſed to great Honour, even to the having the Precedence of all the Lords in the Kingdom except the Royal Family. All the Nobility envied him. The whole *Popiſh* Party alſo hated him mortally, deeming him the firſt Adviſer of the Suppreſſion of the *Abbies*, and one of thoſe who had the moſt ſpurred on the King to all the Innovations in Religion. Among theſe, who were very numerous, the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* were the Perſons that could do him moſt hurt, becauſe they had free Acceſs to the King. Theſe two Courtiers perceiving the King's Coldneſs for the new Queen, doubted not but he bore *Cromwell* a Grudge, for having drawn him into this Marriage, and reſolved to make uſe of this Occaſion to ruin him. They were in hopes, if he were out of the Way, it would not be impoſſible to bring about an Agreement between the Emperour and the King, and then a Reconciliation with the Pope, which *Cromwell* had all along oppoſed to the utmoſt of his Power. Two other Things contributed alſo very much to the Downfal of this *Miniſter*. The King had always made uſe of him, to keep up his Correſpondence with the *Smalcaldick*-League, and as long as he thought he needed that League, he could not well do without his Aſſiſtance. But growing cold at length to the *German* Princes, as I before obſerved, and knowing that the Union he was afraid of between *Charles* V and *Francis* I. was only a Chimera, and conſequently he ſhould have no need of *Germany*, *Cromwell* became leſs neceſſary to him. The ſecond Thing which helped to ruin *Cromwell* was, the King fell in love with *Catharine Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Niece. *Norfolk* finding his Credit raiſed thereby, made uſe of it to procure the *Miniſter*'s Deſtruction. As ſoon as he had a fair Opportunity, he repreſented to the King, "That there were abundance of Male-contents in the Kingdom, and good Men could not be perſuaded that a Prince like him, would willingly give any Occaſion of Diſcontent to his People: That they inferred from thence, he must 1540.

The Duke of Norfolk *ſtirs up the King againſt* Cromwell

1540. " must have been ill-ſerved by his Miniſter, who " doubtleſs had abuſed his Confidence: That as Peo- " ple ſeemed diſſatisfied only with regard to Religion, " it was natural to think this happened through the " Vicegerent's Fault, whoſe Conduct perhaps it would " be proper to examine: That he was accuſed by the " Publick of many Things, which, if true, would " render him the moſt guilty of all others, conſide- " ring the Favours the King had loaded him with: " That beſides, though no particular Fact could be " proved upon him, it was even a very great Crime to " rob the King of the Hearts of good Part of his Sub- " jects: That he took the Freedom therefore to tell " him, in order to quiet People's Minds, there was no " better way than to ſacrifice a *Miniſter* ſo odious to " them". Theſe Inſinuations, which were doubtleſs ſeconded by *Gardiner* and others of *Cromwell*'s Enemies, produced at length the Effect they expected.

Cromwell's Death is deſired. The King, prejudiced againſt him, reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, without knowing yet what he was guilty of. But he found his Account in his Death two ways. Firſt, he ſhowed the Reſentment he had conceived againſt him on account of the Marriage he had drawn him into. Secondly, he believed he ſhould make his People a Sacrifice capable of appeaſing all their Diſcontents. This Reſolution being taken, and the Parliament meeting the 13th Day of *June*, the Duke of *Norfolk* accuſed *Cromwell* of High-Treaſon at the Council-Board, and received Orders to arreſt him and ſend him to the *Tower*. This illuſtrious Priſoner had the common Fate of all diſgraced *Miniſters*. In a Moment he was forſaken by all the World but his Friend *Cranmer*, who alone ventured to write to the King in his Favour, though to no purpoſe.

He is accuſed of High-Treaſon, and ſent to the Tower.

Cranmer writes in his behalf.

Cromwell being in *the Tower*, the Articles of his Impeachment were drawn up, conſiſting in general Charges, of which not ſo much as the leaſt Proof was offered to be given. The King was very ſenſible, that if his Proceſs was made according to the uſual Forms, he

He is condemned without being heard.

he might produce Warrants which would fully clear him, and which could not be diſclaimed. For that reaſon it was thought proper to bring the Matter before the Parliament, and cauſe a *Bill* of *Attainder* to be paſſed againſt him without giving him a Hearing *. Juſt in this manner had he himſelf proceeded in the Affair of the Marchioneſs of *Exeter* and the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, and therefore he could not think it ſtrange the ſame Thing ſhould be practiſed in his Caſe. The Parliament, ever Slaves to the King, deemed the Impeachment juſt, though deſtitute of Proof. So by an Act, declaring him attainted and convicted of *Hereſy* and Treaſon, he was condemned as a Traitor and *Heretick*, the Parliament leaving to the King's Choice to make him ſuffer the Puniſhment of either of thoſe two Crimes. This Inſtance, joined to ſome other *Precedents*, and to thoſe we ſhall ſee hereafter, ſhow to what a Height the King had carried his Authority, ſince it ſufficed to make known his Will, in order to be immediately obeyed, even by thoſe whoſe Buſineſs and Intereſt it chiefly was to reduce his Power within due Bounds. The Execution of the Sentence was put off till after the Seſſion of the Parliament. 1540.

Henry was ſo tired of his Queen, that he could no longer bear the Vexation to ſee himſelf engaged for the Reſidue of his Days in ſo diſagreeable a Marriage. He reſolved therefore to be divorced from her, let what would be the Conſequence, eſpecially as the Reaſons which had induced him to marry her were no longer in being. He had loſt all hopes of making a *The King is determined to null his Marriage.*

* The *Bill* was brought into the Houſe of Lords, *Cranmer* being then abſent, on the 17th of *June*, and read the 1ſt Time; and on the 19th was read the 2d and 3d Time, and ſent down to the *Commons*, where it ſtuck 10 Days. And then a new *Bill*, conceived by the *Commons*, was brought up with a Proviſo annexed to it. They alſo ſent back the Lords Bill. It ſeems they rejected the Lords *Bill*, and yet ſent it up with their own, either in reſpect to the Lords, or that they left it to their Choice which of the Two they would offer to the Royal Aſſent. Which was an unparliamentary Proceeding. *Burnet.*

1540. League with the *Proteſtants* of *Germany*, and his Fears of the Emperour were vaniſhed, ſince he ſaw every Thing tending to a Rupture between him and the King of *France*. The only Buſineſs was to find a Pretence to demand a Divorce, and give ſome Colour to the Proceedings of the *Clergy* and Parliament, of whoſe Concurrence he was ſure, however ſlight the Pretence might be. He found one for his Purpoſe in a former Engagement between the Queen and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son. But this Engagement was ſo ſlight, that the Conſequences of it were to be much forced, to make it ſerve for the Foundation of the King's Divorce. The Duke of *Cleves* and the Duke of *Lorrain* had formerly it ſeems, in a Treaty they had made together, agreed upon a Match between *Ann* of *Cleves* and the Prince of *Lorrain*, both then under Age. This Agreement had never been confirmed by the Parties when they were of Age. On the contrary, the Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Gueldres*, who acted as Mediator in that Treaty, had declared afterwards by an authentick *Inſtrument*, that this Article was deemed null. However, when *Henry*'s Marriage with *Ann* was concluded, this Pre-engagement raiſed a Scruple. But the Ambaſſadors of *Saxony* and *Cleves* poſitively promiſed to clear that Matter, and put it out of all doubt as ſoon as the Princeſs ſhould arrive in *England*. *Ann* being come to *Greenwich*, the King, who liked her not, would very fain have cavilled upon this ſame Point, in order to ſend her back. To that End he called a Council, and ſending for the Ambaſſadors, they were required to explain the Thing according to their Promiſe. But they had brought nothing on that Head with them, looking upon this Scruple as of little Conſequence. Mean while the Council having given them to underſtand that good Proofs were expected and not bare Words, they offered to produce within three Months an authentick Abſtract from the Chancery of *Cleves*, to prove what they had alledged. This alone would not have been capable of inducing the King to go on any farther, if as has

Pretence of the Divorce. Burnet. Herbert.

has been ſaid, there had not been ſtrong Reaſons to make him accompliſh his Marriage. So the Council was of Opinion, that if there were no other Objection, the Marriage ſhould be celebrated. The Abſtract from the Chancery of *Cleves* being come, great Exceptions were found to it, upon the Ambiguity of the Word *Eſpouſals*, becauſe it was not expreſſed whether they were *Eſpouſals* by the Words of *the Preſent* or of *the Future Tenſe*. But as the King would not yet commence the Affair of her Divorce, he cauſed the Abſtract to be kept, in order to make uſe of it when there was occaſion. Upon this therefore he reſolved to found his Divorce. 1540.

The Parliament pray the King to examine the Validity of his Marriage.

The Parliament, after a Prorogation of ſome Days, meeting again, *Henry* ſent the Queen to *Richmond*. A few Days after a Motion was made in *the Houſe* of Lords, to preſent an Addreſs to the King, to deſire him to ſuffer his Marriage to be tried. After what has been ſeen hitherto, no body can imagine any Lord would be ſo hardy as to dare to make ſuch a Motion, unleſs he was ſure of the King's Approbation. So the Motion being aſſented to, the Lords deſired the Concurrence of the *Commons*; which done, they went in a Body * to preſent their Addreſs to the King. *Henry* proteſted to them, that he ſought only the Glory of God, the Good of his People, and the Declaration of Truth. Then he agreed that the Matter ſhould be referred to the *Clergy*, who forthwith appointed Commiſſioners to examine the Witneſſes *1. All that could be gathered from the King's own Diſpoſition, and thoſe of the Witneſſes which were examined, was, *That* there had been a Pre-contract between the Queen

The Matter is brought before the Convocation.

Extraordinary Reaſons alledged for the Divorce.

* The whole *Houſe of Peers*, with 20 *Commoners*. Burnet.

*1 On the 7th of *July* it was brought before the *Convocation*, and the Caſe was opened by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and a *Committee* appointed to conſider of it; and they deputed the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Wincheſter*, with *Thirleby* and *Leighton* Dean of *York* to examine Witneſſes that Day. *Burnet*.

1540. and the Prince of *Lorrain*, which was not ſufficiently cleared: *That* the King having eſpouſed the Queen againſt his Will, had not giving an inward Conſent to his Marriage, without which, 'twas affirmed, his Promiſe could not be obligatory, a Man's Act being limited only to what is inward: *That* the King had never conſummated the Marriage: *That* the whole Nation had a great Intereſt in the King's having more Iſſue, which they ſaw he could never have by the Queen.

The King muſt needs have had a very ill Opinion of the Convocation, the Parliament and the Publick, to alledge ſuch extraordinary Reaſons for his Divorce. The firſt had been diſcuſſed before the Celebration of the Marriage, and the *Council* was of Opinion that the Scruple on that account ought to be no Obſtacle. As to the ſecond, if that Rule took Place, what would Contracts be good for, ſince either of the Parties might ſay, he had not given an inward Conſent. This would be opening a Door to Inſincerity, Fraud and Perfidiouſneſs in the higheſt Degree, and there would be no Remedy to ſo great an Evil. As for the third, the King had doubtleſs forgot what he had alledged in the Proceſs of his Divorce with *Catharine*. He had then maintained, purſuant to his *Clergy*'s Opinion, that the Conſummation of *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catharine* was not neceſſary to render it valid, but that the bare Conſent of the Parties made it as compleat as if it had been conſummated. The fourth was of no greater Weight, ſince there was no neceſſity of nulling the Marriage, under colour that the King was not pleaſed to lie with the Queen. Beſides, he had an Heir already. In ſhort, his Word muſt be taken, when he ſaid, he had not conſummated his Marriage; His Word, who ſued for the Divorce, and who uſed this Argument to obtain it. And yet the *Clergy* found theſe Reaſons good, and paſſed a Sentence of Divorce upon them, and the Parliament were ſo mean as to proſtitute themſelves to the King's Paſ-

Sentence of Divorce.

ſion

ſion and confirm the Sentence *. There is no Diſtinction to be made here, ſince neither in the *Convocation*, nor in both *Houſes* of Parliament, was there one ſingle Vote againſt the Divorce, ſo much did every one dread to incur the King's Diſpleaſure. This is a remarkable Evidence of what I have inſinuated ſeveral Times, that in every Thing which was tranſacted in *England* during the latter Part of *Henry* VIII's Reign, the Parliament and *Clergy* ought to be conſidered only as Inſtruments made uſe of by the King to pleaſe his Humour. To him is due the Praiſe of whatever was good and uſeful, and he it is that ought to be blamed for whatever was done amiſs. However the others are inexcuſable for not having made any Attempt to ſupport the Cauſe of Juſtice and Truth, when they believed them to be oppreſſed. 1540.

The Queen was not much troubled at what had been done in her Abſence, and even without her being examined. In all Appearance, ſhe had entertained no great Affection for a Spouſe who had never given her any Tokens of his. However, though the King believed it needleſs to aſk her Approbation, when he was meditating the Divorce, becauſe then the *Clergy* and Parliament only were concerned, whom he knew very well to be at his Devotion, he demanded her Conſent to what had been done, thinking no doubt to juſtify himſelf the better to the World. At the ſame Time he offered by *Letters Patents* to declare her his *adopted Siſter*, with a Penſion of four Thouſand Pounds a Year, and her choice to live in *Ann conſents to the Divorce.* Act. Pub. XIV. 710.

* Sentence was given the 9th of *July*, which was ſigned by both *Houſes* of Convocation; and had the two Archbiſhop's Seals put to it, of which whole Tryal the *Record* does yet remain, having eſcaped the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original Depoſitions are alſo extant. *Burnet* obſerves, this only can be ſaid for their Excuſe, that the King's Reaſons were as juſt and weighty as uſed to be admitted by the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce; and moſt of them being *Canoniſts*, and knowing how many *Precedents* there were to be found for ſuch Divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the Popes had formerly done. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 281.

1540. *England*, or to return Home. She agreed to all without any Sollicitation, and choſe to ſtay in *England*, where ſhe hoped to paſs her Time more agreeably than at *Cleves* in her Brother's Court. Beſides in all likelihood ſhe believed her Penſion would be more ſecure if ſhe remained in *England*, than if ſhe lived Abroad. Every Thing being thus adjuſted, ſhe ſent the Duke her Brother Word, that the Divorce was with her Conſent, and deſired him to live in good Underſtanding with the King *.

Act to moderate the Pains of one of the ſix Articles.

This grand Affair being over, the Parliament paſſed an *Act* to mitigate one of the ſix Articles in the *Bloody Statute*. This Article, as well as the other five, made it Death for the Prieſts who broke their Vow of Chaſtity; but by this laſt *Act* the Pains of Death were turned to Forfeiture of Goods.

Proofs of the ſlaviſh Attachment of the Parliament.

All the reſt of this Reign will be only a continued Series of ſenſible Proofs of the ſlaviſh Subjection the *Engliſh* Nation was reduced to. But in this very Seſſion of Parliament we meet with three, which ought not to be paſſed over in Silence.

The Parliament confirms whatever the King ſhall pleaſe to enjoin in Matters of Religion.

The *Commiſſioners* appointed by the King, purſuant to an Act of Parliament, to examine the Doctrines of Religion, having drawn up a long *Memorial* upon that Head, and ſet down certain Articles as undeniable and abſolutely neceſſary, it was moved in the *Houſe* of Lords to paſs an *Act* which ſhould give the Force of a Law to what theſe *Commiſſioners* had already done, and to whatever they ſhould do in Time to come by Order of the King. This Motion being admitted, a *Bill* was brought in immediately, and [when

* The 10th of *July Cranmer* reported to the Houſe of Lords, the Convocation's Sentence, who ſent him down to the *Commons* to report the ſame. On the 11th the King ſent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to the Queen, to let her know what was done, and to make her the Offers above-mentioned (*Burnet* ſays, but 3000*l.* a Year.) Next Day, being the 12th of *July*, the *Bill* was brought into the Houſe for annulling the Marriage, which eaſily went through both Houſes. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 282.

[when paſſed] ſent down to the *Commons*, who agree- 1540.
ing to it, ſent it up again next Day. By this Statute it was enacted, that not only the Memorial drawn up by the *Commiſſioners*, provided it were approved by the King, but likewiſe whatever the King ſhould enjoin for the future in Matters of Religion, ſhould be believed and obeyed by all his Subjects. This was inveſting the King with the Infallibility taken from the Pope. One can hardly find greater Signs of a ſlaviſh Attachment, ſince the Parliament gave the King Power over the Conſciences of his People, after having almoſt done the ſame over their Lives and Fortunes. Moreover, a Clauſe was inſerted in this *Act*, which under Colour of limiting the King's Authority, enlarged it in a ſenſible manner, namely, *That nothing ſhould be done or determined by Virtue of this Act, which was contrary to the Laws of the Realm.* Theſe Contradictory Clauſes in the ſame *Statute* rendered the King the Sovereign Diſpoſer of the Lives of his Subjects, ſince on the one Hand, they were enjoined to ſubmit to the King's Will in Matters of Religion, without knowing what he would pleaſe to preſcribe them, and on the other they were forbid to do any thing contrary to the Laws. Conſequently in Caſe the King commanded them any Thing contrary to the Laws, they were liable to be proſecuted by Virtue of this *Statute*, whether againſt Law they obeyed the King, or in Obedience to the Law, they refuſed to comply with his Will. The *Acts* paſſed in this Reign are full of ſuch Contradictions, which were not inſerted without Deſign.

Law about Marriages in Favour of the King.

The Parliament paſſed another *Bill* which carried no leſs Marks of ſlaviſh Subjection. It was enacted that a Marriage already conſummated ſhould not be annulled, on pretence of Pre-contract or any other Impediment not mentioned by the Law of God. Without doubt the Parliament had forgot, or it may be, would fain have made as if they had, that the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* was annulled by reaſon of a Pre-contract, and that upon this ſame

1540. Foundation, and during this very Seſſion they had approved of the diſſolving his Marriage with *Ann* of *Cleves*. 'Tis true the King had declared it was not conſummated. But *Catharine* of *Arragon* had proteſted the ſame Thing with reſpect to her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, and yet it was decided, that a Party concerned ſhould not be believed even upon Oath, when there were Preſumptions to the contrary. *Intent of the Act.* Theſe were downright Contradictions, but the King gave himſelf no Trouble about them. His Aim was to be able to legitimate the Princeſs *Elizabeth* by Virtue of the former Part of the *Act*, and to remove by the latter the Impediments which the *Canon-Law* put in the way of his Deſign to marry *Catharine Howard*, who was Couſin-German to *Ann Bullen*.

Money granted to the King by the Clergy. Before the Parliament broke up, the *Clergy* of the Province of *Canterbury*, in *Convocation* aſſembled, offered the King a *Subſidy* of four Shillings in the Pound, of all *Eccleſiaſtical* Preferments, to be paid in two Years, in acknowledgment (as they ſaid in their Addreſs,) of the Care he had taken to free the *Church* of *England* from the Tyranny of the Pope. The King gladly accepted their Preſent, and the Parliament took Care to confirm it. But this was not ſufficient for the King's Occaſions. In a few Days he demanded alſo an Aid of Money of the *Houſe of Commons*. Though for ſome Time the Parliament had been wont to conform themſelves without Examination to the King's Pleaſure, this Demand met with ſome ſort of Oppoſition in the *Lower-Houſe*. And indeed it muſt needs ſeem ſtrange, conſidering the King was in Peace with all the World, and that beſides, it could not be imagined he had already conſumed the Money he had got by the Suppreſſion of the Abbies. Some of the *Commons* repreſented, that if in Time of Peace, and within the Space of one Year, the King had ſpent ſuch immenſe Sums, there was nothing more to do but to give him all the Eſtates in the Kingdom, neither would that ſuffice for the Expence of many Years. But theſe Speeches had no

no great Effect. The King's Party repreſented in their Turn, that he had laid out vaſt Sums in ſecuring the Coaſts, and that the keeping his Subjects in Peace [and Plenty] coſt him more than the moſt burthenſome War. Theſe Reaſons, weak as they were, paſſed for Inconteſtable, and the *Commons* granted to the King a *Subſidy*, as large as if he had been actually ingaged in a dangerous War *. This is a third Proof of the Parliament's ſervile Submiſſion. Mean while, the People could not conceive what was become of all the Money the King had lately received, and which ſhould have ſupplied his Wants for many Years. 1540.

The Parliament is diſſolved. A General Pardon with abundance of Exceptions.

This Parliament which had given the King ſo great Teſtimonies of a boundleſs Compliance, was diſſolved the 24th of *July*. But the King was pleaſed firſt to requite his Subjects with a free and general Pardon, as it was called, though the Exceptions limited the Benefit to few Perſons. All thoſe were excluded who had been condemned for denying the King's *Supremacy*, or for breaking ſome one of the ſix Articles of the *Bloody Statute*, and even thoſe who were only accuſed of theſe Crimes which were then unpardonable. The Counteſs of *Salisbury*, Cardinal *Pole*'s Mother, and *Thomas Cromwell*, were excepted by Name.

Cromwell's Execution.

As *Cromwell*'s Execution had been put off, he was in ſome Hopes of obtaining his Pardon, and the more ſo as having writ to the King a very ſubmiſſive Letter; his Highneſs was ſo moved with it, that he cauſed it to be thrice read. But the Sollicitations of the Duke of *Norfolk* and of *Gardiner*, ſeconded by thoſe of *Catharine Howard*, who acted in their Favour, rendered the Endeavours of the Priſoner fruitleſs. The King ſigned a Warrant to cut off his Head the 28th of *July* *1, about ſix Weeks after his Condemnation. As *Cromwell* left a Son of whom he was very fond, he would ſay nothing on the Scaffold that might

* A *Tenth* and four *Fifteenths*. Burnet.

*1 Which it ſeems was done very barbarouſly. *Burnet.*

1540. might do him a Prejudice. He contented himſelf with ſhowing that he willingly ſubmitted to the Sentence the Law had paſſed upon him. He prayed for the King's Proſperity, and declared he died in the Profeſſion of the *Catholick* Religion. Theſe laſt Words were variouſly interpreted, according to the Paſſions and Prejudices of the two Parties in Matters of Religion. Though it was certain *Cromwell* had lived in the Opinions of the *Lutherans*, the contrary Party maintained that he recanted at his Death, and that by the *Catholick Religion* muſt be underſtood the old Religion, which was profeſſed in the Kingdom before all the Innovations. The others pretend, that theſe Words ought to be taken in a more general Senſe, and that at the moſt they muſt mean only the Religion which was then eſtabliſhed. However this may be, the Care *Cromwell* took when he came to dye, to ſay nothing that might offend the King, turned to his Son *Gregory*'s Advantage, who this very Year was created a *Peer* of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Cromwell*. The Office of Vicegerent which the Father had held, died with him, no Body deſiring to fill a Poſt ſo obnoxious to Envy, and ſo fatal to the firſt Poſſeſſor. Beſides, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who were then in great Credit, took Care how they ſollicited the King to fill a Place again, which would engage the Perſon who held it to uſe all his Intereſt to hinder a Reconciliation with *Rome* *.

Some

* *Thomas Cromwell* from being but a Blackſmith's Son at *Putney*, found Means to travel into foreign Countries, to learn their Languages and to ſee the Wars, being a Soldier in the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army at the ſacking of *Rome*. Whence returning, he was received into Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Service; and after his Fall, the King voluntarily (for his Fidelity to his old Maſter) took him for his Servant. He obtained ſucceſſively the Dignities of *Maſter of the Rolls*, *Baron*, Lord *Privy-Seal*, the King's *Vicegerent* in Spirituals, *Knight of the Garter*, *Earl of Eſſex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, &c. *Herbert*. As his Extraction was mean, his Education was low; all the Learning he had, was, that he had got the *new Teſ-*

tament

Some Days after *Cromwell*'s Death, was ſeen at *London* a Sight, which very much perplexed both Parties. This was a Company of People condemned and executed all together. Some for denying the King's *Supremacy*; others for maintaining the *Lutheran*-Doctrines. Among theſe laſt were *Barnes* [Doctor of Divinity] *Gerrard* and *Jerome* Prieſts. Theſe three being impeached before the Parliament, were condemned to be burned upon a general Accuſation of ſowing *Hereſy*, perverting the *Scriptures*, and maintaining Errors deſtructive of Religion, without the *Act*'s mentioning any Particulars, and in all Appearance, without the Parliament's examining the Proofs. By the ſame Act were condemned to ſuffer the ſame Puniſhment, four Men, one of whom was accuſed of maintaining the *Papal* Authority, another for holding Correſpondence with Cardinal *Pole*; a third for deſigning to ſurpriſe *Calais*; a fourth for giving Reception to a Rebel; and laſtly three more, convicted of denying the King's *Supremacy*. All theſe were burned or hanged at the ſame Time and Place. It is to be preſumed, they were not admitted to ſpeak for themſelves, ſince *Barnes*, after having declared his *Faith* to the People, aſked the *Sheriff* whether he knew what he was to ſuffer for. The *Sheriff* anſwering

1540. *Several Perſons of both Religions executed.* Burnet.

tament in Latin by Heart. His Miniſtry was in a conſtant Courſe of Flattery and Submiſſion, but by That he did great Things that amaze one, who has conſidered them well. The ſetting up the King's *Supremacy*, and the rooting out the *Monaſtick* State in *England*, conſidering the Wealth, Numbers and Zeal of the *Monks*, were bold Undertakings, and executed with great Method. But in the End, an unfortunate Marriage to which he adviſed the King, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to deſtroy what himſelf had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the Deſign of breaking it when the King had told him of it. And then upon no other viſible Ground, but becauſe *Ann of Cleve* grew more obliging to the King than ſhe was formerly, the King ſuſpected that *Crowwell* had betrayed his Secret, and engaged her to a ſofter Deportment on Deſign to prevent the Divorce, and did upon that diſgrace and deſtroy him. He carried his Greatneſs with wonderful Temper and Moderation, and was thankful to mean Perſons of his old Acquaintance. *Burnet.*

1540. ing he did not, he turned about to the Stake, and ſaid, the Nature of the Puniſhment he was going to ſuffer, plainly enough pointed out the Crime he was ſuppoſed to be guilty of. He prayed however for the King, and even for *Gardiner* whom he ſuſpected to be the Author of his Death. The Biſhop endeavoured to clear himſelf by a printed *Apology*; but he had the Misfortune not to be believed *.

Catharine Howard *declared Queen.*

On the 8th of *Auguſt*, *Catharine Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Niece *1, was declared Queen, the King having privately married her ſome Time before. She was ſo devoted to the Duke her Uncle, and to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that ſhe was entirely guided by their Counſels. As ſhe had a great Aſcendent over the King, it is very likely ſhe would in the End have brought him to give himſelf over to the Guidance of theſe two *Miniſters*, who were preparing to procure by her Means great Alterations in Religion, had not her Fall, which I ſhall ſpeak of preſently, confounded their Projects. However, they improved as much as poſſible ſo favourable a Juncture, to ſtrike at the *Reformation* and the *Reformed*. Certainly *Cranmer* was then in a very dangerous Situation. He muſt needs think that the Authors of *Cromwell*'s Ruin, deſired his with the ſame Eagerneſs, nay, that they were working it underhand. Complaints of him were already heard in ſeveral Places, and even a Member of Parliament *2 had ſaid openly in the *Houſe*, that he was the Protector and Head of the Innovators. Theſe Things would have doubtleſs taken Effect, had his Enemies had a little more Time to ſet all their Engines a going. But as they knew the King had a real

The Friends of the old Religion triumph at it.

Deſigns againſt Cranmer.

* At the ſame Time was attainted and executed the Lord *Hungerford*. His Crimes were keeping a *Heretical* Chaplain, applying to a Conjurer to know how long the King was to live, and the practiſing Beſtiality. *Herbert*.

*1 She was Daughter of *Edmund Howard* (third Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Son of *John* firſt Duke of *Norfolk*) by *Joyce* Daughter of Sir *Richard Culpeper* of *Hollingburn* in *Kent*. Dugdale.

*2 ——*Gaſtwick* Knight of the Shire for *Bedfordſhire*. Burnet.

real Eſteem for him, they intended to proceed by Degrees, plainly perceiving they could not without running the riſk of undoing themſelves, preſs his Ruin ſo directly as they had ſollicited *Cromwell*'s. Beſides, there was but one Article which gave them any hold upon *Cranmer*, namely, Religion, in which Point he had been very much upon his Guard, well knowing that the way to promote the Reformation, under ſuch a Prince as *Henry*, was not directly to oppoſe his Will. 1540.

Expoſition of the Chriſtian-Doctrine, which every one was obliged to receive. It is very diſadvantagious to the Reformation.

The Change which *Cromwell*'s Diſgrace, and the new Queen's Advancement made at Court was quickly perceived. The Commiſſioners who were appointed to draw up an Explanation of the *Chriſtian Doctrine*, having preſented their Work to the King, he ordered it to be publiſhed out of Hand *. Though this Explanation corrected ſundry Abuſes, the *Popiſh* Party had ſo far prevailed, that inſtead of promoting the Reformation, it viſibly put it back, as it is eaſy to

* It was publiſhed with a Preface written by thoſe who had been employed in it. Firſt, the true Nature of *Faith* is ſtated. After this, there followed an Explanation of the *Apoſtles Creed*, with practical Inferences. From that they proceeded to examine the *ſeven Sacraments*. Then followed an Explanation of the *Ten Commandments*, which contains many good Rules of Morality. After that, an Explanation of the *Lord's Prayer* was added. Then followed an Expoſition of the *Angel's Salutation* of the *Bleſſed Virgin* and the *Ave Maria* explained. The next Article is about *Free-Will*, which they ſay muſt be in Man. After this they handled *Juſtification*. Next *Good-Works* are explained, which were ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation.

The Method they followed was this, (as appears in ſome *Authentick* Writings,) Firſt, the whole Buſineſs they were to conſider was divided into ſo many *Heads* or *Queries*, and theſe were given to ſo many *Biſhops* and *Divines*, and at a prefixed Time every one brought in his Opinion in Writing, upon all the *Queries*. When their Anſwers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the Particulars, in which they agreed or diſagreed; which the one did in *Latin*, the other in *Engliſh*. As this was the way that was uſed concerning the *ſeven Sacraments*, (as may be ſeen Collect. N. 21. Vol. I. of *Burnet*'s Reformation,) ſo 'tis reaſonable to believe they proceeded with the ſame Maturity in the reſt of their Deliberations, though the Papers are loſt. *Burnet.*

1540. to ſee by the Abſtract Doctor *Burnet* gives of this Book in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*. However, as ſeveral Principles were laid down which might be of great uſe in a more favourable Juncture, the Reformers comforted themſelves with the Hopes that theſe Principles would ſerve one Day to deſtroy the *Errors* which were eſtabliſhed in the Expoſition. On the other Hand, the *Popiſh* Party thought they had gained much, becauſe they found *Doctrines* laid down which very probably the *Reformers* would never conform to, and becauſe they hoped that this Oppoſition would draw the King's Indignation upon the whole Party. As for themſelves, having all along had an abſolute Compliance for the King, they propoſed to go on in the ſame Road, that they might bring him to be entirely diſpoſed as they wiſhed him.

Reformation of the Miſſals very inconſiderable.

Other Commiſſioners, who were ordered to reform the *Miſſals*, made ſo ſlight Alterations, that excepting a few Razures of thoſe Collects, in which the Pope was prayed for *, there was nothing changed, and that it was not neceſſary to re-print the *Maſs-Books*. Thus by the Credit of the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, countenanced by the new Queen, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and all thoſe of his Party, ſaw a Storm gathering over their Heads, which probably would in the End overwhelm them. Perhaps it was very lucky for them, that the King was diverted for ſome Time by other Affairs, from attending to Religious Matters.

The Emperour breaks his Word with Francis.

The Emperour's Paſſage through *France* ſeemed at firſt to have begot a ſincere Reconciliation between him and *Francis* I. During his ſtay at *Paris*, he promiſed poſitively to give the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Duke

Bellay. Mezerai.

* And of *Thomas Becket's* Office, and the *Offices* of other *Saints*, whoſe Days were by the King's Injunctions no more to be obſerved. So the old Books ſerved ſtill. But in Queen *Mary's* Time Care was taken that Poſterity ſhould not know how much was daſhed out or changed. For as all the Pariſhes were required to furniſh themſelves with new complete Books of the *Offices*, ſo the daſhed Books were every where brought in and deſtroyed. *Burnet.*

Duke of *Orleans*. But when *Francis* preſſed him to ſign a Deed of Inveſtiture, he anſwered, that ſuch a Deed would be looked upon as extorted, if it was dated in *France*, and that it was more honourable for him and the King too, that it ſhould be ſigned in ſome Town of *Flanders*. Afterwards, when he was got out of *France*, he found ſome freſh Excuſe not to perform his Promiſe. Mean while, he ſubdued the *Gantois*, and puniſhed them ſeverely for the Trouble they had given him of a Journey to *Flanders*. After that, when *Francis* claimed his Promiſe, he clogged it with ſuch Reſtrictions, that it was eaſy to perceive he had no Mind to part with a Country which gave *Spain* a Communication with his other Dominions in *Italy* and *Germany*. *Francis* vexed to the Heart to be thus bubbled, turned out of Favour Chancellor *Poyet* and Conſtable *Montmorency*, who had adviſed him to take the Emperour's Word. 1540.

Beginning of a Quarrel between Francis and Henry.

About the End of the Year 1540, there were ſome Beginnings of a Quarrel between *Francis* and *Henry*, which ended at length in a War. *Francis* ordered a Fortreſs to be built at *Ardres*, and a Bridge to be made over to the *Engliſh* Pale. But the Governour of *Calais* not ſuffering this Incroachment, ſent a Detachment of his Garriſon and beat down the Bridge. The *French* re-built it, and the *Engliſh* demoliſhed it a ſecond Time. Whereupon the King of *France* ordered Marſhal *de Biez* to raiſe ſome Troops in *Picardy*. *Henry* re-inforced the Garriſon of *Calais*, and cauſed the Fortifications to be repaired. Mean while the two Kings willing to avoid a Rupture upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion, agreed to ſend Commiſſioners upon the Spot, with Powers to adjuſt the Difference. But no Effect following thereupon, each Party provided for his Defence in Caſe of an Attack.

The Order of the Jeſuits.

It was this Year that the famous *Jeſuitical Order* was founded by a *Bull* of *Paul* III, dated the 27th of *September* *.

The

* The Founder of this *Order* was *Inigo* (or *Ignatius*) *de Leyala* of

1541. Henry *fears nothing from the Emperour and Pope.*

The Uneaſineſs the Emperour had given *Henry* for ſome Time, was now almoſt vaniſhed, ſince *Francis* had been bubbled in the Affair of *Milan*. *Henry* knew well enough that Prince's Temper and Character, to foreſee without much Difficulty, that he would ſoon break with the Emperour. A War between theſe two Monarchs muſt needs turn to *Henry*'s Advantage. It would naturally procure him Quiet, and enable him to preſerve an Equality of Power between them, which was the firmeſt Foundation of his own and his Kingdom's Security. So fearing no longer any Thing from the Pope or the Emperour, or the King of *France*, or his own Subjects, whoſe Attempts muſt be in vain without a foreign Aid, he confined himſelf wholly to his domeſtick Affairs. He had chiefly two Things in View. The firſt was, to preſerve and even to enlarge the Authority he had acquired; the ſecond, to take Care that no Alterations ſhould be made in Religion, but ſuch as he himſelf judged reaſonable. Theſe were the two Points which wholly engroſſed him. As he was poſitively bent upon theſe two Things, and as the Parliament durſt not contradict

of *Guiſpuſcoa* in *Spain*. He was born 1492, the very Year the *Indies* were diſcovered, and *Granada* taken by *Ferdinand*. He lived obſcurely till he came to 29 Years of Age, and then turned Soldier in the Wars of *Navarre* 1521, where being hurt in the Knee, the Pain thereof ſeems to have wakened Devotion in him to a Religious Life; for as ſoon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of *Montſerrat*, and offered his Sword and Dagger; then giving away his Cloaths to a poor Man, took upon him a Shirt and miſerable Habit, which he girt about him with a Rope of Ruſhes; and in theſe Arms (as *Sandoval* terms them) he watched one whole Night before our Lady, and ſo went to an Hoſpital three Leagues off, and there attended ſick Perſons, whence he travelled to the *Holy Land*; being returned, and in his 33d Year, he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two Years he attained. Then he went to the Univerſity of *Alcala*, and ſo to *Salamanca*, where being oppoſed and perſecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, and there ſtudied till he had found divers others, with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. Thus about 1536 going to *Venice*, he ſtaid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, where he obtained of *Paul* III the Foundation of the *Jeſuits Order*, 1540. *Herbert*.

dict his Will, it may be eaſily gueſſed that none of his *Miniſters* had the Courage to oppoſe him in any Thing whatever. So it was himſelf alone that ordered every Thing according to his own Fancy, his *Council* doing little elſe but approving his Motions. However, there were in the *Council*, as well as in the Kingdom, two oppoſite Parties with reſpect to Religion. But every one had always his Eyes upon the King, to try to dive into his Thoughts, for fear of combating his Opinion. 1541.

He is abſolute in his Kingdom.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was at the Head of the Party who wiſhed for a greater Reformation. He was all along very much eſteemed by the King, eſpecially on the Score of his Integrity. But Sincerity, which he profeſſed, rendered him unfit for *Political* Affairs in a Court where the Buſineſs was not to hearken to Reaſon, Juſtice, and Equity, but to conſider only what the King's Inclination was.

Cranmer's Character.

Chancellor *Audley* was a Perſon of good Senſe. He did the *Reformers* Service when he could without Danger. But he was too much a Courtier to inſiſt upon what he judged reaſonable, if the King was againſt it.

Audley's.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was as eminent for his Merit as for his Birth. He was reckoned a good General, but he was ſtill a better Courtier. Ever pliable to the King's Will, he outwardly approved whatever he was pleaſed to command him. But in private, he grieved at all the late Innovations in Religion, and could not endure either the *Reformation* or the *Reformed*. He would have been very glad to ſee the King reconciled to the Pope; but the ſmall Proſpect of their Reconciliation made him very cautious how he offended a Maſter who did not eaſily forgive. Nevertheleſs, as the King was not always in the ſame Mind, the Duke found frequent Occaſion to ſerve his Party, eſpecially when the Buſineſs was to puniſh thoſe who diſliked the ſix Articles, and were ſo hardy as to let the World know it. In a Word, he was Head of the Favourers of the Pope, and the old Religion.

The Duke of Norfolk's.

1541. ligion. But he carefully concealed from the King his Inclination for the former, and as for the latter, he ſhowed his Zeal only in maintaining what the King had retained.

Gardiner's *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was of the ſame Opinion, and behaved in the ſame manner. But he was very far from enjoying ſo large a ſhare of the King's Eſteem, who made uſe of him however becauſe he was pliant and dextrous, and had a pretty extenſive Knowledge of foreign Affairs. As this Knowledge enabled him to ſee farther in ſome Reſpects than the reſt of the *Miniſters*, he engaged the King now and then to take Steps, the Conſequences whereof could not but be diſadvantagious to his Party, and of which the King himſelf did not always know the Motives. By an abſolute Compliance to the King's Will, he kept himſelf in ſome Degree of Favour, being convinced himſelf, and having alſo convinced his Friends, that this Compliance was the only Means to cauſe what had been done againſt the Pope to be revoked.

Bonner's, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, was alſo one of the Heads of the ſame Party, but however at all Times ready to ſacrifice every Thing to his Fortune. He was naturally Bold, Paſſionate, and exceſſive Cruel, as he plainly ſhowed upon many Occaſions afterwards. As he was below the meaneſt in Merit, he bore himſelf up merely by making his Court to thoſe who were in Favour, and by taking the King's Will for the Rule of his Actions.

The Queen's. Queen *Catharine* blindly followed the Directions of the Duke of *Norfolk* her Uncle, and uſed what Power ſhe had over the King, to ſupport the Credit of the Enemies of the Reformation.

Such was the Poſture of the Court, when the King, freed from his Cares of foreign Affairs, was wholly taken up with what paſſed in his own Kingdom. All there however was in profound Tranquillity, becauſe the Terrour which had ſeized the People, was the Occaſion of his meeting with no more Oppoſition. He had began ever ſince *December* laſt, the Foundation of

of the new Biſhopricks, by converting the Abby of *Weſtminſter* into a Biſhop's *See* *. In the Year 1541 he founded three more, *Cheſter* *1, *Glouceſter* *2, and *Peterborough* *3, and the next Year, *Oxford* *4, and *Briſtol* *5. Theſe Foundations and ſome others of little Conſequence were the only Acts of Piety which he did out of the immenſe Riches he had got by the Suppreſſion of the Abbies *6. His Courtiers magnified theſe pious Acts, whilſt others took notice of the little Proportion between ſeven or eight Thouſand Pound a Year, which he applied to theſe Uſes, and what he had acquired by the Ruin of near ſeven Hundred *Religious Houſes*.

1541. *Foundation of ſix new Biſhopricks.* Act. Pub. XIV. 731, 748. 754.

Mean while, *Henry* had a Mind to ſhow his Zeal for Religion, as if his ſole Aim were to procure the Eternal Salvation of his People. The Book of the Expoſition of the *Chriſtian Faith* being printed, he prefixed an Ordinance, declaring all thoſe to be *Hereticks* who believed more or leſs than was contained in that Book *7. However, as it was not poſſible that every Body ſhould conform to it, and as it does not appear that any Perſon ſuffered upon that Account in the Courſe of this Year, it is likely the King had

The King declares Hereticks all thoſe who reject the Expoſition of Faith. Herbert. Burnet.

* With a *Deanry* and twelve *Prebends*, with the Officers for a Cathedral and a Quire.

*1 *Auguſt* the 4th, out of the Monaſtery of St. *Werburgh* at *Cheſter*, with a *Deanry* and ſix *Prebends*.

*2 In *September*, out of the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*'s at *Glouceſter*, with a *Deanry* and ſix *Prebends*.

*3 In the ſame Month, out of *Peterborough* Abbey, with a *Deanry* and ſix *Prebends*.

*4 Out of the Abbey of *Oſney* at *Oxford*, with a *Deanry* and ſix *Prebends*.

*5 Out of St. *Auſtin*'s at *Briſtol*.

*6 The *Priories* at moſt *Cathedrals*, as *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Durham*, *Worceſter*, *Carliſle*, *Rocheſter* and *Ely*, were alſo converted into *Deanries*, and Colleges of *Prebends*.

*7 He added a ſort of a Preface about two Years after the Book was firſt publiſhed. *Burnet.*

1541. made known, he intended not that his Ordinance ſhould be executed with rigour.

Francis prepares to make War upon the Emperour.

Whilſt *Henry* was congratulating himſelf upon having been able to triumph over the Pope, and upon his enjoying a Tranquillity which the Court of *Rome* had in vain attempted to diſturb, the Eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon what paſſed between the Emperour and the King of *France*, and upon the Preparations which were making in *Turky*. The War between the Emperour and *Francis* was juſt going to be renewed, but at a very unſeaſonable Time for the Emperour, when *Soliman* was preparing to invade *Hungary* with a powerful Army, on Occaſion of the Death of *John de Zapol*, Competitor of the King of the *Romans*. Theſe two Princes, after a long Diſpute about the Crown of *Hungary*, growing at length weary of War, had agreed that *Zapol* ſhould hold during his Life, what he was poſſeſſed of with the Title of King, but after his Death the Crown ſhould come to *Ferdinand*. *Zapol* dying and leaving a Son called *Stephen*, under the Guardianſhip of his Mother, *Ferdinand* expected that the Treaty ſhould be executed, and reſolved to take Poſſeſſion of all *Hungary*. But young *Zapol*'s Mother implored *Soliman*'s Protection, which he readily granted, intending to take Advantage of this Diſſention, to become Maſter of *Hungary*, and penetrate afterwards into the Imperial Territories.

The Emperour's Artifice to divert Soliman *from invading* Hungary.

The Emperour ſeeing *Hungary* threatened with a powerful Invaſion which might be of fatal Conſequence to *Germany*, uſed all his Cunning to pacify the *Proteſtants*, without giving them however any Satisfaction, endeavouring only to amuſe them, in order to obtain from them ſome Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*. On the other Hand, he laboured to perſwade *Soliman* that he was in perfect Union with the Kings of *France* and *England*, that the dread of a general League of the *Chriſtian* Princes might divert him from the Deſign he had formed. To this End, he tried to amuſe *Francis*, with putting him in Hopes he would give the *Low-Countries* to his ſecond Son, and erect them into

into a Kingdom. At the ſame Time he gave the *Ottoman Port* to underſtand that this Affair was as good as concluded. *Francis* fell not into the Snare. But hearing from all Hands, that the Emperour's *Miniſters* every where gave out, that the Negotiation was upon the Point of being ended, he reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Venice*, and another to *Conſtantinople*, to undeceive the Emperour of the *Turks*, and the *Senate* of *Venice*. He made choice, for theſe Embaſſies of *Rincon* and *Fregoſa*, who ſat forward in order to go through *Italy*. But the Marquiſs of *Guaſt*, Governour of *Milan*, receiving Advice that they were to imbark at *Turin*, and go down the *Po*, cauſed them to be ſo narrowly watched, that they were murdered in the Boat. *Francis* made a great Noiſe about this Aſſaſſination; but the Emperour gave him no Satisfaction on that Account. This was a freſh Occaſion of Rupture between the two Monarchs.

1541. *Francis to break the Emperour's Meaſures, ſends Ambaſſador to* Turky *and* Venice. Mezerai. Bellay. *The Ambaſſadors are murdered on the* Po.

About the ſame Time the Emperour had called a Diet at *Ratisbon* for the 5th of *April*. As it was then no proper Juncture to diſturb the *Proteſtants*, the *Diet* reſolved at laſt to grant them a ſecond Delay, which was called the *Interim*, that they might continue quiet, and the more readily engage to furniſh Supplies againſt the *Turks*.

The Interim *granted in* Germany *to the* Proteſtants. Sleidan.

In the mean Time the King of the *Romans* ordered *Buda* Capital of *Hungary* to be inveſted, in hopes of taking it before the *Turks* ſhould arrive. But the Siege proving more difficult than was expected, the *Turks* had Time to come to its Relief, and give the *Germans* Battle, over whom they obtained a ſignal Victory. Shortly after, *Soliman* coming to *Hungary*, made his Entry into *Buda*, and under Colour of taking young *Zapol* under his Protection, became Maſter of the City, and of great Part of the Kingdom.

Battle of Buda *gained by the* Turks.

Mean while, the Emperour having put an End to the *Diet*, inſtead of marching into *Hungary* to aſſiſt the King his Brother, took the Rout to *Italy*, and embarking at *Porto-venere* with an Army of Twenty-five Thouſand Men, he ſet ſail for *Africa*, intending

The Emperour's Expedition in Africa. Hiſt. d'Eſp. Mezerai.

1541. to war against *Barberossa*, who had made himself King of *Algiers*. This Proceeding afforded Matter for much Talk. Many Jests passed at the *French* Court, as if instead of going and fighting the *Turks*, he had sought a Pretence to run away from them. But as the *African*-Expedition was projected in the Beginning of the Year, and as the Troops were already on the Coast of *Italy*, it is certain he would not have had Time to relieve the King of the *Romans*, if he attempted to march his Army into *Hungary*. However this be, he landed his Army close by *Algiers* the 22d of *October*. But two Days after a sudden and violent Storm arose, which destroyed Part of his Fleet. This Accident constrained him to re-imbark in the Beginning of *November*, after having lost the best part of his Troops and Ships. 'Tis pretended that *Francis* out of pure Generosity would not proclaim War against him, whilst he was taken up in this Expedition. [It is however difficult to believe that *Francis*, who actually held Intelligence with *Soliman*, and who afterwards scrupled not to make use of the *Turks*, should stick to interrupt the Emperour's Designs against the *Infidels* of *Africa*.

It miscarries.

Mezerai.

Henry saw with Pleasure that the King of *France* and the *Turks* were going to find the Emperour Employment, which would hinder him from thinking of *England*. But although he was easy as to that, he was however in some Pain with regard to the King of *Scotland*, who, though his Nephew, had no Reason to love him, and who would easily assist the *English* Male-Contents, who were very numerous in the *Northern* Counties. *Henry* was afraid also that a Zeal for Religion would carry that Prince to undertake something against him, because he began to suffer himself to be led by the *Churchmen*, who under Colour of perswading him to destroy *Heresy*, strongly attached him to the Pope's Interest. It was now many Years since the *Reformed* were burned in *Scotland*. But these Punishments caused there the same Effects as in other Places, that is, they augmented instead of lessen-

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan.

leſſening the Number, and yet the *Clergy* were reſolutely bent for all that to root them out with Fire and Sword. *James* V was a Prince much addicted to his Pleaſures, and very greedy of Money. Beſides he had ſeveral natural Sons whom he could not inrich to his Mind, becauſe he had exhauſted his Treaſure in needleſs Expences. There were two Parties in his Court, of whom the one favoured the King of *England* and the *Reformed*, and the other, chiefly made of *Churchmen*, was entirely againſt *Henry*, and continually ſtrove to induce the King to extirpate all thoſe who ſwerved from the *old* Religion. The former endeavoured to perſwade him to imitate the King of *England* his Uncle, and ſecure a large Revenue by the Suppreſſion of the Abbies. The latter repreſented to him, that by ſtrictly putting the Laws againſt *Hereticks* in Execution, he would raiſe by forfeited Eſtates above a Hundred Thouſand Crowns a Year. After having ſome Time conſidered, *James* cloſed with the laſt Advice, and letting the *Clergy* take their own Courſe, there followed in *Scotland* a violent Perſecution *. 1541.

Henry perceiving the King his Nephew ſuffered himſelf to be thus governed by Perſons wholly addicted to the Court of *Rome*, was apprehenſive that at length they would draw him in to ſide againſt him with the Pope and Emperour. This Apprehenſion ſeemed to him ſo much the better grounded, as he could hardly rely any longer upon the Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, who was wont to direct the Court of *Scotland*, becauſe that old Friend was grown extremely

Henry *reſumes his Deſign of gaining the King of* Scotland.

* *George Buchanan* the famous *Scotch* Hiſtorian was in Danger at this Time, and would have dyed with the reſt, had not he eſcaped out of Priſon. The ſharpneſs of his Poems againſt the *Clergy* was the Cauſe of his Confinement. He went beyond Sea and lived 20 Years in Exile, and was forced to teach a School moſt part of the Time. In his Writings there appears not only all the *Beauty* and *Graces* of the *Latin* Tongue, but a great Vigour of Mind and Quickneſs of Thought. His Stile is ſo natural and nervous, and his Reflections on Things are ſo ſolid, (beſides his immortal *Poems*) that he is juſtly ſtiled the beſt of our modern Authors. *Burnet.*

1541. cold to him. This made him resolve to use all his Art to win the King his Nephew, that he might perswade him to cast off the Pope as he had done. To that End he sent Ambassadors to desire an Interview at *York*, not questioning but that in an amicable Conference he should have Eloquence enough to perswade him to what he pleased. *James* accepted the Overture, and promised to come to *York*, where *Henry* went and expected him. But the *Scotch Ecclesiasticks* and their whole Party bestirred themselves to such a Degree, to prevent this Interview, the Consequence whereof they knew too well, that they succeeded at last, and prevailed with the King to find some Excuse for his not going.

James agrees to it.

Mean while, *Henry* who knew nothing of this Change, impatiently waited at *York* for the Day appointed for the Interview. In the Interim, he issued out a Proclamation, That all who had been aggrieved for want of Justice, by any of his former *Ministers*, should come to him and his Council for Redress. This was done to throw all past miscarriages on *Cromwell*, and to put his Subjects, particularly the *northern* People, in hopes of better Times. But whilst he was preparing every Thing for the King of *Scotland*'s Reception, he received Letters of Excuse, that he could not have the Honour of waiting upon him. He was touched to the Quick, and this Denial, which he deemed an Affront, begot soon after a Rupture between the two Kingdoms. But the Concern which this Affair gave him was not comparable to the Trouble he received upon his Arrival at *London*, from a Quarter whence he expected it the least.

Henry *goes and stays for him at* York.

Proclamation in Favour of all the People.

Ever since he was married again, he blessed God every Day for the Happiness he enjoyed with his Queen, and upon all Occasions publickly testified the extreme Satisfaction he felt. Nay, it had happened lately during his Journey to *York*, that desiring to give God Thanks on this Account in a manner conformable to the Sentiments of his Heart, he had ordered

The Queen's Lewdness is discovered.

dered his *Confeſſor* to draw up a particular Thankſgiving, and prayed him to join with him in the ſame. All this ſhowed the Eſteem and tender Affection he had for the Queen, who ſeemed to have the ſame Fondneſs for him. But when he came to *London*, he heard Things which it would have been better for his Quiet he had never known. Whilſt he was at *York* one *John Laſſels* came to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſtaid behind at *London*, and told him, that his Siſter, an old Servant of the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk* [under whoſe Care the Queen was brought up,] ſaid to him, that the Queen had led a very ill Life before her Marriage, and continued in the ſame way ſince ſhe was married, and that two Men among others, namely, *Dirham* and *Mannock* *, had enjoyed her often. *Cranmer* communicating the Secret to the Lord Chancellor and ſome others of the Privy-Council, it was agreed, that the Archbiſhop ſhould inform the King of the Matter, as ſoon as he ſhould return to *London*, though they were not ignorant of the Danger they expoſed themſelves to, if the Accuſation could not be made good. But upon this Occaſion it was full as dangerous to ſay nothing. 1541.

Cranmer being at a great Loſs how to execute his Commiſſion, choſe to ſet down the Thing in Writing, and put it in the King's Hands, deſiring him to read it in private. *Henry* took it at firſt for a Calumny, reſolving within himſelf to puniſh the Authors of it ſeverely. Nay, it was with this View only that he was pleaſed to ſift the Matter to the bottom, though with the utmoſt Secrecy, for fear of vexing the Queen. He ordered therefore the Lord Privy-Seal to go and examine *Laſſels* in private. *Laſſels* boldly ſtood to what he had ſaid upon his Siſter's Report, who confirmed likewiſe what ſhe had told her Brother. Upon theſe Depoſitions, ſome Pretenſe was uſed to arreſt *Dirham* and *Mannock*, who diſcovered upon their Examina-

Cranmer informs the King of it.

Depoſitions are taken in private.

* Two of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Domeſticks.

1541. Examination more Circumstances than were desired. They confessed not only that they had lain with the Queen, but also that three Court Ladies, her Confidents, were commonly Eye-Witnesses to her lewd Practices. One of the three was the Lady *Rochford*, who had accused the Lord *Rochford* her Husband of having a Criminal Commerce with Queen *Ann Bullen* his Sister *. They further deposed, that the King being at *Lincoln*, one *Culpeper*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s Means was brought into the Queen's Chamber at eleven a Clock in the Night, and staid there till four in the Morning, and that when he was going away the Queen gave him [a Gold Chain and] a rich Cap. Moreover, the Queen had taken *Dirham* into her Service, which showed she intended to continue the same Life. The Queen at first denied all. But at a second Examination she confessed, that before Marriage she had prostituted herself to several Men. This Confession shook the King's Resolution, who lamenting his Misfortune, could not forbear shedding a flood of Tears. In short, after *Dirham*, *Mannock* and *Culpeper* were condemned to dye, he was pleased the Queen's Impeachment should be brought before the Parliament, which met the 16th of *January* the next Year 1542.

Several Witnesses against the Queen.

The Queen's Confession.

1542. The Commissioners *1 named by the Parliament to examine the Queen, reported that the Facts she was accused of, were sufficiently proved. Whereupon

Act of Attainder against the Queen and her Complices.

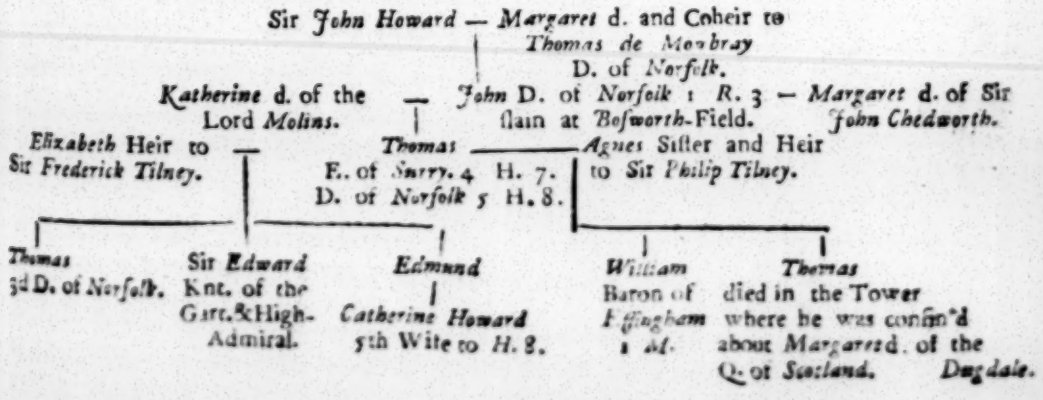
* In an Original Letter sent from divers of the Council to *William Paget* our Ambassador then in *France*, wherein all the Circumstances of the Affair are set forth at large, it appears that there were three Women (besides the Lady *Rochford*) who used to be in the Bed when *Dirham* lay with the Queen. One of these Women the Queen had taken into her Service as well as *Dirham*. See the Letter in Lord *Herbert*, p. 228 Compl. Hist.

*1 *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Westminster* examined the Queen. How much she confessed to them is not very clear, neither by the *Journal* nor the *Act* of Parliament, which only says, She confessed without mentioning the Particulars. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 312.

on both *Houſes* declared her Guilty, and petitioned * the King that ſhe might be puniſhed with Death, together with the Lady *Rochford*, Complice of her lewd Practices, the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, the Lord *William Howard* her Father, and the Lady *Howard* her Mother *1, the Counteſs of *Bridgewater*, five other Women, and four Men, for miſpriſion of Treaſon, in concealing what they knew of the Queen's vicious Life. We may further obſerve here the ſervile Compliance of the Parliament, who did not dare to condemn the Queen and her Complices, without knowing whether the King would be pleaſed to let them be puniſhed. They did not proceed in this manner with regard to *Ann Bullen* and the Lord *Rochford*, becauſe the King's Authority was not ſo overgrown as is was at the Time I am ſpeaking of. The King conſenting that they ſhould be puniſhed, they were condemned to dye by an Act of *Attainder*. There was alſo a very extraordinary *Clauſe* in the *Act*, declar- 1542.

* The *Act* paſſed in both *Houſes* began with petitioning the King,
I. Not to be troubled, ſince it might ſhorten his Life.
II. To pardon every Thing ſpoken againſt the Queen.
III. That the Queen and her Complices might, *&c.* *Burnet.*

*1 *Edmund Howard* was the Queen's Father, and not the Lord *William Howard*. As the Family of the *Howards* ſpread themſelves into ſeveral Branches, in order to prevent Confuſion, it will be proper to inſert here a ſhort Genealogial Table of that Family, which ſhall be carried on in due Time.



1542. declaring: "*That* whoever knew any thing of the "Incontinence of a Queen, ſhould reveal it under "the Pains of Treaſon: *That* if the King or his Succeſſors ſhould intend to marry a Woman as a Virgin, "if ſhe, not being ſo, did not declare the ſame to the "King, it ſhould be High-Treaſon; and all who "knew it and did not reveal it, were guilty of Miſprision of Treaſon: *That* if the Queen or the "Princeſs of *Wales* ſhould procure any by Meſſages "or Words to know her carnally; or any other by "Meſſages or Words ſhould ſollicite them; they, "their Counſellors and Abettors, are to be adjudged high Traitors".

The Queen is beheaded.

Henry giving his Aſſent to the *Act* [by his *Letters Patents* *] the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded [on *Tower-hill*] the 12th of *February*. The Queen ſtood to what ſhe had confeſſed, as to the Miſcarriages of her former Life before ſhe was married; but denied, upon her Salvation, that ſhe had ever defiled the King's Bed. As for the Lady *Rochford*, ſhe died unlamented by all. But her Death and Infamy ſerved at leaſt to raiſe again the Reputation of the Lord *Rochford* her Husband, and of Queen *Ann Bullen*, whoſe Death ſhe had procured by her Evidence, which her own Condemnation rendered ſuſpected to all the World.

The Act of Parliament is cenſured.

The extreme Severity of the Parliament to the Queen's Relations was much cenſured by the Publick. It was thought unnatural to puniſh a Father and Mother for not diſcovering their Daughter's Shame *. Wherefore the King moderated the Severity, by pardoning moſt of thoſe who were condemned, ſome of whom remained however a long while in Priſon. As for

* Which he was empowered to do by this *Act*.

** It was not her Parents but her Grand-mother, the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* (under whom ſhe had been bred) that People thought was cruelly dealt by, for not telling the King her Grand-daughter was a Whore, which would have been inconſiſtent with the Rules of Juſtice or Decency. Her Parents ſeem to have been dead before now, ſeeing there is nothing ſaid of her Father ſince 12 *H.* 8. *Dugdale*.

for the laſt Clauſe, which made it Treaſon for a Woman, who was courted by the King, not to reveal the Loſs of her Virginity, in caſe ſhe was no *Maid*, it was turned into Ridicule. People joked and ſaid, the King of *England* would be able for the future to marry only Widows, there being no reputed Maid who would venture to expoſe herſelf to the Cavils a King might make if he happened not to like her. 1542.

This Affair being over, the Parliament confirmed an *Act* paſſed in *Ireland*, whereby that Iſland was erected into a Kingdom. From thenceforward the Kings of *England* inſerted among their *Titles*, That of *King of Ireland*, whereas before they were ſtiled only *Lords of Ireland*. *Ireland is erected into a Kingdom.* Herbert.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King began in ſome meaſure to ſhow he intended to ſeize upon the *Colleges* and *Hoſpitals* as he had the *Abbies*. But the Execution of this Deſign was not ſo eaſy. By the *Local Statutes* of moſt of them, the *Governours*, *Preſidents*, or any of the *Fellows* had no Power to ſurrender the Lands belonging to their *Houſes*, without the Conſent of the whole Society. So it was no eaſy Taſk to gain whole Bodies of Men who were ſo much concerned to keep the Revenues they ſubſiſted upon. It is true the King had already prevailed with ſome, who were not tied up by ſuch expreſs *Statutes*, to reſign their *Houſes* to him. But, as he had his Eye upon all, an Expedient was to be found out, that the reſt might follow the Example without breaking their Oath. To this End, all the *Local Statutes* of *Colleges* and *Hoſpitals* were annulled by *Act* of Parliament, and the *Governours*, *Preſidents* and *Fellows* were diſpenſed with from obſerving them. This Obſtacle being removed, there were a few more ſurrendered to the King. But this Affair was not entirely finiſhed till 1545, by a much ſhorter Method. *The King deſigns to ſuppreſs the Colleges and Hoſpitals.* *An Act to pave the way.*

Whilſt Things went on thus ſmoothly in the Parliament-*Houſe*, *the Convocation*, which ſate at the ſame Time, were much divided about the new Tranſlation of *the Bible*, which was going to be publiſhed. Many affirmed *Diſpute concerning the Verſion of the Bible.* Burnet.

1542. affirmed it was full of Faults, and that it would be a great Injury to the People to suffer them to read it before it was revised. *Gardiner* was the Man that raised this Dispute, in hopes that it would be a good while before the Translation would be corrected, and that in the mean Time the King might alter his Mind *. His Party was so numerous, that he would have carried his Point, if *Cranmer*, who perceived his Design, had not moved the King to refer the perusing of the Translation to the Two *Universities*, where he had much more Interest than in the *Convocation*. Several Bishops strenuously opposed it, and some even entered a Protestation against it *. But all signified nothing, since the King had declared it to be his Pleasure: Nay, he granted the 12th of *March* a Privilege to a *London* Bookseller to print the Bible in *English*. This gives Occasion to presume, that the *Universities* revised not the Translation, since it was impossible they should have examined it in so short a Space.

Act. Pub. XIV. 745.

The King wants the Commons to offer him a Subsidy;

The King wanted Money for the War with *Scotland*, which he was fully bent upon: but he durst not ask *the Commons*. Not that he doubted of succeeding, if he would have taken that Step. But he was afraid of alienating the Hearts of his Subjects, who were much more apt to be stirred when their Pockets were touched, than upon any other Occasion whatever. He wished the *Commons* would offer him Money of their own Accord, without being asked. It was in order to gain their Affection that he commanded a *Sheriff* to be imprisoned for arresting a Member of Parliament, and offered to leave it to them to punish him as they

* *Gardiner* had a singular Conceit: He fancied there were many Words in the New Testament of such Majesty, that they were not to be translated, but must stand in the *English* Bible as they were in the *Latin*. A Hundred of these he put into a Writing which was read in Convocation. His Design was visible, to make the Translation unintelligible to the People. Some of these Words were, *Ecclesia, Penitentia, Contritus, Justitia, Justificatio, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Sacramentum, Simulachrum, Gloria*, &c. Burnet.

* All the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, except *Ely* and St. *David's*, protested against it. *Burnet*.

they thought fit. On the other Hand, he borrowed Money every where to let them ſee his Neceſſity. But for once *the Commons* made as if they underſtood not his Meaning, being unwilling to introduce the pernicious Cuſtom of granting *Subſidies* to the King without his demanding them. Beſides, as they were ignorant yet of his Deſign to go to War with *Scotland*, they ſaw no manner of Occaſion to offer him Money. So, the Parliament broke up without granting the King any Thing, except the *Act* about the *Colleges* and *Hoſpitals*, which was a Seed, the Fruit whereof he was to gather in due Seaſon. 1542. *but they no not.*

The War with *Scotland* being reſolved, *Henry* ſent Sir *William Paget* to *France*, to ſound how *Francis* I. ſtood affected, and to try to bind him by ſome Treaty from aſſiſting the King of *Scotland*. The Ambaſſador's Inſtructions were to demand of the King of *France*, that the Treaty of perpetual Peace between *France* and *England* ſhould be renewed. *Francis* eaſily perceived there was ſome hidden Myſtery in this Overture. As he knew *Henry* was diſpleaſed with the King of *Scotland*, he made no queſtion but he deſired the Peace to be renewed, on purpoſe to inſert in the new Treaty ſome Article which ſhould tie up his Hands, and prevent him from aiding his Ally. He anſwered therefore, that it was needleſs to renew a Treaty, the Conditions whereof the King of *England* had not performed. The Ambaſſador replied, That there was no ſort of Terms in the Treaty of Peace, and conſequently his Maſter could not be accuſed of breaking any. But this Diſpute was built purely upon miſtaking one another's Meaning. The Ambaſſador underſtood by the Treaty of Peace only a private Treaty, containing one ſingle Article, namely, That there ſhould be a perpetual Peace between *France* and *England*. But *Francis* meant ſome other Treaties ſigned the ſame Day, and which followed from and belonged to the Firſt, though this was written apart. It was this ſeparate Treaty which *Henry* wanted to renew, imagining he ſhould thereby hinder *Francis* from aiding the King *He endeavours to hinder the King of* France *from aſſiſting* Scotland.

1542. King of *Scotland*. But *Francis* did not deſign that, under this Pretence, *Henry* ſhould be ſuffered to cruſh an old Ally of *France*, and *France* not be able to oppoſe it. On the contrary, he deemed it a manifeſt Breach of the Peace, to attack his Allies without any juſt Cauſe. Mean while, as they would neither of them mention the King of *Scotland*, though both had him in mind, *Francis*, to perplex *Henry*, demanded, purſuant to the former Treaties, his Aid to recover the *Milaneſe*. *Henry* required on his Part, that *Francis*, according to his Promiſe, ſhould aboliſh the *Papal* Authority in *France*. Theſe reciprocal Demands were fitter to beget a Rupture than the renewing of the Treaties. Beſides, the *Engliſh* had already begun Hoſtilities, by ſeizing ſome *French* Ships which were ſuppoſed to be Pyrates, and the *French* had detained ſome *Engliſh* ones by way of Repriſal. So, the Ambaſſador having taken his Leave without any thing being done, reported to his Maſter, that the King of *France* was ill-affected to him; that is to ſay, he would not look on and ſuffer the King of *Scotland* to be oppreſſed. This was the whole Meaning of *Francis*'s being ill-affected towards *England*, he being at that time very far from deſiring a War with the *Engliſh*, ſince he was juſt going to begin another which he had much more at Heart.

Embaſſy of France *to the Diet of no Effect.* Sleidan.

Francis was ſo provoked at all the Emperour's Artifices, that in order to proclaim War againſt him, he only ſtaid till he ſhould ſee him ſo embroiled with the *Smalcaldick-League*, that there would be no Proſpect of an Accommodation. It was on purpoſe to foment this Diſſention that he had ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Diet* aſſembled at *Spire*, in *February*, under colour of clearing himſelf of the pretended Calumnies he had been aſperſed with, and particularly of the Imputation of his being in Alliance with the *Turks*. His Ambaſſadors complained to the *Diet* in very ſtrong Terms of the Murder of *Rincon* and *Fregoſe*, pretending that *Rincon* was ſent to *Conſtantinople* for no other Reaſon but to diſſuade *Soliman* from his Deſign of carrying

rying War into *Germany*. However, in the Sequel of their Diſcourſe they would have perſuaded the *German* Princes that it was their Intereſt to fortify well their frontier Towns and abandon *Hungary* to the *Turks*. So their Preſence at the *Diet* having been to little Purpoſe, they were come back very diſſatisfied. 1542.

Shortly after their Departure, the Pope's *Nuntio* offered to the *Diet* in his Maſter's Name a Council at *Trent*. The *Catholicks* gladly accepted the Offer, and thanked the *Nuntio*. But the *Proteſtants* rejected it, becauſe they would not have a *Council* called by their Adverſaries, and in a ſuſpicious Place, ſince the City of *Trent* belonged to the King of the *Romans*. This did not hinder the *Diet* from ending to the Emperour's and *Ferdinand*'s Satisfaction, after having unanimouſly reſolved to give them a powerful Aid, under the Conduct of the Elector of *Brandenburg*. *The Pope offers a Council at* Trent.

Though the *Proteſtants* had refuſed the Pope's Offer, *Paul* III however called a *Council* at *Trent* for *November* following, by a *Bull* of the 22d of *May*. But this was only to amuſe the World. He knew very well that when a War between the Emperour and *France* was going to commence, there would be Obſtacles enough to hinder the *Council* from meeting. *The Calling of the Council of* Trent.

And indeed it was at this very time that *Francis* I. was bringing five Armies into the Field, to attack the Emperour in five Places at once, namely, in *Rouſſillon*, *Luxemburg*, *Piedmont*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*. But the Succeſs anſwered not his Expectations. The great Effort he made this Year to invade his Enemy ſerved only to diſable him from doing the like again when he came himſelf to be attacked. The *Dauphin* beſieged *Perpignan* in vain. The Duke of *Orleans* his Brother took *Luxemburg* and *Montmedy*: but theſe Places were retaken before the End of the Campaign. As for the other three Armies, they did nothing conſiderable. Francis *invades the Emperour in five Places.* Bellay. Mezerai.

Whilſt *Francis* was ſtriving in vain to be revenged of the Emperour, *Henry* came to a final Reſolution to wage War with *Scotland*. He was in hopes that in Henry *reſolves upon a War with* Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

1542. the Conference he had expected to hold with the King his Nephew, he ſhould bring him to renounce the *Papal* Authority, and he was extremely concerned to ſee himſelf diſappointed. This Affair ſeemed to him of the utmoſt Importance, becauſe not having much to fear from Abroad, where the *Naval* Forces were not comparable to his, *Scotland* was the only Country which could give him any Diſturbance. From thence alone it was that the *Engliſh* Male-contents could draw any Succours, and he remembred with Dread the Risk he ſhould have run when the Rebels were in Arms in the *North*, if they had been ſupported by a *Scotch* Army. In the War therefore he was going to undertake againſt *Scotland*, his Aim was not to make Conqueſts, but to bend the King of *Scotland* to his Will by Force, ſince he could not do it by fair Means. This he deemed abſolutely neceſſary, in order to procure a ſettled Peace. At the Time of the *Northern* Rebellion, the Circumſtances of Affairs were very favourable to him, becauſe as he was then in ſtrict Union with *France*, King *James* could not engage to ſupport the *Engliſh* Male-contents without *Francis*'s Conſent, who, inſtead of approving ſuch a Deſign, would have diverted him from it. But Affairs were now upon another Foot, ſince he could no longer rely upon the King of *France*'s Friendſhip. It is true that Prince was not to be much dreaded, whilſt he was at War with the Emperour; but he conſidered that the Equality of theſe two Monarch's Forces would oblige them in all likelihood to make Peace very ſoon, and that this Peace, in which no doubt the Pope would interpoſe, would neceſſarily be to his Prejudice: nay, it was a queſtion whether it would not occaſion a League againſt him, in which the King of *Scotland* might be a Party. In that caſe *England* could be invaded in the *North* with the greater Eaſe, as the *Northern* Counties were the moſt inclined to rebel. It was therefore of very great Conſequence to *Henry* to win the King of *Scotland* to his Intereſt, ſince, being ſafe from that Quarter, he ſtood in no great

great Fear of an Invaſion, which he looked upon as impoſſible, conſidering the Superiority of his Naval Forces. 1542.

He had intended to make uſe of two ways to gain the King of *Scotland* in the Conference he had propoſed to him. The firſt way was to let him ſee that he had it in his Power to ſecure to him the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, after his Son *Edward*, or to remove him at a greater Diſtance, ſince, by the *Act* of Parliament made for that purpoſe, he could call to the Succeſſion his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, or exclude them for ever. In the former Caſe, King *James* could not pretend to the Crown, till after the Poſterity of theſe two Princeſſes ſhould be extinct; but in the latter Caſe he would come the very next after Prince *Edward*. As therefore the gaining of two Degrees was a conſiderable Advantage for the King of *Scotland*, *Henry* was in hopes he would not be ſo unwiſe as to ſlight it. The ſecond way he deſigned to make uſe of to win that Prince, was to lay before him the Advantages which would accrue to him, in caſe he renounced the Pope, as well by reaſon it would make it the eaſier for him to ſucceed to the Crown of *England*, if there ſhould be occaſion, as becauſe of the Riches he would acquire by ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries of *Scotland*. As *James* was very greedy of Money, *Henry* did not queſtion ſucceeding by this ſecond Means, though the firſt ſhould prove ineffectual. He was therefore extremely vexed to ſee himſelf diſappointed of his Hopes by the King his Nephew's Refuſal to meet him at *York*. He found by that, the new Queen had too great an Influence over him, nay, he ſuſpected that the Pope, the Emperour, and it may be the King of *France*, had ſome hand in the Matter. So, deſpairing of compaſſing his End by fair Means, he reſolved to try what Force could do.

The Deſign of this War.

Scotland was hardly able to ſtand againſt *England* without the Help of *France*. But *Francis* had his Hands ſo full, that there was no likelihood he would have any thing to do in the Quarrel. *Henry* hoped therefore,

1542. therefore, that if he could gain at firſt ſome Advantage, he ſhould render the *Scots* more pliant, and more eaſily diſpoſe the King his Nephew to hearken to his Propoſals. Thus the War he intended to wage with *Scotland* was properly deſigned merely to oblige the *Scots* to a Compliance with what he deſired of them, and not a War founded upon his Caprice only, or to be revenged of the Affront he had received, as the Hiſtorians give out. However, as he could not make known his real Motives without doing himſelf a Prejudice, he uſed for Cloke a pretended Violation of the Truce, a ſuppoſed Wrong which he complained of with reſpect to ſome Lands of ſmall Value lying on the Frontiers, and *James*'s entertaining ſome *Engliſh* Rebels. But as all this was ſcarce capable of deceiving the World, he bethought himſelf of reviving the old Pretenſions of the Kings of *England* to the Right of Sovereignty over the Kingdom of *Scotland*. To that purpoſe he ſet out a long Declaration, in which was inſerted the *Memorial* largely ſpoken of in the Reigns of *Edward* I. and *Henry* VII, containing the pretended Proofs of the Homage which *Scotland* had formerly paid to *England*. This Declaration was however expreſſed in ſuch ambiguous and equivocal Terms, that it plainly appeared *Henry* was willing to leave it in his Power to quit his Pretenſions without injuring his Honour. It is entirely needleſs to repeat here the Contents of the Memorial. It will ſuffice to obſerve only, that the *Engliſh* Writers ſpeak of it, as if the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland* was there demonſtrated, and that the bare citing it is ſufficient to carry the Cauſe. Dr. *Burnet*, though a *Scotchman*, ſeems to be impoſed upon by this Opinion univerſally ſpread in *England*, ſince he ſpeaks of this *Memorial* in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, without making any Remarks. Perhaps he did not think proper to combat the Opinion of the *Engliſh* without any Neceſſity with regard to his Hiſtory.

He revives the Pretenſions to the Sovereignty of Scotland.

Declaration upon that Head.

Henry

1542. *War with* Scotland.

Henry publiſhed not his Declaration till his Army was juſt going to enter *Scotland*. His Deſign was to ſurprize the *Scots*, which he believed to be ſo much the more eaſy, as there appeared to be no juſt Cauſe of Rupture between the two Kingdoms. However, King *James* hearing that Soldiers were raiſing in *England*, prepared himſelf, that he might be in a Poſture of Defence in caſe he ſhould be attacked. In the mean while, he ſent two Ambaſſadors to the King his Uncle, to ſee if there was any way to content him, or at leaſt to gain time till the King of *France* might be able to aſſiſt him. Theſe Ambaſſadors were kept a good while at the Court of *England* upon frivolous Pretences, and as long as *Henry* was buſied in making his Preparations, he gave them no manner of Anſwer. Nay, they were not ſuffered to return home but with the Army, which was to enter their Country, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and wherein they were as Priſoners. Two other Ambaſſadors of *Scotland* who were going to *London*, meeting the *Engliſh* Army upon their March, were detained alſo till they arrived at *Berwick*.

Mean while King *James* hearing that the Duke of *Norfolk* was marching towards the *North* at the Head of Twenty Thouſand Men, ſent a Body of Ten Thouſand Men to the Frontiers, under the Command of *Gordon*, till the reſt of the Troops ſhould come who were marching from ſeveral Parts to join him. But *Gordon* could not hinder the Duke of *Norfolk* from entering *Scotland* about the End of *October*, and from ravaging the Country North of the *Tweed*. After this ſhort Expedition, the *Engliſh* Army retired to *Berwick*, the Seaſon which was already very bad preventing him from advancing any farther. In the mean time King *James* ordered the Lord *Maxwell* to march with Fifteen Thouſand Men juſt as the *Engliſh* were retiring to *Berwick*. The *Scots* pretend, that upon the News of *Maxwell*'s March, the *Engliſh* retreated in ſuch Confuſion, that they might have been eaſily defeated, if *Gordon* durſt have ventured to attack

1542. tack them, and that the King was extremely angry with him for miſſing ſo fair an Opportunity. However this be, *James* heading his Army in Perſon, held a Council of War, and appeared fully reſolved to give Battle let what would happen. But he was the only Perſon of that Opinion. On the contrary, they ſtrongly repreſented to him the Danger the Kingdom would be expoſed to, if the Army was beaten. In ſhort, as he would not alter his Reſolution, the Generals and Nobles gave him to underſtand they would not obey him, if, without any Neceſſity, he was obſtinately bent to expoſe the Kingdom to ſo manifeſt a Hazard. This Oppoſition threw him into a Fury. He ſwore he would puniſh their Diſobedience, and called them all Traitors, ſince they hindered him from obtaining, as he thought, a certain Victory. Cardinal *Beaton* was the Man who put this in his Head, by telling him it was impoſſible for ſuch *Hereticks* as the *Engliſh* to conquer him. The Truth is, *James* was a little diſturbed in his Fancy ever ſince he had unjuſtly put to Death a Nephew of the Duke of *Albany*'s, whoſe Form was ever preſent to his Imagination. So being extremely troubled to ſee himſelf thus diſobeyed, he left the Command of the Army to the Lord *Maxwell*, with Orders to march towards the Enemy, and kept himſelf within diſtance to come and join him, in caſe there ſhould be Occaſion to fight. But a few Days after, as he was extremely incenſed againſt his Generals, and as he miſtruſted them very much, he gave a Commiſſion in Form to *Oliver Sinclair* his *Minion*, to go and command the Army. The new General, very unfit for ſuch a Poſt, repairing to the Camp, cauſed his *Patent* to be publickly read, at which every body was exceedingly diſguſted. This bred ſuch Diſcontent among the Troops, that they began to disband, when a Body of Five Hundred *Engliſh* Horſe appeared on a little Hill, where they were poſted to watch the Motions of the Enemy. This Sight increaſed more and more the Confuſion among the *Scotch* Troops, who imagined the whole *Engliſh*

The King of Scotland *is reſolved to fight.*

The Nobles refuſe to follow him.

He gives the Command of the Army to Sinclair.

Engliſh Army was approaching to give them Battle. 1542.
In this Condition, being without a General, ſince *Maxwell*'s Commiſſion was revoked, and ſince no Body would obey *Sinclair*, they choſe to retire in a Fright, which permitted them not to turn their Heads and obſerve the ſmall Number of their Enemies. The *Engliſh* Horſe ſeeing them take to flight with ſuch Precipitation, followed them cloſe, and without meeting any Reſiſtance, ſlew great Numbers, took Priſoners ſeven Lords, two hundred Gentlemen, eight hundred Soldiers, with four and twenty Pieces of Ordnance. Never was Victory won ſo eaſily. Among the chief Priſoners were the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Caſſilis*, the Lords *Maxwell*, [*Sommervell*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*,] and *Oliver Sinclair* the King's Favourite. *Rout of the Scotch Army.*

The News of this Rout threw King *James* into a diſmal Melancholy, to which he was already much inclined. He fancied his Generals and Nobles had betrayed him, and in this belief he reſolved to diſpatch the greateſt Part of them out of the way. His Vexation was ſtill increaſed, upon hearing that a Herald, which the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent to him, was murdered by an *Engliſh* Refugee. He apprehended immediately the ill Conſequences ſuch an Accident might be attended with, after the Misfortune juſt befallen him. So imagining it would be impoſſible to free himſelf from the Trouble he was in, he could not withſtand his immoderate Grief, which brought him to his Grave the 14th of *December* 1542. His Death happened ſeven Days after the Birth of a Princeſs called *Mary*, whom his Queen was delivered of, and who was his only Heir. A little before he loſt two Sons in one Day. *Death of the King of Scotland.* *Birth of the Princeſs* Mary.

Henry not knowing what paſſed in *Scotland*, had cauſed the *Scotch* Priſoners to be brought to *London*, where they arrived the 19th of *December*. Next Day they were conducted through the City from the *Tower*, where they had been confined, to *Weſtminſter*, where the King was pleaſed to ſee and talk with them. He upbraided them at firſt, that ſome of them had by Henry *orders the Priſoners to be brought to* London.

1542. their pernicious Counſels, perſwaded the King their Maſter to quarrel with him, and that they juſtly ſuffered for a War themſelves had occaſioned. Nevertheleſs, as he intended to make them inſtrumental in procuring ſuch a Peace as he deſired, he ended his Diſcourſe with ſome obliging Expreſſions, and granted them more Liberty, by giving them in Cuſtody to ſeveral Noblemen. The Earl of *Caſſilis* had the good Fortune to fall into the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to receive from him, during his ſhort ſtay at *London*, ſuch Inſtructions as induced him to embrace the Reformation when he returned to his own Country.

He projects a Match between his Son and the new Queen of Scotland. *He ſends away the Priſoners.*

A few Days after, the News of the Birth of *Mary* Princeſs of *Scotland*, and of the King her Father's Death coming together, *Henry* thought it a favourable Juncture to unite *Scotland* to *England*, by matching his Son *Edward* with the new Queen of *Scotland*. He cauſed the Lords his Priſoners to be ſounded upon this Head, and finding them inclined to ſecond the Overture, he ſet them at Liberty, on Condition they would give Hoſtages for their Return, in caſe the Project of the Marriage did not ſucceed. This Condition being accepted, they were conducted to *Newcaſtle*, from whence they returned Home, upon the delivery of the Hoſtages. We ſhall ſee preſently what was the Iſſue of this Project.

1543. *The Parliament grants the King a* Subſidy. Herbert.

The Parliament of *England* meeting the 22d of *January*, granted the King a *Subſidy*, both for the Charges he had been at in the War with *Scotland*, and for his other Occaſions. By that was meant, a War with *France*, of which there was no longer room to doubt, ſince the King was juſt upon the Point of concluding a League with the Emperour. The Union which was going to be formed between theſe two Monarchs, would in all Appearance, be ſo favourable to the Friends of *Rome* and the old Religion, that they queſtioned not but the Time was coming when the Reformation ſhould be deſtroyed in *England*. However, at this very Time they had the Mortification to

ſee

ſee an *Act* of Parliament paſſed which very much baulked their Expectations. This *Act*, which *Cranmer* had moved and at length obtained, ran, That Lords, Gentlemen, Merchants, might have in their Houſes an *Engliſh Bible*, with ſome other Religious Books mentioned in the *Act*, for the Inſtruction of their Families. But it was expreſsly forbidden to print, ſell, buy, or keep any religious Books but theſe, and to preach or ſpeak againſt the Ordinance of the Year 1540. There was alſo a very conſiderable Clauſe in this *Statute*, that the Offenders, if they were *Eccleſiaſticks*, ſhould not be condemned to be burnt till the third Offence, and that the Puniſhment of the *Laity*, ſhould not extend beyond Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels [and perpetual Impriſonment.] Moreover, the *Act* allowed the Party accuſed to bring Witneſſes for his own Purgation, which had never been granted before in the caſe of *Hereſy*. Laſtly, it was enacted, that the accuſed ſhould be tried within a Year at fartheſt after the Indictment. But on the other Hand, the Law of the ſix Articles was confirmed, and the Parliament left it in the King's Power to annull or alter the *Act* at his Pleaſure. By this laſt Clauſe the King ſtill continued to have the Lives of the Reformed at his Command, ſince by repealing this *Act*, he could proſecute them upon the former *Statutes*.

1543. *An Act allowing the Bible in private Houſes.*

Advantagious Clauſe to Perſons accuſed of Hereſy.

Power granted the King to repeal this Act.

In a Fortnight after the Parliament broke up, *Henry* concluded with the Emperour a League, which however was not publiſhed till the Month of *June*. It was by no Means for the Intereſt of *England* that the King ſhould join with the Emperour to render him more powerful. He was already too much ſo. On the contrary, it would have been more proper, in order to keep the Balance even, that he ſhould have aſſiſted *France*. At leaſt it is undeniable that the ſtanding Neuter would have been advantagious to the *Engliſh*. But the King's Paſſion ran counter to the Nation's Intereſt. He was very much diſſatisfied with *Francis* upon ſeveral Accounts. In the firſt Place, he obſerved in him a great Indifference

Henry concludes a League with the Emperour. Act. Pub. XIV. 768. Feb. 11.

Reaſons of Henry's being diſpleaſed with Francis.

1543. rence for whatever concerned him, ever ſince he had no farther need of his Aſſiſtance. Secondly, he perceived at length, that all his Promiſes to renounce, like him, the *Papal* Authority, tended only to amuſe him. He knew that upon ſeveral Occaſions *Francis* had blamed his Conduct, in Reſpect to Religion, and paſſed very home Jeſts upon his Marriages. In the next Place, he paid neither the yearly Penſion of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns, nor that of ten Thouſand for the Salt of *Brouage*, though he was bound thereto by divers Treaties. As for the Debt of two Millions, *Francis* indeed could produce Acquittances for good Part of that Sum; but then *Henry* had received no Money, the Acquittances being in lieu of the Succours he had voluntarily ingaged to lend him in his former Wars. However, there was a round Sum ſtill left unpaid, and the Debtor never went about to ſatisfy him. Moreover *Henry* had preſented the King of *France* with the Money due to him from the Emperour, merely on Condition he would punctually perform the Treaties, and he complained *Francis* had not been exact as to that Point. But what offended *Henry* moſt of all, was the Obſtacles *Francis* had raiſed him in *Scotland* by help of a Faction, which had openly oppoſed his Deſigns. Here was ſufficient Cauſe for a Rupture, if the Nation's Intereſt had been the ſame with the Kings. But when the Caſe ſtands thus, ſeldom does it happen that the People's Intereſt gets the better of the Sovereign's. *Henry* reſolved therefore to make the King of *France* ſenſible, that it was worth his while to have ſhown a greater Regard for him, and to this End it was that he choſe to be reconciled with the Emperour, and to join in a League with him.

The advantages of this League on the Emperour's ſide.

Charles V. deſired nothing with ſo much Eagerneſs. He plainly ſaw that with the Aſſiſtance of *England*, he ſhould ſoon be able to bring the King of *France* to Reaſon, and deſtroy all his Hopes of recovering the *Milaneſe* by Arms. The Apprehenſion he had all along been under of *Henry*'s uniting with *France* and the

the *German-Proteſtants*, made him look upon the Alliance with *England* as what would enable him to bring about his ambitious Deſigns. He found his Account much better in hindering *Francis* from ſetting Foot again in *Italy*, and in ſubduing the *Proteſtants*, than in executing, or rather in trying to execute the Pope's Sentence againſt *Henry*, an Undertaking in which in all Appearance he would not have come off with Honour. Beſides, the Death of Queen *Catharine* his Aunt, had much abated, and it may be entirely ſtifled his Deſire to revenge her. So at the very Time he was complaining to all the Princes of *Europe* that *Francis* held private Intelligence with the *Infidels*, he made no Scruple to court the Alliance of an *excommunicated* King, who according to the Principles of the *Romiſh-Church*, ought not to be looked upon with leſs Horror than the *Turks*. One ſingle Difficulty retarded the Concluſion of this Alliance. The Emperour would have *Mary* Queen *Catharine*'s Daughter, acknowledged for Legitimate, which *Henry* obſtinately refuſed. Nay, he could not grant it without condemning his Divorce from *Catharine*, and all the Steps he had taken upon that Occaſion. He promiſed however, that purſuant to the Power given him by *Act* of Parliament, he would give *Mary* a Place in the Succeſſion: But he would never conſent that this Article ſhould be inſerted in the Treaty. The Emperor's Friends in *England* adviſed him to be ſatisfied with this verbal Promiſe, apprehenſive as they were that the League from whence they expected great Advantages, would be delayed by this Obſtacle. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, who had been employed in *Spain* about this Negotiation, willingly and heartily endeavoured to bring it to a good Iſſue, hoping that a Union between the Emperor and the King, would re-eſtabliſh Religion in *England* upon the ſame Foot it was before the Buſineſs of Divorce.

1543.

Difficulty upon the Concluſion of the League.

It is removed.

Treaty of League between the Emperour and Henry.

The Treaty then was concluded at *London* the 11th of *February* 1543. It contained a League which concerned *England* only, with what *Henry* held in *Picardy*, Act. Pub. XIV. 768.

1543. *cardy*, and on the Emperour's Part, the Provinces of the *Low-Countries* which were under his Dominion, without any mention of *Spain* or *Germany*. The League was to this Effect :

That the Emperour and the King of *England* ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to declare to him, that at his Inſtances only the *Turks* had invaded Chriſtendom. That therefore the two confederate Monarchs exhorted him to break his Alliance with the *Infidels*, to hold them for Enemies, and to have no Correſpondence with them. They demanded moreover, that he ſhould make amends for the Damages done to *Chriſtendom*, by his calling in thoſe cruel Enemies. That he ſhould give over the War he had begun in ſeveral Places, to the End the Emperour might apply himſelf to the Defenſe of *Chriſtendom*. That he ſhould cauſe the Town of *Maram* taken by the *Turks*, to be reſtored to King *Ferdinand* and the Emperour *Caſtro-novo*, which they had beſieged with the help of twelve *French* Gallies. That he ſhould repair the Loſſes the *Germans* had ſuſtained by the *Turkiſh* Invaſion. Laſtly, that he ſhould ſatisfy the King of *England* for whatever he owed him, and give him Security for the Payment of the Hundred Thouſand Crowns.

After theſe Preliminaries, the two confedrate Monarchs agreed that they would not make Peace or Truce but upon theſe Conditions: That *Francis* ſhould pay the King of *England* whatever was due to him, and for Security of the annual Penſion, ſurrender into his Hands the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, *Boulogne*, *Montreuil*, *Andres* and *Terouenne*, free from all Homage, for which *Henry* ſhould conſent that the yearly Revenues thence ariſing ſhould be in lieu of the Penſion. Moreover, that *Francis* ſhould reſtore to the Emperour the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

That if the King of *France* ſhould delay but ten Days to accept of theſe Conditions, the two confederate Monarchs ſhould proclaim War againſt him, with a Declaration that they would never make Peace till the

the King of *England* was in Poſſeſſion of *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the Kingdom of *France*, and the Emperour, of *Abbeville*, *Bray*, *Corbeil*, *Peronne*, *Ham*, St. *Quentin*, and the whole Dutchy of *Burgundy*. 1543.

Laſtly, They agreed, that each of them ſhould take the Field, and invade *France* with Twenty-five Thouſand Men, of whom five Thouſand ſhould be Cavalry.

Theſe were vaſt Projects. But theſe Princes were too wiſe to imagine that with Twenty-five Thouſand each, they ſhould be able to conquer *France*. It is likely therefore that they agreed in the Treaty, to bring into the Field ſo ſmall a Number of Troops purely to ingage *Francis* to provide for his Defenſe only, in Proportion to their Forces. And indeed we ſhall ſee hereafter, that they invaded *France* with above a Hundred Thouſand Men.

Henry's chief Aim.

One of the chief Reaſons why *Henry* joined in a League with the Emperour, was to find the King of *France* ſo much Work at Home, that he ſhould not have it in his Power to break the Meaſures already taken for the Union of *Scotland* with *England*, by a Match between *Mary* and Prince *Edward*. *Henry* had this Affair very much at Heart, and that very juſtly, as it is eaſy to imagine. But unluckily for him, there was a Queen Dowager in *Scotland* of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and a Cardinal Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who being both devoted to *France* and the Pope, laboured with all their Power to defeat his Projects. As the Affairs of *Scotland* will be very ſoon much blended with thoſe of *England*, it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſee what paſſed in that Country, after the Death of *James* V, without which it would be very difficult to underſtand what will be ſaid hereafter.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan.

After the deceaſe of *James* V, *Scotland* was in a very ſad Condition. The late King had not ſettled the Regency during his Daughter's Minority. The next Heir to *Mary*, was *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, a Perſon of a very mean Genius, a lover of Books and Eaſe, but little capable of managing the Affairs

1543. Affairs of the Publick, and ſtill leſs thoſe of War (*a*). He had ſhown ſome Inclination for the old Religion, and thereby was become as much ſuſpected and odious to the *Clergy*, as agreeable to thoſe who had embraced the Reformation. The Queen Dowager, Siſter to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, had an extreme Averſion to the *Reformed*. She was kept in that Mind by Cardinal *Beaton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, a violent and cruel Man, who had already given ſeveral Proofs of his barbarous Temper towards thoſe who embraced the new Religion. Moſt of the Lords who would have been able by their Counſels, to ſupport the State in ſuch a Juncture, were either ſlain in the late Rout, or in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. But although they had been alive, or in *Scotland*, it would have been a very difficult Taſk to ſucceed. There had been for a long while ſuch a Diviſion among the Nobles, that what one moved was ſure to be oppoſed by another. This was the Conſequence of the Factions which the Kings of *France* and *England* had ſtirred up in the Kingdom, and which were continued by different Opinions in Religion. To all theſe Calamities was added, That of a War againſt a powerful Neighbour, who had juſt gained a very conſiderable Advantage, and could eaſily make a good uſe of the Conſternation all *Scotland* was under.

Amidſt this Confuſion, Cardinal *Beaton* ſeeing no Body able to ſtand againſt him, formed the Deſign of ſeizing the Regency. To that Purpoſe he forged a *Will* for the late King, wherein he was appointed *Regent* or *Viceroy*, during *Mary*'s Minority, with three Counſellors or Aſſiſtants, whom the Earl of *Arran* was one, and cauſed it to be publiſhed againſt the Parliament ſhould meet and confirm it. Mean while, he ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to win ſuch as were proper to ſupport him, as well among the People, as among

(*a*) This is, *Buchanan*'s Character of him.

among the great Men. The Queen Dowager was the first that declared for him. 1543.

But whilst the Cardinal was labouring to strengthen his Party, the Friends and Relations of the Earl of *Arran* were earnestly soliciting him not to yield the Regency to one who had no manner of Right to it. They represented to him, *That* the *Will* on which the Cardinal grounded his Pretensions, was all a Forgery, because the late King never valued him so far as to commit the Regency to him, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood. *That* it was a Contrivance to destroy the *Hamiltons* with their whole Party, and to hinder the Progress of the Reformation. *That* all the World knew the Cardinal to be a Man of ill Principles, of little or no Conscience, Cruel, and Superstitious, and if once he had the Power in his Hands, the Flames of Persecution would quickly be kindled all over the Kingdom, not only against the *Reformed*, but against all in general who would not blindly submit to his Orders, and that infallibly the Princes of the Royal Family, and the chief of the Nobles would fall the first Victims to his Ambition and Jealousy. The Earl of *Arran* was of a peaceable Temper, and without Ambition. If he had followed his own Inclination, he would have left the Cardinal quietly to enjoy the Authority he had usurped. But his Friends having as it were forced him by their Remonstrances, to assert the Right due to his Birth, he resolved to demand the Regency, and show the Forgery of the pretended *Will*, on which the Cardinal built his Claim.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the Prisoners who had been released came to *Scotland*, and with them *Archibald Douglass* Earl of *Angus*, and *William Douglass* his Brother, who had been sent away to *England* fifteen Years ago. Upon their Arrival, the Earl of *Arran*'s Party grew much stronger, whereas the Cardinal lost abundance of Followers, who had sided with him more out of Fear than Affection. People did not stick to say publickly, that the Earl of *Arran*'s

1543. *Arran*'s Right was indisputable, even though the King out of mere Caprice, should have disposed of the Regency in Favour of the Cardinal, which however was incredible. The Parliament meeting in *March*, the *Will* was examined, and the Forgery being detected, the Cardinal was removed, and the Earl of *Arran* declared *Regent* with almost unanimous Consent. It was not without Reason that most of the Lords and Nobles were desirous to free themselves from the Dominion of Cardinal *Beaton*. Before the Parliament met, a Paper was found written with the King's own Hand, wherein were set down the Names of three Hundred Lords and Gentlemen whom he had resolved to dispatch out of the way. As most of these proscribed Persons were of the *Reformed* Religion, or favoured the Reformation, it was not doubted but the Cardinal had very much contributed to put the King upon taking this barbarous Resolution, by representing to him, that they who had refused to fight against the *English*, were secret Friends of the King of *England*, and Favourers of the new Opinions. It is certain, abundance of the Nobility were of the reformed Religion, or wished well to the Reformation. The Earl of *Arran* was one of this Number, and upon that Account it was that he saw himself so well seconded when he demanded the Regency, because those of the new Religion had intended to make him their Protector. But it was an ill choice, the Earl's unactive and fearful Temper, rendering him very unfit to support the Party who put themselves under his Protection.

Henry proposes to the Scots the Marriage of their Queen with Prince Edward.

Whilst the Parliament was sitting, *Henry* sent an Ambassador * to *Scotland* to propose the Marriage of Prince *Edward* his Son with the young Queen, as it had been agreed upon with the Lords the Prisoners. The Ambassador was furnished with a good Sum of Money to facilitate the Negotiation, *Henry* knowing by Experience how useful a Means that was in *Scotland*.

* Sir *Ralph Sadler*.

land. The Queen and Cardinal *Beaton* uſed all their Credit and all their Addreſs to get the Overture rejected. But as their Party was not ſtrong enough to balance the King of *England*'s, the Cardinal made it his Buſineſs to confound all the Conferences which were held upon this Occaſion, by long Speeches, far-fetched Diſputes, Invectives againſt the contrary Party, with deſign to raiſe Quarrels, which would obſtruct the Concluſion of this Affair. His Artifices being ſeen through at laſt, he was confined to a Room till the Debates were over. The Moment the Cardinal no longer appeared, the King of *England*'s Propoſal was accepted without much Difficulty, and the Parliament appointed Ambaſſadors to go and treat at *London* with the King about a Peace and the Marriage. *George Douglaſs*, the Earl of *Angus*'s Brother, and ſome other Lords were charged with this Negotiation, which ended at length in two Treaties concluded at *London* the 1ſt of *July* 1543. The firſt was to ſettle a good and firm Peace between the two Kingdoms. The ſecond, for the Match between Prince *Edward* and the young Queen of *Scotland*. *Henry* did all he could to get *Mary* put into his Hands. But the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors not yielding to that, it was at laſt agreed ſhe ſhould not be brought into *England* till ſhe was full Ten Years old: That in the mean Time the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhould appoint four Lords to take care of her Education, and *Henry* might add a Fifth of his own Nation to convey his Advices to the Governours: That the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhould give the King three Hoſtages of Diſtinction, for Security that the Marriage ſhould be conſummated *.

1543.

The King's Propoſal accepted.

Treaty between England *and* Scotland. Act. Pub. XIV. 796.

* The King might ſend a Nobleman and his Wife with other Perſons, not exceeding Twenty, to wait on her. And for Performance of the Marriage Six Noblemen were to be ſent from *Scotland* for Hoſtages. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 323.

1543. This Affair being ended, the Cardinal had a little more Liberty granted him, by being given in Custody to the Lord *Seaton*. But that Nobleman ſuffering himſelf to be bribed by his Priſoner, afforded him Means to make his Eſcape. As ſoon as he was at Liberty, he left no Stone unturned to get the Treaties broken which had been made with *England*, wherein he was very much aſſiſted by the Queen Dowager. As they were both firmly attached to *France* and the old Religion, they could not ſee without extreme Grief the Alliance lately concluded with a Prince whom they looked upon as a *Heretick*, and whoſe Intereſt had for ſome time been contrary to that of *Francis* I. They plainly perceived, this Alliance was capable of occaſioning great Alterations as well in *Church* as *State*, and would infallibly cauſe the Breach of the antient Friendſhip between *Franre* and *Scotland*. In order to parry this Blow, the Cardinal aſſembled at his Houſe the Heads of the *Clergy*, and repreſenting to them the Danger *the Church* was in, he obtained a large Contribution to aid him in ſupporting her. This Money ſerved him to maintain his Creatures, and practiſe upon ſome of the contrary Party. In a word, he managed things ſo dexterouſly, that he quickly put Matters in extreme Confuſion. By his Sollicitations and Intrigues he ordered it ſo, that the Priſoners who had been releaſed reſolved not to go and redeem their Hoſtages. The Earl of *Caſſilis* was the only Perſon who could not be prevailed with upon any Conſideration to break his Word. In ſhort, the Cardinal's Party being grown very numerous by his Liberalities, ſtoutly oppoſed the ſending of the Hoſtages promiſed to the King of *England* by the Treaty. Beſides this, the Cardinal reſolving at any rate to ſet the two Nations at Variance, cauſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to be highly affronted by ſome of his Party, and his Servants to be inſulted. But the Ambaſſador knowing how deſirous the King his Maſter was that the Treaties ſhould be executed, bore all with Patience, for fear of raiſing an unſeaſonable

Cardinal Beaton *breaks theſe Meaſures.*

His Party is ſtronger than the Regent's

nable Quarrel, which he ſaw was what the Cardinal aimed at. Thus the Cardinal had brought things to ſuch a Paſs, that the Regent, who wanted Reſolution, tried in vain to ſtop theſe violent Proceedings, ſince his Commands were openly diſobeyed. 1543.

At laſt, the Day being come on which the three Hoſtages were to be delivered, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador went and demanded them of the Regent, complaining withal of the Affronts he had received. The Regent told him, he was very ſorry any Diſreſpect had been ſhown to his Perſon and Character, and that he would give him what Satisfaction he deſired at a more convenient Seaſon, but at preſent it was by no means proper: That he was himſelf witneſs of the Troubles raiſed by the Cardinal, and how contemptible the Authority of the Government was rendered by the Cabals of that Prelate: That as for the Hoſtages, it was no longer in his Power to put them into his Hands, ſince the Cardinal and his whole Party were againſt it, who were now grown too ſtrong to be compelled. The Ambaſſador was ſufficiently convinced of the Truth of what the Regent ſaid, and as he ſaw but little appearance of a Change in favour of the King his Maſter, he contented himſelf with calling upon the Priſoners, to return to *England* according to their Promiſe. But he ſucceeded no better in that. They refuſed to go back, though they were releaſed only upon Parole. The Earl of *Caſſilis* alone, abhorring the Diſhoneſty of his Fellow-Priſoners, ſet out for *London*, and put himſelf into the King's Hands. This Action met with its due Reward. *Henry* received the Earl in a very civil Manner. He commended his Faithfulneſs, and making him rich Preſents, gave him his Liberty without Ranſom. However, finding his Party in *Scotland* was neither ſtrong enough, nor firm enough to his Intereſt, he reſolved to proclaim War with that Kingdom. He might eaſily have ſubdued it ſome Months before, if he had thought fit to take Advantage of

The Priſoners refuſe to go back, except the Earl of Caſſilis.

1543. the Consternation the *Scots* were under after their Defeat, and the Death of their Sovereign.

The Queen's and Cardinal's Artifices to seize the Government.

The Queen and the Cardinal having compassed their Ends as to a Rupture with *England*, considered of Means to get the Government of the Kingdom, by supplanting the Earl of *Arran*, Head of the adverse Faction. Indeed, they did not much fear the Earl, as they had lately made appear. But he bore the Title of *Regent*, and it was very possible that by the Counsels of the able Men of his Party, and the Help of the King of *England*, he might find means in the End to make himself formidable. The War *Henry* had just proclaimed against *Scotland* afforded them a Handle to execute their Project. They caused it to be represented to the King of *France*, " That it was al-
" most impossible for *Scotland* to maintain a War
" with *England* without a powerful Aid from him:
" That the Earl of *Arran*, Regent of the Kingdom,
" favoured the *English*: That most certainly, instead
" of opposing them, he would make use of them to
" establish more and more his Authority, and to get
" the Queen's Marriage consummated, as it had been
" projected: That in all likelihood this Marriage
" would beget a Breach of the old Alliance between
" *France* and *Scotland*, and a strict Union between
" *Scotland* and *England*: That he might plainly see
" how much himself was concerned in a War, which,
" as it would infallibly be attended with ill Success,
" would cause him to lose *Scotland*: That indeed
" they perceived how difficult it was for him to assist
" them, when he stood in need of all his Forces a-
" gainst the Emperour: but they had devised an
" Expedient to gain time, by breaking the Measures
They send for the Earl of Lenox *from* France *to set him up against the Regent.*
" of the contrary Party. The Expedient was, that
" he should send over to *Scotland Matthew Stuart*
" Earl of *Lenox* who was in *France*, that they might
" set him up against the *Hamiltons*, to whom he was a
" sworn Enemy, because they had killed his Father:
" That this Lord being in *Scotland*, would be imme-
" diately acknowledged for Head of the Party a-
" gain

"gainſt the Regent; and that, by the Aſſiſtance "they were ready to lend him, he would become ſo "much Superiour, that it would not be poſſible for "the Regent to execute his Deſigns in favour of "*England*". The better to perſuade the Earl of *Lenox* to come to *Scotland*, they put him in hopes of marrying the Queen Dowager, and of being placed on the Throne in caſe the young Queen died before ſhe was married. They told him, this would be ſo much the eaſier, as that before the Birth of *Mary*, the late King had deſigned him for his Succeſſor, though farther removed in Blood than the Earl of *Arran*, becauſe he looked upon this laſt as a Baſtard by reaſon of the Unlawfulneſs of his Father's Marriage. Theſe Remonſtrances had the deſired Effect. *Francis* I, overjoyed at being able to ſtrengthen his Party in *Scotland*, without being forced to ſend thither any great Supplies, ſent away the Earl of *Lenox* with all ſpeed, promiſing him his Protection. 1453.

The Cardinal hinders the Regent from having the Queen's Perſon in his Power.

Mean while, the Regent having ſome notice of this Project, reſolved to ſupport himſelf by becoming Maſter of the Queen's Perſon, who was then in the Caſtle of *Limnuch* or *Linlithgoe*. But as he kept not his Deſign private enough, the Cardinal, who was informed of it, came to *Linlithgoe* well attended, in order to hinder the Queen's being carried away. Shortly after, the Earl of *Lenox* arrived from *France*, and having paid his Reſpects to the Regent, withdrew to his own Houſe, where he aſſembled his Friends to conſult with them about what was to be done. He acquainted them with the Motives of his Return, and the Hopes which had been given him of helping him to the Regency, of procuring him the Queen-Mother in Marriage, and of ſetting him on the Throne if the Queen ſhould happen to die. The Friends he conſulted being all Enemies to the Regent, there was not one but what adviſed him to lay hold on the preſent Opportunity, and each made him an Offer of his Perſon, his Eſtate, his Vaſſals and his Friends. So the Earl being determined to purſue his Point, drew

The Earl of Lenox *arrives and oppoſes the Regent's Deſigns.*

1543. together Four Thousand Men, and putting himself at their Head, came to the Queen under colour of guarding her against the Attempts of the Regent, for fear she should be delivered up to the Enemies of the Kingdom. The Truth is, the Earl of *Arran* had resolved to secure her, nay, was preparing to execute his Design: But when he found himself prevented, and considered he should never be able to get the Queen out of the Hands of the Earl of *Lenox*, without coming to an open War, he sent to treat of an Agreement. *Lenox* consented to it, on Condition the Queen should be brought up for the future in *Sterling* Castle, and Four neutral Lords, whom both Parties could equally trust, appointed to guard her and take care of her Education. The Four Lords * being chosen and approved of, the Queen was brought to *Sterling*-Castle, where a few Days after she was crowned.

The Regent sides with the Queen and the Cardinal.

The Regent, seeing his Enemies daily grew stronger, believed he should not be able to withstand the Storm which was gathering against him. So, his Courage and Resolution failing him when he had most need of them, he chose to give way to the Torrent rather than strive in vain, as he thought, to stand against it. Persuaded as he was that he should be hereafter too weak to resist the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal, he believed he ought to alter his Measures, and strictly unite with them. But even in this he met with Difficulties, which he could not get over without acting against his Conscience. He had hitherto made almost open Profession of the new Religion. But the Queen and the Cardinal, as they could not bring themselves to be reconciled to him, as long as he was engaged in the Party of *the Reformed*, knew how to manage him so well, that at last they drew him in to make a Recantation in the Church of the *Franciscans* at *Sterling*. This Thing lost him all his old Friends, and he was reduced to depend upon the contrary Party, with whom the Cardinal had more Power than himself.

He abjures at Sterling. *Aug.* 20.

From

* *Grames, Erskin, Lindsey,* and *Levistон.* Herbert.

From thenceforward he was wholly guided by the Counſels of that Prelate, who was the true Regent, whilſt the Earl that bore the Name was no more than the Shadow. 1543.

The Queen and the Cardinal try to ſend back the Earl of Lenox *to* France.

When the Queen and the Cardinal had thus got the Power in their Hands, they were at a Loſs about the Earl of *Lenox*, with whom they had no longer any mind to keep their Promiſe. So, their chief Care was to get rid of this Lord, who was a great Incumbrance to them. They agreed therefore to deſire the King of *France* to recal him; and whilſt they ſtayed for an Anſwer, the Queen ſhould continue to feed his Hopes, but withal ſhould uſe ſundry Artifices to put off her Marriage, which he began to be very urgent with her to accompliſh. This Project was executed as it had been reſolved. The Queen for ſome time amuſed her Lover, who not ſuſpecting what was contriving againſt him, ſpent his time in procuring her Diverſions, imagining, that would help to forward his Marriage: but the Queen ſtill found ſome new Reaſon to defer it. This Behaviour begot in him at length Suſpicions, which were confirmed by ſome Friend who was clearer-ſighted, or knew more of the Matter than himſelf. He heard the Queen and the Cardinal had writ to the Court of *France*, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the King's Intereſt than his Stay in *Scotland*, ſince they had won the Regent over to their Side.

They prejudice the King of France *againſt him.*

He takes up Arms.

Lenox was ſo provoked at being thus made a Fool of, that he ſwore to be revenged, and without taking leave of the Queen and the Cardinal, he withdrew to *Dunbarton*. In the mean while, *Francis*, who was not yet informed of the Alterations in *Scotland*, ſent Thirty Thouſand Crowns to the Earl of *Lenox*, to be diſtributed among thoſe of the Party, or to bribe ſome of their Adverſaries. By theſe means it was that the Court of *France* long ſince kept up a Faction in *Scotland*, whilſt the Court of *England* oppoſed her by the ſame Methods. This Money arriving when *Lenox* was at *Dunbarton*, he ſent part to the Lords who had

1543. had the care of the young Queen, and gave a ſmall Matter to his own Friends. But the Cardinal had no ſhare, though he flattered himſelf with having the beſt part of it, and expected it with impatience. He was ſo very angry at it, that he perſwaded the Regent to raiſe an Army and ſurprize *Glaſcow*, where *Lenox* was retired with his Money. The Preparations which were making at Court, though under other Pretenſes, cauſing the Earl of *Lenox* to ſuſpect they might be deſigned againſt him, he reſolved to put himſelf in a Poſture of Defenſe. It was no hard Matter for him to draw Forces together. The Cardinal had many Enemies, and the Regent had loſt his Friends, ſince he had firſt forſaken them. Wherefore the Regent's Soldiers were raiſed but very ſlowly, whilſt the Earl's came together in a Moment. Within a few Days he had ten Thouſand Men on Foot, and ſent the Cardinal word, that he would ſave him the Trouble of coming to *Glaſcow*. The Cardinal received this Defiance with a ſeeming Contempt, and made as if he would go on with his Enterprize. But he intended by no means to come to a Battle. He did not truſt enough to the Regent's Experience, who was no Warrior. Beſides, he foreſaw that by ſpinning out the Time, he ſhould oblige his Enemy to diſmiſs his Troops, becauſe he wanted wherewithal to keep them long on Foot.

A Peace is made to his Diſadvantage.

The Cardinal has all the Power under the Regent's Name.

What the Cardinal had foreſeen came to paſs. The Earl of *Lenox* finding himſelf deſtitute of Money, and ſeeing his Men deſert in great Numbers, was forced at laſt to accept a Peace which was offered him. He came to *Edinburgh*, where he was outwardly reconciled with the Regent and the Cardinal; after which they went together to *Sterling*. But in a few Days after, having notice that the Court had ill Deſigns againſt him, he privately withdrew, and returning to *Glaſcow*, he provided the Biſhop's Palace with a Garriſon and Ammunition, and went and ſhut himſelf up in *Dunbarton*. There he was informed that they had prejudiced the King of *France* againſt him

him to ſuch a Degree, that there was no Proſpect of obtaining his Aſſiſtance for the future. Thus ſtood Matters in *Scotland*, when *Henry* took the Reſolution of renewing the War againſt that Kingdom. We muſt ſee now what paſſed in *England*. 1543.

In *July Henry* married his ſixth Wife, the Lady *Catharine Parr* * Widow to [*Nevil*] Lord *Latimer*, making good what was only ſaid in Jeſt upon the *Act* paſſed in 1541, that the King could marry with none but a Widow. The new Queen was a Favourer of the *Reformed*. But ſhe was to proceed with great Circumſpection, in order to give no Offence to a Huſband whoſe Will it was that none ſhould believe but what he did himſelf. For this Reaſon ſhe durſt not, juſt after her Marriage, interceed for three *Proteſtants* who were burnt at *Windſor*, at the Inſtigation of *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This Prelate never miſſed an Opportunity to exaſperate the King againſt thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the *Act* of the ſix Articles. But he ſhowed not the ſame Zeal againſt thoſe who were ſtill attached to the Pope. This Affair however went farther then he deſired, ſince it occaſioned the Diſcovery of a Plot which had been formed to ruin ſeveral Families at *Windſor*, upon falſe Accuſations. The King was ſo offended at theſe diabolical Practices, that he would have the Buſineſs examined to the Bottom. The Iſſue was, that the Contrivers of the Plot were carried on Horſeback, with their Faces to the Horſe-Tails, and then ſet in the Pillory. 'Tis ſaid, *Gardiner* had a great Hand in this Project. But he was a very crafty Man, who knew how to conceal the Arm that gave the Blow, when he thought it dangerous to ſhow it.

The King's ſixth Marriage. Herbert.

Proteſtants *burnt at* Windſor.

Plot diſcovered and puniſhed.

It was eaſy for the Enemies of the Reformation to perceive that *Cranmer* was the greateſt Bar to the Execution of their Deſigns, and that they ſhould never ſucceed as long as he was in Favour about the King. This made them reſolve to ſet themſelves before all Things

Plot againſt Cranmer. Burnet.

* Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parr* of *Kendal*.

1543. Things upon deſtroying him, which done, they imagined the ruin of his whole Party would follow of courſe. There were two oppoſite Things in this Undertaking, whereof the one ſeemed to promiſe them good Succeſs, and the other rendered the Execution of it very difficult. The firſt was, the King ſeemed fully bent not to ſpare thoſe who were termed *Hereticks*, that is to ſay, thoſe who did not entirely conform themſelves to the Explanation of Faith lately publiſhed. Now every Body knew the Archbiſhop was of this Number, though he uſed a great deal of Caution not to give his Enemies any Advantage either by Word or Deed. The ſecond was, the very particular Eſteem the King had for the Archbiſhop, againſt whom ſeveral Attempts had been made, but without Succeſs. This hindered not his Enemies from thinking, if they could once convince the King that *Cranmer*'s Opinions were very different from his, it would in ſome Meaſure incenſe him. After that, they hoped the King would require of him, as of the reſt of his Subjects, a blind Submiſſion, and that *Cranmer*'s Oppoſition would deſtroy the King's Affection for him. The Buſineſs then was only to inſpire the King with Suſpicions, which ſhould induce him to examine fully what the Archbiſhop's Opinions were in Matters of Religion. To that End, no occaſion was omitted to hint to the King that it was in vain to puniſh *Hereticks* whilſt their chief Supporters were ſuffered to live in quiet. *Henry* perceiving *Cranmer* was drove at, made no Anſwer. He was in hopes his Silence would be a plain Indication that it was to no purpoſe to try to incenſe him againſt that Prelate. But at laſt theſe Inſinuations were ſo often repeated, that he ſeemed to give Ear to them, that he might fully diſcover what the drift of them was. He hearkened therefore to every Thing *Cranmer*'s Enemies had a Mind to ſay againſt him, and deſired to have the Articles of Accuſation which they pretended to bring againſt him, with the Names of his Accuſers. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop

He is accuſed to the King.

Henry *feigns to liſten to the Accuſation.*

Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and their Party, concluded the Archbiſhop would be quickly ruined, ſince the King was pleaſed to examine his Conduct. But they took care how they made themſelves Parties, their Deſign being to ſeem diſintereſted, that they might be able to ſtrike him the more home. They cauſed therefore the Particulars of the Accuſation to be drawn up by ſome *Prebendaries* of *Canterbury*, and certain *Kentiſh* Juſtices of the Peace, whom they perſwaded to be his Accuſers. The Articles being put into the King's Hands, he went in his Barge to *Lambeth*, the Archbiſhop's Palace on the other ſide of the *Thames*. *Cranmer* hearing the King was coming, haſted down to his *Stairs* to receive him, and by his order went into the Barge. When the King was alone with him, he lamented the growth of *Hereſy* in the Kingdom, and told him, he was endeavouring to find out the chief Encouragers of it, that he might puniſh them according to the utmoſt rigour of the Law, about which he was come to aſk his Opinion. *Cranmer* anſwered without any concern, that his Zeal was laudable; but intreated him for God's Sake to conſider well beforehand what *Hereſy* was, for fear inſtead of puniſhing *Hereticks* he ſhould fight againſt God. The Converſation having laſted ſome Time longer upon this Subject, the King told him at laſt, he was the Man who was accuſed of being the Protector and chief Encourager of the *Hereticks*, and then gave him the Articles of Accuſation againſt him. *Cranmer* running them over, fell on his Knees, and freely owned to the King he was ſtill of the ſame Mind he was of when he oppoſed the *Six Articles*; but that he had done or ſaid nothing againſt them. Then he humbly deſired him, that he might be tried by the Laws, becauſe he was very ſure he ſhould never be convicted of having broken them. Whereupon the King aſked him, whether it was true that he was married. *Cranmer* confeſſed it, but ſaid he had ſent his Wife to *Germany* upon the paſſing of the *Act* of the Six Articles. *Henry*, who for a long while had ſeen about him only ſuch

1543.

He informs him of the whole Plot, and orders him to proceed againſt his Accuſers.

1543. ſuch as diſſembled their Sentiments, was charmed with the Archbiſhop's Candor and Sincerity. So far was he from taking his Confeſſion ill of him, that he could not forbear admiring his Steddineſs, which made him dare the greateſt Danger he had ever been in, and that he ſhould be ſo well able to reconcile it with an invincible Regard for the Laws. Wherefore he gave him a very great Proof of his Eſteem and Affection, by diſcovering to him the Plot his Enemies had laid againſt him, by naming his Accuſers, and ordering him to proceed againſt them. *Cranmer* would have excuſed himſelf; but the King told him poſitively he would be obeyed, and that he ſhould name his Judges himſelf. If *Cranmer* had been of a vindictive Temper, he had here a fair Opportunity of being revenged of thoſe who would have ruined him, and particularly of *Gardiner* chief Contriver of the Plot, as appears by Letters written with his own Hand. But he ſhowed ſo great backwardneſs to puſh this Affair, that at length the King grew weary of preſſing him, ſeeing he did it ſo much againſt the Grain. However, he had not the leſs value for him. Shortly after, one of his ſecret Enemies whom the King knew to be ſo, though he himſelf had no Suſpicion of him, deſiring his Aſſiſtance in a Sute he had at Court, he went immediately and ſpoke to the King in his behalf. The King ſurprized to ſee him ſpeak for this Perſon, aſked him if he knew him well; and upon his anſwering, that he took him for a Friend; *No*, replied the King, *he is your mortal Enemy, and I command you when you ſee him next to call him Knave.* *Cranmer* begged the King to diſpenſe with him from uſing Language ſo little becoming a Biſhop; but the King inſiſted upon his obeying him. Nevertheleſs *Cranmer* found means to be excuſed, and the King content with admiring his Goodneſs, would not preſs him any more upon that Head. Thus the Plot, contrived for the Archbiſhop's Ruin, ſerved only to indear him the more to the King, and to let his

Cranmer *excuſes himſelf.*

The King gives him another mark of his Eſteem.

his Enemies ſee how dangerous it was for them to meddle with him. 1543.

The 23d of *December* the King created the Lord *Parr*, the Queen's Brother, *Earl of Eſſex*, and conferred on Sir *William Parr* her Uncle, the Title of *Lord Par* [of *Horton*,] with the Office of *Chamberlain* to the Queen. *The Queen's Brother is made Earl of* Eſſex. Herbert.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the War between the Emperour and the King of *France* was carrying on in ſeveral Places. In the Beginning of the Campaign, *Francis* had ſome Advantages in the *Low-Countries*, where he took *Landrecy*, *Emery*, *Bapaume*, *Maubeuge* and *Luxemburg*. But the Emperour arriving about the End of the Summer with a ſtrong Supply of *Spaniſh* Troops, *Francis* was obliged to keep a little at a Diſtance, becauſe he found his Enemies too ſtrong for him. This gave the Emperour an Opportunity to inveſt *Landrecy*, of which however he was forced to raiſe the Siege, upon *Francis*'s finding means to throw in Succours. But he made himſelf amends by taking *Cambray*. *Continuation of the War between the Emperour and* France. Bellay. Mezerai.

At the ſame Time *Barberoſſa*, Admiral of the *Turks*, coming to *Marſeilles* in the beginning of *July*, with a hundred and ten *Turkiſh* Gallies, found there the Earl of *Englien* of the *Houſe* of *Bourbon*, with Twenty-two *French* Gallies. Having joined their Forces, they went together and attacked *Nice*, the 10th of *Auguſt*, and on the 20th they became Maſters of the City. But the Caſtle made ſo brave a Defenſe, that the *Turkiſh* Admiral finding he loſt both Time and Reputation before the Place, retired and went and wintered in *Provence*, from whence he returned to *Turky* in the beginning of the Spring. I ſhall ſay nothing of the War in *Piedmont*, becauſe it produced no remarkable Event. *Siege of* Nice *by the* French *and the* Turks.

During this whole Campaign, *Henry* aſſiſted the Emperour only with a ſmall Body * of Troops, commanded by Sir *John Wallop*: but they both formed 1544. *The Emperour's and* Henry's *vaſt Projects.*

* Six Thouſand Men. *Herbert.*

1544. formed vaſt Projects for the next Year. They intended to enter *France*, the one by *Champagne*, the other by *Picardy*, each at the Head of forty Thouſand Men, and to join about *Paris*. To execute this Project it would be neceſſary for them to go Hand in Hand and act unanimouſly. Wherefore *Henry* could hardly diſpenſe with keeping his Word with the Emperour, in giving the Princeſs *Mary* a Place in the Succeſſion. The Parliament meeting the 14th of *January* 1544, immediately paſſed an *Act*, ſettling the Order of thoſe who could pretend to the Crown after the King's Death. I have obſerved ſeveral Times, that the Parliament was held in Subjection, and did nothing but what the King pleaſed. Of this we have had ſundry Inſtances, but none more flagrant than the preſent one. In this *Act* Prince *Edward* was placed firſt with his Iſſue. In the ſecond Place, the King's Heirs-Male by his preſent Queen, or by any other he might marry hereafter, with their Iſſue. In the third Place, the Princeſs *Mary* and her *Line*. Laſtly, the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and her Heirs. But there was no mention of the King's Divorces from the Queens, Mothers to theſe two Princeſſes. So notwithſtanding the *Acts*, which had approved and confirmed theſe Divorces, and which had never been repealed, the Parliament ſeemed to conſider theſe Princeſſes as Legitimate, though before they had been declared Baſtards, and as ſuch had been excluded from the Succeſſion. On the other ſide, to let the Princeſſes ſee they were beholden to the King their Father for this Favour, the *Act* made them liable to ſuch Limitations or Conditions as the King ſhould pleaſe to lay upon them, on Pain of forfeiting the Right which was granted them. Moreover, in caſe of Diſobedience on their Part, or if they died without Heirs, the Parliament gave the King Power to ſettle the Crown on any other by his *Letters Patents*, or by his laſt *Will* ſigned with his own Hand. Was not this conſidering theſe two Princeſſes as Baſtards, ſince their Right to the Succeſſion was made to depend

Parliament Act to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown.

Remarks on this Act.

dend upon the King their Father's Pleaſure? Without taking upon me to call in queſtion the King's, and the *Repreſentatives* of the Nation's Right to ſettle the Succeſſion as they pleaſe, I cannot forbear remarking here, that this Right was carried upon this Occaſion, as far as it can be ſtretched. Upon Suppoſition that theſe two Princeſſes were Baſtards, the Parliament granted the King the Power of calling them to the Throne, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land ever ſince the *Conqueſt*. On the other Hand, ſuppoſing them to be Legitimate, the King had Liberty given him to debar them of the Succeſſion, contrary to the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms, ſince it was in his Power to lay upon them ſuch Conditions as it would have been impoſſible for them to perform. This was a Power no King of *England* had ever enjoyed, and which ſhows that this *Act* flowed not ſo much from the Parliament, as from the King himſelf. To palliate in ſome Meaſure theſe Contradictions, care was taken not to mention in the *Act*, the King's Divorces from *Catharine* and *Ann*. Only Liberty was left to every one to gueſs at the Motives of the *Act*, which was not very difficult, ſince there was no other than that of complying with the King's Will. By a Clauſe in this *Statute*, all Perſons were obliged to take a new Oath againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; which whoſoever refuſed to take, or ſhould break any of the Articles of this *Act*, was to be adjudged a Traitor. 1544.

A new Oath ordained.

By another Act paſſed this ſame Seſſion, the Title of *King of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, was united for ever to the Crown of *England*.

The King's Title ſettled for ever.

By another it was enacted, that no Perſon ſhould be put to his Trial on account of the *Statute* of the ſix Articles, but upon a *Preſentment* by the Oaths of twelve Men, before ſuch Commiſſioners as the King ſhould appoint for that Purpoſe: That no Perſon ſhould be impriſoned before he was *Indicted*; and laſtly,

Act to limit the Juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

1543. laſtly, that the *Preſentment* ſhould be made within forty Days after the pretended Offence committed, otherwiſe it ſhould be rejected *. Hereby the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts* were tied up in ſome Meaſure from oppreſſing the Subjects under Pretenſe of *Hereſy*, ſince the *Engliſh* were allowed the ſame Privileges in that Crime as in all others.

The Parliament declares the King clear of all Debts, Laſtly, the Parliament granted the King a *Subſidy*, after a manner never before known, by decreeing that thoſe who had lent him Money ſhould be bound to forgive the Debt *1. How unjuſt ſoever this *Act* might be with reſpect to particular Perſons who had lent the Money, the Parliament was not ſorry the King deſired it, to the end the Method of *Loans* might ceaſe, which in Time would have rendered Parliaments uſeleſs.

and revive the Authority to appoint Commiſſioners. The Authority formerly granted the King was alſo revived [during his Life,] of appointing Commiſſioners to examine all *Canons* and *Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical*, and to take all neceſſary Alterations, which the King had neglected hitherto.

The Lord Wriotheſley *made Chancellor.* Before the End of the Seſſion, *Thomas Wriotheſley* a great Stickler for the old Religion, was made Lord Chancellor in the room of the Lord *Audley* deceaſed.

May 3. *War in* Piedmont. In the Beginning of the Year *Francis* I. had ſent into *Piedmont* the Earl of *Englien* who was but two and Twenty Years old, to take the Command of the Army in the room of *Boutieres* who had not been very ſucceſsful. This young Prince ingaging the Marquiſs

* Here is a Miſtake. The *Preſentment* was to be made within a Year after the Offence committed. And if any *Preacher* or *Reader* ſhould ſpeak any Thing in his *Sermon* or *Reading*, contrary to any Matter contained in the Six Articles, he muſt be complained of within forty Days, unleſs a juſt Cauſe were given why it could not be ſo ſoon. See the *Act*. This *Act* had clearly a Relation to the Conſpiracies mentioned in the former Year, both againſt the Archbiſhop, and ſome of the King's Servants.

*1 Nay. Thoſe who had got Payment, either in whole or in part, of the Sums ſo lent the King, were to repay what they had received to the *Exchequer*. There was ſome ſuch *Act* paſſed in the 21ſt Year of the King's Reign. *Burnet.*

Marquiſs of *Guaſt* at *Ceriſoles*, obtained the 14th of *April* a ſignal Victory over him, which coſt the *Imperialiſts* ten Thouſand Men, beſides the Wounded and Priſoners. In the Conſternation the Marquiſs of *Guaſt* was under, after the Loſs of the Battle, he would have had much ado to keep *Milan* for the Emperour, if the Earl of *Enghien* had not been ſtopped in the midſt of his Carreer by expreſs Orders. As the King of *France* had received notice that the Emperour and the King of *England* were to join and invade him in the Heart of his Dominions, with an Army of eighty Thouſand *Foot*, and Twenty-two Touſand *Horſe*, he deemed it more neceſſary to provide for the Defenſe of his Kingdom, than to think of making Conqueſt in *Italy*. For this Reaſon he ordered the Earl of *Enghien* to ſend him twelve Thouſand Men of his Army. The leſſening of his Forces diſabled the young Prince from reaping any other Advantage from his Victory, than the taking of *Carignano* which he reduced to the King's Obedience.

1544. *Battle of* Ceriſoles.

Francis *recalls his Troops out of* Italy.

Mean while, the formidable Armies which were to invade *France*, not being yet ready, *Henry* reſolved to make uſe of part of his Troops to finiſh the Affair of *Scotland*, which he had ever at Heart. If he had declared War againſt *Scotland*, it was not to make Conqueſt upon that Kingdom, but ſolely with Deſign to compel the *Scots*, by the Terror of his Arms, to agree to the Match between their Queen and the Prince his Son. He could not conceive that in their preſent Circumſtances it was poſſible for them to flatter themſelves with a Proſpect of Succeſs in ſo unequal a War, which was capable of ruining *Scotland* in one ſingle Campaign. But Cardinal *Beaton*, an obſtinate Man, if ever there was one, who governed in the Regent's Name, choſe rather to expoſe the Kingdom to become a Prey to the *Engliſh*, than agree to a Peace which could not be made without ruining his Greatneſs. So *Henry* ſeeing it was neceſſary to preſs him more cloſely, reſolved to ſend to *Scotland* part of the Troops deſigned againſt *France*. The Lord

War with Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

1544. *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle* High-Admiral, were appointed for this Expedition. The former led the Army to *New-Caſtle*, where the Admiral arrived with a Fleet, and two Hundred Tranſport-Ships, on Board of which the Troops were imbarked. The Earl of *Hertford* landing near *Leith*, took that Town without Difficulty, and then marched directly to *Edinburgh*, of which he became Maſter with the ſame eaſe. The Regent and the Cardinal had not provided for their Defenſe, imagining the King's Threats would be without Effect. The City of *Edinburgh* was ſacked and burnt; but the *Engliſh* attacked not the Caſtle, for fear of being ingaged in too long a Siege. After that they returned to *Leith*, and burning the Town, retired to *Berwick* the 18th of *May*. If *Henry* had reſolved to have made the beſt of his Advantages, he would have reduced all *Scotland* under his Dominion, conſidering the great Conſternation the *Scots* were under upon this Invaſion. But two Reaſons with-held him. The firſt, that he wanted his Troops to ſend them to *France*, where he intended alſo to go in Perſon. The ſecond, that his Aim was only to let the *Scots* ſee what they were to expect, if they did not ſpeedily reſolve to execute the Treaty for their Queen's Marriage, and he ſcarce doubted but this Method would ſucceed. Mean while, it muſt needs have been thought very ſtrange that he ſhould court the young Queen of *Scotland* for the Prince his Son, in ſo extraordinary a manner, and the World was perſwaded either that he had done too much, or that he did too little.

The Earl of Lenox *ſides with* Henry.

Though *Henry* had withdrawn his Army out of *Scotland*, he had not however given over his Project of harraſſing the *Scots* till he ſhould force them to agree to the Marriage. To this End it was that he made good uſe of an Occaſion which offered, to give the Regent and the Cardinal freſh Diſturbances. The Earl of *Lenox* having quitted the Court, as has been ſaid, was gone to *Dunbritton*, the Governour whereof was

was devoted to him; but he was there under a very great Perplexity. His Friends in *France* had informed him, that the King was exceedingly incenſed againſt him, and accuſed him of having laviſhed away the Money which had been ſent him to maintain the War againſt the *Engliſh*. This was in Effect what had been hinted to *Francis* by the Queen Dowager, the Regent and the Cardinal, who were ſeconded by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, and in this manner it is that the *French* Hiſtorians repreſent the Thing. The Earl willing to clear himſelf, had ſent one to *France*, to acquaint the King with all that had paſſed in *Scotland* ſince his Arrival, and with the preſent Poſture of Affairs in that Country. But the King prepoſſeſſed by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, refuſed to give the Perſon Audience, nay, was juſt going to order him to Priſon. The Earl ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken, both by the King of *France*, and thoſe who had at firſt ſided with him in *Scotland*, ſent to the King of *England* to know whether he would be pleaſed to take him into his Service, together with the Earl of *Glencarn* his intimate Friend. *Henry* received the Overture more favourably than the two Lords durſt have expected. He promiſed them his Protection on certain Conditions, which he would ſettle with them, if they would ſend ſome truſty Perſons to *England*. Whereupon the Earl of *Glencarn* came himſelf to *Carliſle* with the Biſhop of *Cathneſs*, Brother of the Earl of *Lenox*, and two others. In a few Days after their Arrival, they concluded with the King's Commiſſioners * a Treaty, wherein the Earl of *Lenox* and *Glencarn* promiſed: 1544.

I. That they would cauſe the pure Word of God to be preached in their Territories. *Conventions between Henry and the Earl of Lenox. Act. Pub. XIV. 22. July.*

* *Thomas Wriotheſly* (made Baron, *January* 1ſt, and Chancellor *May* 14,) the Duke of *Suffolk* and Sir *Thomas Paget*. The Treaty was concluded betwixt them by way of *Indenture*, *June* 26, 1544. *Herbert*.

1544. II. That they would hinder to the utmoſt of their Power, the young Queen from being carried out of *Scotland*, and would do their Endeavour to deliver her into the Hands of the King of *England*.

III. That they would aſſiſt the King with all their Forces, to procure him the Direction of the Government of *Scotland*, and the Title of Protector of the Realm.

IV. That the Biſhop of *Cathneſs* and *Hugh Cunningham*, ſhould be given in Hoſtage to the King of *England*.

The King promiſed on his Part:

1. That his Army ſhould not oppreſs their Lands.

2. That he would conſtitute the Earl of *Lenox* Regent of the Kingdom, provided he would do nothing without the King's Advice.

3. That he would give him out of the Revenues of the Crown, what would be reaſonable to maintain the Dignity of Regent.

4. That in caſe the young Queen ſhould dye, he would ſupport the Earl of *Lenox* in obtaining the Crown againſt the Pretenſions of the Earl of *Arran*.

5. That he would give the Earl of *Glencarn* an yearly Penſion of a Thouſand Crowns.

6. That he would agree, that *Margaret Douglaſs* his Niece ſhould eſpouſe the Earl of *Lenox*, provided ſhe were willing.

This Treaty was ſigned at *Carliſle* the 13th of *May*, juſt as the *Engliſh* Army was quitting *Scotland*, and retiring to *Berwick*.

Other Conventions. Act. Pub. XV. 29. Some Days after the Earl of *Lenox* came to the Court of *England*, where the foregoing Treaty was confirmed the 26th of *June*, with the Addition of the following Articles.

That the Earl of *Lenox* ſhould ſurrender to the King the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, and the Iſle of *Bute*.

That

That if he married *Margaret Douglaſs*, he ſhould aſſign her an honourable Dower. 1543.

The King bound himſelf on his Part, to aid him with five Hundred Men, to give him a Penſion of ſeventeen Hundred Marks for himſelf, and one of a Hundred Marks for *George Striveling*, Governour of *Dunbritton*.

The Earl of Lenox *cannot ſurrender* Dunbritton *to the King.* Buchan. Herbert.

In purſuance of this Treaty, the Earl of *Lenox* came to *Dunbrtiton* with thirteen Ships, and about ſix Hundred Men. Upon his Arrival, he went to the Caſtle with a few Followers, to try to perſwade the Governour * to deliver up the Place to the King of *England*. But the Governour preferring his Duty to his Affection for the Earl, refuſed to admit the *Engliſh*. This Attempt failing, *Lenox* went and ravaged the Iſles of *Arran* and *Bute*, where he met with no Oppoſition. Then he made a Deſcent upon *Kintyre*, and after plundering ſome Villages, he ſteered his Courſe to *Briſtol*, where he expected the King's Return, who was now in *France*.

Another Engliſh *Invaſion in* Scotland.

In the mean while, the Earl of *Arran* and Cardinal *Beaton* proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigour, the Earl of *Lenox*'s Friends, and confiſcated their Eſtates. But a freſh Invaſion from the *Engliſh*, who, though few in Number, took *Jedburrough*, *Kelſoe*, and *Coldingham*, cauſed them to ſtop Proceedings, and put them upon raiſing an Army, which might enable them to beat back their Enemies. The *Scotch* Army amounting to eight Thouſand Men, being ready to march, the Queen Dowager, the Regent and the Cardinal led them to *Coldingham*, where the *Engliſh* upon their going away, had left a Garriſon. But whilſt they were taken up in this Siege, the Regent having Advice that the *Engliſh* were marched from *Berwick* in order to relieve the Town, was ſeized with ſuch a *Panick*, that ſpeedily mounting his Horſe, he rid away all alone to *Dunbar*. This haſty flight threw the

* His own Lieutenant.

1544. whole Army into ſuch a Conſternation, that there was no hindering the Soldiers from disbanding. Only the Earl of *Angus*, with a few Men, reſolved to ſtay and carry off the Artillery which was going to be deſerted. The *Scots* being diſperſed, the *Engliſh* ravaged without Mercy *Teviot*, *March*, and *Lauderdale*, compelling the Inhabitants to ſwear Allegiance to the King of *England*. *Buchanan* adds, that the Earl of *Angus* having revived the Regent's Courage, they drew ſome Troops together, and cauſing the *Engliſh* to fall into an Ambuſh, they ſlew Eight Hundred * of their Men, and took a Thouſand Priſoners. But there is nothing like this in the *Engliſh* Hiſtories.

Diet of Spires *favourable to the Proteſtants* Sleidan.

Whilſt the King of *England* was acting againſt *Scotland*, till every thing ſhould be ready to begin the War with *France*, the Emperour was at *Spires*, where he had called a *Diet*, to try to get ſome Aſſiſtance from the Princes of *Germany*. The *Proteſtants* at firſt ſcrupled very much to aſſiſt him, whilſt he left them expoſed to the Inſults of their Enemies. But the Moment they had obtained a Decree that they ſhould not be diſturbed in the Exerciſe of their Religion, they granted whatever was required. That was all they deſired, and it was deemed a ſignal Favour to grant it them, even with ſuch Limitations and ambiguous Clauſes as would one Day render it of no effect. So the *Diet* broke up about the End of *May*, to the mutual Satisfaction of the States of the Empire. The Pope alone was offended at the Decree made in favour of the *Proteſtants*, and in order to hinder them from enjoying long the Toleration which had been granted till the Council ſhould meet, he fixed the opening of the Council of *Trent* to the 25th of *March* 1545.

The opening of the Council of Trent *fixed to* March 25. 1545.

The Emperour takes Luxemburg. Bellay.

Whilſt the Emperour was at *Spires*, he ordered *Luxemburg* to be inveſted, which ſurrendered towards the End of *May*. Then he headed his Army in Perſon, to begin the Execution of the Projects he had concerted with *Henry*. Since the Concluſion of the Treaty

* Two Hundred. *Buchan.*

Treaty in *February* laſt Year, whereby they were each to bring into the Field but Twenty-five Thouſand Men, they had agreed greatly to encreaſe the Number of their Troops, to invade *France* with two Armies, which together were to make above a Hundred Thouſand Men, and to join them about *Paris*. The Emperour's firſt Exploits, whilſt he waited the King of *England*'s Arrival, were the taking of *Commercy* and *Ligny* in *le Barrois*. After that he entered *Champagne*, and laid Siege to St. *Didier* the 8th of *July*. This Place, though a poor one, held out above ſix Weeks, and then was taken by a falſe Piece of Intelligence which was carried to the Governour.

1544. *The Deſigns of the Emperour and* Henry.

The Emperour beſieges St. Didier.

The War with *Scotland* having prevented *Henry* from being ready ſo ſoon as he had promiſed, it was about *Whitſuntide* before he embarked part of his Army for *Calais*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*. As for himſelf, he ſtayed in *England* with the reſt of his Troops till the middle of *July*. As ſoon as the Duke of *Norfolk* was beyond Sea, he went and joined the Count *de Bure*, who commanded Ten Thouſand Men of the Emperour's Troops, and they beſieged together the Town of *Montreuil*. In all appearance this was done with the Emperour's Conſent, who at the ſame time laid Siege to St. *Didier*. He was in hopes that Place would take him up but a few Days, and then he ſhould march to *Paris* whilſt *Henry* would move forward to join him. Had this Project been executed according to Agreement, *Paris*, and all the Country as far as the *Loire*, would have been in great Danger, ſince *Francis* had not above Forty Thouſand Men. But the Emperour was prepoſterouſly bent upon the Siege of St. *Didier*, which took him up above ſix Weeks. In the mean time, *Henry* arriving at *Calais* with the reſt of his Army, found that the Emperour's Deſign was to leave him to march alone to *Paris*, and keep the King of *France* employed there, whilſt he ſhould do his Buſineſs in *Champagne*. So, perceiving that inſtead of marching

The Duke of Norfolk *joins the Count* de Bure.

They beſiege Montreuil.

The Siege of St. Didier *breaks the Meaſures of the two confederate Monarchs; Henry arrives at* Calais. *Suſpects the Emperour, and beſieges* Boulogne.

1544. to the Rendevous, the Emperour was taken up with laying a Siege, he ordered likewiſe *Boulogne* to be inveſted, and came in Perſon to the Siege the 26th of *July*. By that means their Project ſtood ſtill, whilſt they ſeparately amuſed themſelves with the taking of Towns. This Errour proved the Safety of *France*. From thenceforward theſe two Princes mutually charging one another with not having performed Agreements, had no longer any Confidence in each other. And therefore the Emperour, by indirect Means, cauſed a Peace to be offered to *Francis*, whilſt *Henry* more openly granted a Safe-Conduct for *French* Ambaſſadors to come and treat with him, at a League's Diſtance from his Camp.

The Emperour privately, and Henry *openly, offer Peace to* Francis.

Mean whlle the Emperour, having at length taken St. *Didier* about the Middle of *Auguſt*, ſent to *Henry* to march towards *Paris* as they had agreed. *Henry* replied, that ſince he had given the Emperour time to take St. *Didier*, it was but reaſonable the Emperour ſhould ſtay till he had taken *Boulogne*, which could not hold out long. After the taking of St. *Didier*, the Emperour was advanced as far as *Chateau-Thierri*, and had filled *Paris* with Terror and Confuſion. But *Henry*'s Anſwer making him ſenſible that it would be a very hard Matter to execute their Projects during the reſt of the Campaign, he renewed the private Negotiation he had begun with *Francis*, and which had been ſuſpended. Shortly after, he concluded with *France* a ſeparate Peace, which was ſigned at *Crepy* the 19th of *September*, not only without including *Henry*, but even without letting him know any thing of it, leaſt he ſhould be prevented.

The Emperour takes St. Didier, *calls upon* Henry *to march to* Paris. Henry *chuſes rather to take* Boulogne.

Treaty of Crepy *between the Emperour and* France. Bellay. Herbert. Mezerai.

Henry was not much ſurprized at the Trick the Emperour had played him. He could expect no leſs from ſuch a Friend as he, who was reconciled to him only in order to do his own Buſineſs. It is certain that *Charles* V, no more than *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, his paternal and maternal Grandfathers, never pretended much to keep his Word, and that Sincerity was not his chief Virtue. *Henry* complained very much

Henry *complains of the Emperour in vain.*

much of his Breach of Faith. But it was no hard matter to alledge in his Excuſe ſundry Reaſons, little capable however of counterpoiſing the Oath he had taken, to conclude neither Peace nor Truce without the Conſent of his Ally. But theſe kinds of Oaths are generally ſo ill kept in moſt Leagues, that they ſeem to be conſidered only as a ſort of Form, not much to be relied upon. Luckily for *Henry* *Boulogne* had capitulated the 14th of *September*, before the Treaty of *Crepy* was ſigned. 1544.

Boulogne ſurrenders by Capitulation.

The Emperour thought he had done a great Thing in eaſing himſelf of the Burden of the War, and leaving *Francis* and *Henry* to fight it out. The Truth is, it was a great Advantage to him, if he had not gained it by breaking his Word. Immediately after the Concluſion of the Treaty, he ſent Orders to the Count *de Bure* to raiſe the Siege of *Montreuil*, which obliged *Henry* alſo to recal the Duke of *Norfolk*. As *Henry*'s Affairs then ſtood, he had nothing to do but to retire, for fear the *Dauphin*, who was advancing with all ſpeed, ſhould conſtrain him to fight under a very great Diſadvantage, or to retreat with Precipitation. Beſides that the *Dauphin* was at the Head of Forty Thouſand Men, he would have found the *Engliſh* Army much leſſened, as well by the Loſſes they had ſuſtained at two Sieges, as by the numerous Garriſon they were forced to leave at *Boulogne*. So, having well ſtored that Place, and left Admiral *Dudley* Governour, *Henry* ſet out for *England* the 30th of *Sept.* whilſt his Troops where marching back to *Calais*.

The Siege of Montreuil *is raiſed.*

The Dauphin *marches againſt* Henry,

who retires to Calais.

The *Dauphin* came a few Days after; but he did not think proper to purſue the *Engliſh*, who were got too far before him, and had too little way to go for him to expect to overtake them before they reached *Calais*. He contented himſelf therefore with trying to ſurprize *Boulogne*, the Breaches whereof the *Engliſh* had not time thoroughly to repair. He was very like to have ſucceeded in his Attempt. The *French* were now Maſters of the Lower-Town, where all the *Engliſh* Ordnance lay. But a Sally from the Upper-Town

The Dauphin *fails in his Attempt to ſurpriſe* Boulogne. Bellay.

1544. Town compelled them to retreat in Diſorder. Marſhal *Montluc* ſpeaks of this Action in his *Commentaries*, in ſomewhat a different Manner from what the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay of it, though he agrees with them that the *French* were repulſed. Some Days after a Conference was held at *Calais*, to try to procure a Peace between the two Kings. But the Aim of the *French* being to perſuade the *Engliſh* to reſtore *Boulogne* upon the bare Proſpect of a Peace, it is not ſtrange that the Conference ſhould have no effect.

Comment of Montluck. Herberr.

Conference for a Peace fruitleſs.

Henry upon his return to *England* took great Care to put in a Poſture of Defence the Places on the *Thames*, and on the Southern Coaſt, imagining *Francis* would not fail to invade him the next Year. At the ſame time he ſent again to *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox* who took *Dumfreys*.

Henry *fortifies his maritime Places.* Herbert.

This Year moſt part of the *Colleges*, *Collegiate* Churches, and *Hoſpitals* ſurrendered to the King * by *Acts* and *Deeds*, ſeemingly voluntary, but which were no more ſo than thoſe the *Abbots* and *Priors* ſigned when they made a ſurrender of their *Houſes*.

Colleges and Hoſpitals reſigned to the King.

1545. In the Beginning of the Year 1545, the Marſhal *de Biez* went and encamped cloſe by *Boulogne*, in order to raiſe a Fort at *Portet* *, which might command the Harbour of *Boulogne*. But the Earl of *Hertford* who had ſucceeded *Dudley*, ſallying out of the Town with a Body of Troops, diſlodged the Marſhal from his Poſt, and forced him to lay aſide his Project till another time.

Preparations of France *againſt* England. Bellay. Mezerai.

Mean while *Francis* was making great Preparations againſt *England*, in hopes of retaking *Boulogne*, and

* There were in the Kingdom ſeveral Colleges, *Chapels*, *Chantries*, Hoſpitals, and *Fraternities*, conſiſting of *ſecular Prieſts* who enjoyed Penſions for ſaying *Maſs* for the Souls of thoſe who had endowed them. Now the Belief of *Purgatory* being left indifferent, by the Doctrine ſet out by the Biſhops, and the Trade of redeeming Souls being condemned, it was thought needleſs to keep up ſo many Endowments to no purpoſe. Thoſe Prieſts were generally ill affected to the King's Proceedings, ſince their Trade was ſo much leſſened by them. Therefore many were dealt with to make Reſignation: and 24 of them did ſurrender this Year.

* A little *Creek* of the Sea, half a Mile from *Boulogne*.

and even *Guiſnes* and *Calais*, that the *Engliſh* might have nothing left in *France*. To this End he fitted out in the ſeveral Ports of *France* One Hundred and Fifty greater Ships, and Sixty leſſer ones*, with Ten more hired of the *Genoeſe*. Moreover, he had ordered Five and Twenty Gallies to be brought from the *Levant*, in Imitation of *Lewis* XII, who, upon the like Occaſion, had ſent for Four from thence. At the ſame Time he prepared every thing to have on Foot an Army of Forty Thouſand Men, with whom he intended to join Twelve Thouſand *Landſquenets* levied in *Germany*. His Deſign was to attack *Boulogne* by Land, and to block it up ſo by Sea, that it ſhould be impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to relieve it. To execute this Project, he ſent a Reinforcement to the Marſhal *de Biez*, ordering him to build at *Portet* the Fort he had been forced to leave unfiniſhed, being unwilling to make his Approaches to *Boulogne*, before this Fort was in a Poſture of Defence. The Marſhal putting him in hopes that the Work would be finiſhed by the Middle of *Auguſt*, he came about the End of *June* to *Havre de Grace*, to give Orders for an Expedition by Sea. His Gallies and Ships arriving ſhortly after, he commanded the Fleet to ſet ſail towards *England*. But looking upon the Ships as they were going out, he had the Vexation to ſee one of his largeſt, called *the Grand Carracon*, burnt before his Face, ſhe having taken fire whilſt the Anchor was weighing. 1545.

Expedition of the French *Fleet.* Bellay.

Admiral *Annebaut* who commanded the Fleet, arrived on the 18th of *July* at the *Iſle of Wight*, in ſight of *Portſmouth*, where the *Engliſh* Fleet of Sixty Ships only lay at Anchor. Notwithſtanding the Diſproportion between the two Fleets, the *Engliſh* however approached the *French*. But after a ſlight Skirmiſh they retired behind the Sands, with Deſign to draw the Enemies Fleet after them. The *French* Admiral having conſulted how they might be attacked, he was told that it was an impoſſible Thing, becauſe the Channel

* Our King ſet out about 100. Theſe Ships on both Sides were only *Merchantmen* hired for this War. *Burnet.*

1545. Channel through which they muſt go to come at them was ſo narrow, that hardly could four Ships ſail abreaſt. That beſides, there was no venturing among the Sands without Pilots. Theſe Difficulties obliged the Admiral to content himſelf with provoking the *Engliſh* to fight by means of the Gallies, in order to draw them from their Poſt. At firſt the Gallies favoured by a great Calm, annoyed the *Engliſh* Ships. But a Land-breeze which began to blow making them loſe their Advantage, they made off with all ſpeed, for fear of being run down by the large Ships. The *Engliſh* did not purſue them very far, their Deſign being to draw the Enemies Fleet among the Sands, which they were unacquainted with.

Deſcent of the French *in the* Iſle of Wight,

At laſt the *French* ſeeing the *Engliſh* would not loſe the Advantage of their Poſt, landed in three Places in the *Iſle of Wight*. But theſe Deſcents ended only in burning ſome Villages. It was moved in a Council of War, to fortify and keep the Iſland. But it was judged impracticable, chiefly by reaſon of the Time which ſuch a Project would neceſſarily take up. The Admiral therefore was ſatisfied with ordering a Deſcent on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, imagining the King, who was at *Portſmouth*, would ſend out his Fleet to aſſiſt the Country. But he was miſtaken. The *Engliſh* Fleet ſtill lay behind the Sands, and the Deſcents which the *French* made in three ſeveral Places gained them no conſiderable Advantage, becauſe the Coaſts had been well looked to. In the mean while, the *Engliſh* Fleet daily encreaſing, conſiſted now of a Hundred Sail. So, *Annebaut* ſeeing little hopes of making any great Progreſs, ſhaped his Courſe towards *France*, after having watered at the *Iſle of Wight*, not without loſing ſome Soldiers and Officers.

and in England.

The French *Fleet retires.*

It is driven upon the Coaſt of England.

Some Days after a South-wind blew the *French* back whether they would or no towards the Coaſt of *England*, and put their Fleet in Confuſion, which the *Engliſh* reſolved to take Advantage of, if the Wind continued favourable. And indeed, the two Fleets

A ſhort Engagement.

engaged

engaged for about two Hours. But as the Wind was very changeable, each ſide endeavoured to improve the Advantage they received from thence, without engaging however too far. At laſt they parted without much loſs on either ſide. To this came the greateſt Effort *France* had ever made at Sea. 1545.

The Deſign of beſieging Boulogne *and* Guiſnes *miſcarries by* de Biez's *Fault.*

The Attempt to fight the *Engliſh* Fleet, or to ravage the Enemies Coaſts, was not however the chief End of this powerful Armament. The taking of *Boulogne* was the King of *France*'s main Deſign, and the Fleet was properly intended only for to block up that Place by Sea. But as the *Landſquenets* were not yet arrived, nor the Fort, Marſhal *de Biez* was about, yet finiſhed, *Francis* was exceedingly vexed to ſee the Time proper for the executing his Deſigns paſs away inſenſibly. At length, hearing the *Landſquenets* were upon the Borders, he ſent one to view the Fort, which, contrary to his Expectation, and Marſhal *de Biez*'s Promiſe, was yet very far from being finiſhed. Beſides, it was built in a different Place from what was appointed, ſo that it did not command the Harbour. The Marſhal alledged, that if it had been built at *Portot*, the Garriſon would have wanted Water. But he affirmed, that the Fort he had raiſed at *Outreau* would be finiſhed in eight Days. Whereupon, the King ſent his whole Army to him, of which he gave him the Command, and ſtayed himſelf at *Chateau-Montier* about Ten Leagues from *Boulogne*.

The Marſhal *de Biez* lay encamped hard by the Fort till it ſhould be finiſhed, his Deſign being to throw in Ten Thouſand Men there to keep the Garriſon of *Boulogne* in awe, whilſt he ſhould go and beſiege *Guiſnes*. But the Engineer had ſo ill contrived his Work, that after having been a good while about it, he was forced almoſt to begin the whole again. This occaſioned a Delay, which broke all the Meaſures that were taken. Mean while, the King haſtned the Work the more, as he knew that Ten Thouſand *Landſquenets* raiſed for the Service of *England* were marching for *Picardy*. In ſhort, the Marſhal perceiving,

1545. ceiving the Seaſon would be too far advanced before his Fort could be put in a Poſture of Defence, pretended to have certain Advice that the King of *England* intended to land a ſtrong Army at *Calais* to relieve *Boulogne* by Land; this is at leaſt what *du Bellay* imputes to him in his *Memoirs*. However, the Marſhal leaving the Fort unfiniſhed, went and encamped on Mount *Lambert*, to be in a Readineſs to oppoſe the Succours. But the *Engliſh* appeared not. As for the *Landſquenets* which *Henry* ſent for from *Germany*, they returned home, becauſe they received not on the Borders the Money which they were made to expect. Mean while, the *French* Army continued encamped, without undertaking the Siege either of *Guiſnes* or of *Boulogne*, though *Francis* had made ſo great an Effort merely for that purpoſe.

Death of the Duke of Orleans. Mezerai.

In the mean time the Duke of *Orleans* died at *Chateau-Montier*, to the great Grief of the King his Father, who, by his Death, ſaw the Peace with the Emperour very much ſhaken, ſince it was properly founded only upon that Prince's Life, as will be ſeen preſently.

A terrible Wound cured by Ambroſe Parè. Bellay.

The *French* Army being encamped on Mount *Lambert* within Cannon-ſhot of *Boulogne*, there were Skirmiſhes every Day in the Space between the Mount and the Town. In one of theſe Conflicts the Duke *d'Aumale*, known afterwards by the Name of *Duke of Guiſe*, was wounded with a Lance, which entring in at the Corner of his Eye, came out behind his Head. This Wound, tho' deemed mortal by all the World, was however cured by the great Skill of *Ambroſe Parè*, the King's Surgeon, who was even forced to draw out with Pincers the Head of the Lance which remained in the Wound. The Scar in the Duke's Face got him the Sirname of *Balafrè* [or *Gaſhed.*]

The French *Army ravage* Terre d'Oye.

The Seaſon was now ſo far advanced, that the Siege of *Boulogne* was no longer practicable. So *Francis* was fain to be contented with ordering the Marſhal *de Biez* to go and ravage *Terre d'Oye*, belonging to the King of *England*. But the ſudden Rains made the Country

Country ſo watry, that the Marſhal was forced to retire very ſoon with his Army. Indeed, the Inhabitants were great Sufferers, becauſe the Garriſon of *Calais*, which ſhould have protected them, was not able to ſtand againſt ſo numerous Forces. On the other Hand, *Briſſac*, who was afterwards Marſhal of *France*, defeated a Body of Two Thouſand *Engliſh*. This was all the Damage *Henry* ſuſtained during the Campaign, from an Army of above Two Hundred Thouſand Men, who had put his Enemy to a vaſt Expence. In all likelihood, this Expence, and the ill Succeſs of the Campaign, contributed the moſt to the Peace which was quickly after concluded. 1545.

Beſides that *France* was exhauſted, *Francis* had another Motive to make Peace with *England*. He was apprehenſive of being ſoon under a Neceſſity of renewing the War with the Emperour. By the Treaty of *Crepi*, he had agreed that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould marry one of the Daughters, either of the Emperour or of the King of the *Romans*; and that upon the Account of this Match, he ſhould have the Dutchy of *Milan* or the Earldom of *Flanders*. In Conſideration of ſo advantagious a Settlement for the Duke his Son, *Francis* had reſigned above Twenty Places, which he held in *Piedmont* or *Montferrat*, and abandoned the Intereſt of his Brother-in-law the King of *Navarre*. So, the Proſpect of the Advantages which this Marriage was to procure, vaniſhing by the Death of his Son, *Francis* muſt find out ſome other way to obtain them, or break a Treaty which was of no uſe for the future. For this reaſon having a mind to know the Emperour's Intentions, he ſent Admiral *Annebaut* to *Antwerp*, to offer him to renew the Treaty of Peace upon other Terms, ſince the Death of the Duke of *Orleans* had rendered the Conditions of the Treaty of *Crepi* of no Effect. But the Emperour plainly enough gave to underſtand that by the Death of that Prince, he looked upon himſelf as free from his Engagement, when, he told the Ambaſſador, that he would not invade the King of *France*, if

Francis's *Motives to make Peace with* Henry.

1545. if he was not first attacked. *Francis* I. easily judged by this Answer that he should infallibly have a War with the Emperour. This, added to the little Progress he had made during the late Campaign, made him desirous of a Peace with *England*. But as he was unwilling to sue for it, he got the Princes of the *Smalcaldick*-League to manage the Business, who offered to become Mediators. This Mediation seemed so much the less sued for, as the *Protestants* themselves were highly concerned to procure a Peace between the two Kings. They saw themselves upon the Brink of being attacked by the Emperour, since he had made Peace with *France*, and they knew moreover he was negotiating a Truce with the *Turks*. Nothing therefore could be more for their Advantage, than a good Understanding between *France* and *England*; to the End both Kings might be able to protect them. They sent therefore to *France Christopher de Verningher*, *John Bruno de Nidepont*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Lewis Bambac*, and *John Sleidan*, to do the Office of Mediators between the two Kings, in the Name of *the League*. These Ambassadors meeting the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *England*, between *Ardres* and *Guiennes*, presently found it was no easy matter to make Peace. *Francis* insisted that *Henry* should restore *Boulogne*, and *Scotland* be included in the Peace. But *Henry* absolutely rejected both these Articles. Whereupon they were forced at last to negotiate only a Truce. But this Negotiation had no better Success, because *Henry* would never agree that the *Scots* should be comprised in the Treaty. This appears from the private Instructions sent to Sir *William Paget* one of the *English* Ambassadors, and which are inserted in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find also in these Instructions that Sir *William Paget* had attempted to bribe *Bruno* one of the *German* Mediators with the Offer of a considerable Pension, and that in all appearance the Mediator had given Ear to his Proposals. Mean while, to obtain the better Terms, *Henry* made as if he would be reconciled with the

He got the Protestant Princes to negotiate for him;

who send Ambassadors to France *and* England.

Difficulties of a Peace,

and of a Truce.

Act. Pub. XV. 83.

the Emperour, and even ſent in Embaſſy to him the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter*. But this was only to give a Jealouſy to *Francis*. 1545.

Cranmer took the Advantage of *Gardiner*'s Abſence to promote the Reformation, which he knew full well that Prelate would oppoſe with all his Might. Some Biſhopricks which became vacant were by his means given to Perſons who favoured the Reformation, and by that he had among the Biſhops a much ſtronger Party than ever *. Nay, he found means in time to get the King to conſent to ſome Alterations advantagious to Religion. But *Gardiner*, who was at *Bruges* in the Emperour's Court, having notice of it, ſent the King word that the Pope and Emperour being joined in a League againſt the *Proteſtants* of *Germany*, the leaſt Innovation which ſhould be made in *England* with reſpect to Religion, would be enough to induce them to give the King of *France* all the Satisfaction he could deſire, that they might engage him in their League, in order to act altogether againſt him. This made *Cranmer* find more difficulty than he had expected. Cranmer *procures Biſhopricks for his Friends* Burnet. Gardiner *breaks his Meaſures.*

In *Auguſt* this Year *Cranmer* loſt a good Support by the Death of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who had all along continued in the Height of Favour *1. He was *Cranmer*'s Friend, and would have willingly agreed to a farther Reformation. But he was too much a Courtier, to attempt to oppoſe the King's Will di- *Death of the Duke.*

* *Lee* Archbiſhop of *York* dying, *Robert Holgate* Biſhop of *Landaff* was promoted to that *See*, *Kitchin* being made Biſhop of *Landaff*: who turned with every Change. *Heath* was tranſlated from *Rocheſter* to *Worceſter*, and *Henry Holbeach* was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. *Day*, a moderate Man, upon *Sampſon*'s Tranſlation to *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. Burnet.

*1 He lies buried in St. *George*'s Chapel at *Windſor*, by the Door of the Quire near the Place where *Henry* VI is interred. He had four Wives. His Third was *Mary* Daughter of *Henry* VII, and Widow of *Lewis* XII of *France*. He had a Son by her, who died before him, and two Daughters. His two other Sons by his laſt Wife died without Iſſue. 5 *Edward* 6. *Dugdale*.

1545. rectly. However, as *Henry* was not always in the ſame Mind with regard to Religion, this Lord did *the Reformed* good Service, when he ſaw the King well-inclined to them.

Continuation of the War with Scotland. Buchan. Herbert.

The War with *Scotland* was carried on faintly on both Sides: *Henry*'s Deſign was only to terrify the *Scots*, that they might be brought to execute the Treaty concerning their Queen's Marriage. On the other Hand, the *Scots* had no Thoughts of invading *England*. Nevertheleſs, *Francis*, who, as has been obſerved, had formed vaſt Projects againſt *England*, ſent betimes to the Regent an Ambaſſador, called *la Broſſe*, to aſſure him of his Protection, and a powerful Aid, which was to ſet out forthwith. Beſides that a Diverſion in *Scotland* could not but be advantagious to him, he was ſpurred on alſo by the *Lorrain* Princes, who were deſirous to ſupport the Queen their Siſter. So, cauſing the *Seigneur de Lorges*, Count of *Mongommeri*, to imbark with Five Thouſand Men, he ordered him to uſe his utmoſt Endeavour to perſuade the *Scots* to make a powerful Diverſion upon the Frontiers of *England*. *Mongommeri* arriving in *Scotland* the 2d of *July*, joined his Troops with the *Scots*, and both making together Fifteen Thouſand Men, advanced towards the *Tweed*. For ſome Days ſeveral Parties paſſed the River, and did ſome Damage to the *Engliſh*. But the *French* General could never perſuade the *Scots* to venture with the whole Army beyond the *Tweed*. On the contrary, upon News that the Earl of *Hertford* was coming at the Head of Twelve Thouſand Men, they haſtily retired, and preſently after disbanded as uſual. This is all that paſſed in *Scotland* worth notice, during the Campaign of 1545.

The Parliament grants the King a Subſidy, and the Lands of the Colleges, &c. Herbert. Burnet.

The Parliament of *England* meeting the 23d of *November*, the *Convocation* continued for two Years, the *Subſidy* which had been given the King for Six. At the ſame time the Parliament ſuppreſſed by an *Act* all the *Colleges* and *Hoſpitals*, and gave their Lands to the King. The Motive, or rather Pretence of this Suppreſſion was, the Miſ-uſe that was made of theſe Foundations.

Foundations. The Parliament had a Mind alſo to make the King amends for the Charges he had been at in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland*. But this not ſufficing, the *Commons* granted him moreover a round Sum, and as they were called together only for that Purpoſe, they were diſmiſſed the 24th of *December*. Before the Seſſion ended, the King came to the Houſe of Lords in great Solemnity, and made a fine Speech, wherein he ſaid among other Things, that never had Prince a greater Affection for his People, or was more beloved than himſelf. Adding many ſuch Expreſſions, which though very far, for the moſt part, from being true, were however received by the People with loud Acclamations. 1545.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

During this Year, the *German* Proteſtants began to feel the Effects of the Peace the Emperour had lately made with *France*, and of the Truce he was juſt going to conclude with the *Turks*. Hitherto they had been uſed ſomewhat gently. But the Emperour coming to *Worms*, where the Diet of the Empire was held, declared to them in plain Terms, that he could not diſpenſe by any means with their ſubmitting to the *Council* which was to meet at *Trent*. This was a plain Indication that there was in reality a Deſign to reduce them by force, eſpecially as there was a Rumour ſpread about of a League between the Pope and Emperour, which muſt neceſſarily be againſt them. Their Suſpicions were farther confirmed, by a Sermon preached by a certain *Franciſcan*, before the Emperour, to whom he repreſented in very ſtrong Expreſſions, that he could not do the Duty of a good Emperour, unleſs he laboured to the utmoſt of his Power to extirpate the *Lutherans*. They knew alſo the Emperour had writ to the King of *Poland* to ſtir him up againſt them. Moreover he ſummoned the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* to appear before him within thirty Days, becauſe he had embraced the Reformation, and endeavoured to introduce it into his *Dioceſe*. All theſe Things ſhowed them plainly enough, that no farther Regard would be had

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan.

1544. for them. Nevertheleſs, as the Emperour had not yet concluded the Truce with the *Turk*, and as his Matters were not quite ready, he ordered that a new Diet ſhould be held at *Ratisbon* the next *January*. But the better to amuſe the *Proteſtants*, he decreed, that the *Divines* of both Parties ſhould come to *Ratisbon* a Month before the *Diet*, and hold a free Conference, that ſomething might be ſettled afterwards in Matters of Religion. The *Roman Catholicks* did not like this Conference, and the *Proteſtants* were ſtill leſs pleaſed with it, becauſe they foreſaw that the Stedfaſtneſs of the *Divines* of both Sides, with reſpect to the Points which would be the Subject of their Conference, would give the Emperour and the *Diet* a Handle to refer the Deciſion of them to the Council of *Trent*. The *Diet* breaking up the 18th of *Auguſt*, the Emperour returned to the *Low-Countries*. Some Time after, he received Advice that the Truce with the *Turks* was concluded. He thereby ſaw himſelf at full Liberty to make War upon the *Proteſtants*, and under that Pretenſe to ſet about the Execution of his Project to become Maſter of the Empire.

Remark on the Council. It was properly at the Inſtance of the *Proteſtants* only, that the *Council* was to meet. But it was very far from being ſuch a *Council* as they had required. They demanded that it ſhould be held in *Germany*, in an unſuſpected Place, and it was convened at *Trent*, a City belonging to the King of the *Romans*, whom they juſtly conſidered as their Enemy. Their Deſign was to combat the *Papal* Authority, and it was the *Pope* who was to preſide by his *Legates*. They intended to ſhow that the *Romiſh Clergy* had corrupted Religion, both in *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*, and it was the *Romiſh Clergy* who were to aſſiſt as Judges. Nay, it was uncertain whether they would be allowed to produce their Reaſons. And yet it was pretended, that out of great Condeſcenſion a *Council* was called for their Sakes, and at their Sollicitation. It is therefore not at all ſtrange they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch a *Council*. They were as much afraid of this

as they were desirous of a Free and Impartial one. 1545.
So the Emperour and the *Protestants* acted directly contrary to what they had done at the first. The *Protestants* rejected a *Council*, after having demanded it with great Earnestness, and the Emperour after having amused them many Years upon that Account, pressed with all his Power the meeting of the *Council* of *Trent*, the Authority whereof he intended to make use of to oppress them. The Pope would have been glad that it should not meet. But finding he was too far engaged with the Emperour to go back, he had fixed the opening of it to the 15th of *March*. After that, he put it off, because on that Day there were not Bishops enough at *Trent*. But he had a much stronger Reason. He was very glad to wait the Issue of the *Diet* of *Worms*, hoping vigorous Resolutions would be taken there against the *Protestants*, which would engage both Parties in an open War, and from thence he might have a Pretense either to delay the opening of the *Council*, or to remove it to some Town in *Italy*. But the Emperour who had already laid his Scheme of making use of the *Council*'s Authority to proceed against the *Protestants*, got the Pope at last to order it to be opened at *Trent* the 13th of *December*. That Day the *Legates* (meeting in the *Cathedral*,) declared that the Council was assembled for three Causes, to destroy *Heresy*, to reform *Discipline*, and to settle a lasting Peace between *Christian* Princes. This first Session was held only for the opening of the *Council*. There were so few Bishops at *Trent*, that it would have been ridiculous for so small a Number of Persons to pretend to make Decrees upon the Articles for which the *Council* was called.

Opening of the Council of **Trent.**

The *Protestants* seeing a *Council* opened quite diffe- 1546.
rent from what they had required, easily perceived they were to expect no good from it. They had so much the more Reason to fear it, as the Kings of *France* and *England* being at War with one another, there was no Prospect of Assistance from them. Mean while, though the *German* Mediators had not

1546. ſucceeded in their Negotiation, the Peace between *France* and *England* was not the farther off for all that.

Henry and Francis wiſh for a Peace.

The Reaſon was, becauſe both Kings were equally concerned to put an end to a War which only did them Damage, without either's being able to hope for any conſiderable Advantage. The War continued however during the Winter of the Year 1546. The Earl of *Surry*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who commanded at *Boulogne*, having Intelligence that the *French* were conducting a Convoy of Proviſions to the Fort of *Outreau*, ſallied out with part of the Garriſon to try to intercept it. But he ſucceeded ſo ill, that inſtead of taking the Convoy, he was himſelf defeated, and forced to retreat in very great Diſorder. This News troubled the King exceedingly, who was not wont to receive the like. Whether he thought it was owing to the Earl's Imprudence, or whether he ſuſpected him of ſome hidden Deſign, he recalled him immediately, and ſent the Lord *Gray* to command in his room. A few Days after he ordered the Earl of *Hertford* to ſet out with about ten Thouſand Men, for fear the *French* ſhould ſeize ſome Poſt, and cut off the Communication between *Boulogne* and *Calais*. And indeed that was their Deſign. But the Earl of *Hertford*, preventing them by two Days only, went and poſted himſelf at *Ambleville*, where he ran up two Forts which ſecured the Communication. The *French* having miſſed their Aim, encamped on Mount *Lambert*; and as the two Armies were not very far from each other, there were Skirmiſhes every Day, but which decided nothing. It was equally the Intereſt of both Kings to run no Hazard, for fear of breaking off the Negotiation of the Peace which was treating between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*.

Reaſons of both King's for a Peace.

Francis wiſhed for a Peace, becauſe his *Exchequer* was drained by the immenſe Charge he had continually been at ever ſince the Beginning of his Reign, and eſpecially by the naval Armament of the former Campaign. Beſides, as he ſaw himſelf upon the brink of entering into a War with the Emperour, he ſtood in need

need of ſuch a Friend as the King of *England*. In fine, he plainly perceived that after the fruitleſs Efforts he had made to retake *Boulogne*, it would be too hard a Taſk to recover that Place by Force. *Henry* was no leſs deſirous of Peace for ſeveral Reaſons. He was grown ſo fat and corpulent, that it was a Trouble for him to move. Nay, he had occaſion for an Engine with Pullies to lift him up, and let him down Stairs. This made him exceeding uneaſy, and gave him a Diſtaſte for Buſineſs, inſomuch that he attended to Affairs with ſome reluctance. In the next Place, He had no farther Thoughts of making Conqueſts in *Picardy*. His ſole Aim was to get what was due to him before *Boulogne* ſhould be reſtored, which in the main was of little uſe to him, ſince *Calais* could ſerve all his Purpoſes. But he had ſtill a more urgent Motive to renew his old Friendſhip with *Francis*. He ſaw the Emperour upon the Point of making War upon the Proteſtants with the Pope's Help, and he much queſtioned their being able to withſtand him. In this Belief he was afraid the Emperour after having ſubdued *Germany*, would turn his Arms againſt *England*, with all the Force of the Empire, *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*. He could uſe the Pretenſe of executing the Pope's Sentence, and even cauſe a like Sentence to be paſſed by the *Council* of *Trent*. It was therefore not at all for *Henry*'s Intereſt to be then in War with *France*. It was rather neceſſary for him to have *Francis*'s Friendſhip, as it was alſo very advantagious for *Francis* to be ſure of *Henry*'s Aſſiſtance, in caſe the Emperour ſhould turn his Arms againſt *France*. 1546.

Difficulties of the Peace.

The Difficulties which occurred in making this Peace, conſiſted in that *Henry* would be paid what was due to him, and *Francis* had not wherewithal to content him. Beſides, *Francis* inſiſted upon having *Boulogne*, and upon *Scotland*'s being included in the Treaty. Theſe Difficulties would have been ſufficient to hinder the Concluſion of the Peace, if more urgent Motives had not induced the two Kings to de-

1546. viſe Expedients to ſurmount them. *Henry* yielded at laſt the Article concerning *Scotland*, and as to the reſt a way was found to ſatisfy both. *Henry* was to keep *Boulogne* till he ſhould be paied, and *Francis* promiſed to diſcharge the Debt in eight Years. Every Thing being thus ſettled, the Peace was ſigned the 7th of *June*. The Treaty ran:

Treaty of Peace between France *and* England. Act. Pub. XV. 93. Jun. 7.

That the King of *France* ſhall pay regularly the Penſion due by the Treaty of *More* the 30th of *Auguſt* 1525, and confirmed by the ſeveral ſubſequent Treaties. As alſo the Penſion of Salt agreed on by a Treaty the 25th of *April* 1527, valued afterwards at ten Thouſand Crowns a Year. But as *Henry* pretends that the ſaid Penſion given in lieu of the Salt, is to be perpetual, and as *Francis* maintains on the contrary, that it is to ceaſe at *Henry*'s Death, it is agreed, that the Diſpute ſhall be amicably decided by Umpires, and if the Penſion ſhall be found to be perpetual, *Francis* ſhall pay it to *Henry* and his Succeſſors for ever.

Moreover *Francis* ſhall pay to the King of *England* on the Feaſt of St. *Michael* 1554, or within a Fortnight after, the Sum of two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*, as well for the Arrears of the Penſion of the ten Thouſand Crowns, as for the Charge *Henry* was obliged to be at in beſieging *Boulogne* (which was done only in order to procure his Money) and in keeping and maintaining that Place.

As to the Article of the five Hundred Thouſand Crowns, which *Henry* preſented to *Francis* on Condition he would punctually keep the Treaties as the two Kings differ in point of Fact, it is agreed that the Diſpute ſhall be decided by Commiſſioners appointed on both Sides within ſuch a Time, or by four impartial Lawyers, in caſe the Commiſſioners determine not the Affair.

It is further agreed, that the King of *England* ſhall keep *Boulogne* with its Territories, the Limits whereof are

are ſettled by the Treaty, till he receive whatever is due to him. 1546.

That when all the Sums ſhall be paid, *Boulogne* ſhall be reſtored to the King of *France*, and nothing that is faſtened to the Ground ſhall be impaired or carried away.

That from the Date hereof to the Surrender of *Boulogne*, neither of the two Princes ſhall raiſe any Fort or new Fortification within the Territory of *Boulogne*, but thoſe that are already begun may be finiſhed.

The Emperour was included by both Parties in the Peace. As for *Scotland*, *Henry* agreed it ſhould be included on Condition the *Scots* gave him no freſh Cauſe to make War upon them, and in caſe they did, they were to be deemed included, no otherwiſe than according to the Treaty of the 5th of *April* 1515 *.

Henry could hardly expect greater Advantages than thoſe he received from this Peace, which ſeemed to ſecure him not only the Sums that were due to him, but alſo the yearly and perpetual Penſion of a Hundred Thouſand Crowns. But the moſt ſolemn Treaties are not always ſufficient Security for the Performance of what Sovereigns promiſe. We ſhall ſee in the following Reigns, that *Francis*'s Succeſſors not only broke this Treaty as to what concerned *Boulogne*, and the Sums his Father was bound to pay, but that even the Penſion was never charged to Account, in the Treaties which he made with *England*. Henry's *advantages in this Treaty.*

The Peace was proclaimed at *London* the 13th of *June*, in a very pompous manner, with a general *Proceſſion*, wherein were carried all the richeſt Silver Croſſes, and the fineſt *Copes* worn, for the greater Solemnity. But this was the laſt Time theſe Things appeared in Publick. Shortly after, *Henry* called them in, together with the *Church-Plate*, to his Treaſury and Wardrobe, *The Peace proclaimed at London.* Henry *calls in all the* Church-Plate.

* The Commiſſioners for *Henry* were, *John* Viſcount *Liſle* Admiral, *William Paget* Secretary, and Doctor *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*. Herbert.

1546. Wardrobe, without giving any other Reaſon than his Will and Pleaſure.

Charges of the late War. Herbert. 'Tis ſaid that the late War with *France* coſt *Henry* 586718 Pounds *Sterling*, and the Charges of keeping *Boulogne* eight Years amounted to 755833 Pounds more. So large a Sum which he was not to be paid again under eight Years, had ſwept away all that the Parliament had given him for the War, and whatever he had drawn from the *Chapels*, *Colleges*, and *Hoſpitals*. So that he was forced in the Beginning of the Year to lay a Tax upon his Subjects, under the Name of *Benevolence*, as appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Henry *ſtands Godfather to the* Dauphin's *Daughter.* The Peace reſtored between the two Kings the good Underſtanding which had been interrupted ſome Years, rather by the Artifices of the Emperour and his Party in *England*, than for any juſt Cauſe. *Catharine de Medicis*, Dauphineſs of *France*, being at this Time delivered of a Princeſs, and *Henry* deſired to ſtand Godfather, he called the Child *Elizabeth*. Preſently after the two King's ſent Ambaſſadors to each other, to receive the Oaths concerning the Peace, and pitched upon for theſe Embaſſies their two High-Admirals.

Embaſſy from France.

Project of aboliſhing the Maſs. 'Tis ſaid, that whilſt Admiral *Annebaut* was at *London*, he ſet on Foot a Negotiation about Religion, and that the two Kings intended to aboliſh the *Maſs* in their Dominions *. As for *Henry* there is ſome likelihood that he would have carried the Reformation farther, had he lived longer. Nay, it is certain that upon this Occaſion he ordered *Cranmer* to ſet down in Writing the manner how ſuch a Change might be made, and to ground the whole upon Arguments and Paſſages drawn from the *Holy Scriptures*.

Francis's *Deſign.* But this Project ſoon came to nothing. In all Appearance, *Francis* had entered into this Negotiation purely becauſe he wanted to be in ſtrict Union with *Henry*, and becauſe he knew by Experience, that the bare Propoſal of conforming himſelf to his Sentiments

* The *Maſs* was to be changed into a *Communion*. Fox. Burnet.

ments in Point of Religion was a moſt effectual way to ſucceed. But it is by no means probable that he really intended to allow of any Reformation in his Kingdom. And indeed, at this very time he was kindling the Fire of Perſecution all over *France* againſt *the Reformed*, of whom Fourteen were burned at *Meaux* this Year, and many others at *Paris*, and in other Places, not to mention the Maſſacre of *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*, for which none were ever called to an Account. The Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Tournon* his chief *Miniſters*, were too much incenſed againſt *the Proteſtants*, for one to believe that as long as they were in favour, the King ſeriouſly thought of aboliſhing *the Maſs* in *France*. 1546.

The Emperour prepares to attack the Proteſtants Sleidan.

Before the Peace between *England* and *France* was ſigned, the *Proteſtant* Princes of *Germany* ſeeing they were juſt going to be attacked by the Emperour, who had at length thrown aſide the Mask, ſince his making a Peace with *France*, and a Truce with the *Turks*, ſent to *Henry*, Prince *Philip*, Brother * to the Elector *Palatine*, to demand Aid. It appears by the King's Letter to this Prince, extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the King had ſent to deſire him to come, and the Lord *Herbert* aſſures us, that *Philip* had in view to marry the Princeſs *Mary*. However that be, the King anſwered his Demand of Aid by ſeven Propoſitions, containing the Terms on which he was willing to enter into a League defenſive with the *Proteſtants*. But as his Propoſitions tended only to his being made head and ſole Director of the League, they did not think proper to put themſelves blindly into his Hands. They ſent him word only, that if he would depoſite ſomewhere in *Germany* a Hundred Thouſand Crowns to ſerve for the Defence of the League, they would prefer his Alliance to that of *Francis*. But finding they offered no Advantage for himſelf, he had no ſuch Zeal for the *Augsburg-Confeſſion*, (which he was yet far enough from admitting) as

Negotiation of the Proteſtants with Henry. Act. Pub. XV. 88.

* Lord *Herbert* ſays, Nephew.

1545. as to engage in its Protection without reaping any Benefit by it. The Truth is, the *Proteſtants* were perſuaded he had no deſire to be really united with them, but intended only to encourage them, for fear they ſhould ſubmit to the Emperour, as alſo to hinder them from putting themſelves under the *French* King's Protection, with whom he had not yet Peace. For the ſame Reaſon it was, that under colour of continuing the Negotiation, he kept the Count *Palatine* at his Court, till he ſaw the Peace with *France* was near a Concluſion.

League between the Pope and Emperour againſt the Proteſtants Sleidan.

It was now ſome time ſince the Pope and Emperour had formed the Project of a League againſt the *Proteſtants* of *Germany*. They had agreed upon all the Articles: but the Emperour had thought fit to put off the ſigning, that he might ſay he did it merely in his own Defence. At laſt, about the Middle of *June*, he ſent the Cardinal of *Trent* to *Rome*, where the League was ſigned the 26th of the ſame Month. The Pope promiſed to find for ſix Months Twelve Thouſand *Foot*, Five Hundred *Horſe*, and Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns for the War in *Germany*. Moreover, he gave the Emperour a Moiety of one Year's Revenue of the Benefices in *Spain*, with Power to alienate a Hundred Thouſand Crowns-worth of *Church*-Lands. Nothing can more plainly ſhow that it was a *Religious* War, though the Emperour affected to publiſh the contrary.

The German *War.*

The Emperour having notice that the Pope's Troops were beginning to march, that the Count *de Bure* was very forward in his Levies in the *Low-Countries*, and that Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, whom he had won over to his Side, was in readineſs to act when it ſhould be proper, drew his Army together about *Ratisbon*. His Deſign was to go and meet the Pope's Troops, who were croſſing *Tyrol*, under the Conduct of *Octaviano Farneſe*. At the ſame time the Elector of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* marched the ſame way, to hinder their joining with an Army of Forty Thouſand Men. Without entring into the Parti-

Particulars of this firſt Campaign, I ſhall only ſay in a word, that the *Proteſtants*, though ſuperiour in Number, could not hinder the joining of the *Italian* Troops, nor of thoſe of the *Low-Countries* with the Emperour. The different Tempers of the Elector of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* did not a little contribute towards their taking wrong Meaſures. In ſhort, the Campaign holding till *November*, without either of the two Armies deſiring to engage, the Elector of *Saxony* received the ill News that the King of the *Romans* and Duke *Maurice* were deſtroying his Country with Fire and Sword. This obliging him to take with him part of the Army, and go to the Relief of his Subjects; the *Landgrave* grown too weak upon this Separation, choſe likewiſe to retire into his own Dominions. Thus the Emperour meeting with no more Oppoſition, took *Francfort*, *Ulm*, and ſeveral other Towns belonging to *the League*, which furniſhed him with Money to maintain his Army. 1546.

Whilſt the War was carrying on in *Germany*, the *Council* languiſhed at *Trent*, and proceeded very heavily. Beſides that the Members were very few, they were wholly dependent on the *Legates*, who durſt not themſelves take any thing in hand without Orders from *Rome*. But it was the Pope's Intereſt to ſpin out Matters, becauſe he hoped Time would help him at laſt to ſome Occaſion to diſſolve the *Council*, or remove it to *Italy*. Thus the *Council* was but an empty Name, made uſe of by the Pope and Emperour for their own private Views, and to throw Duſt in the Eyes of the Publick. *Continuation of the Council of* Trent.

Religion began alſo to cauſe Troubles in *Scotland*, or at leaſt to bring forth the Seeds of Troubles, by the Deſpair thoſe that embraced the Reformation were drove to. Since Cardinal *Beaton* and the Earl of *Arran* had enjoyed the Peace which the King of *France* had procured them, they thought of nothing but to be revenged of their Enemies. Religion furniſhed them with a Pretence, becauſe the Faction which was againſt them almoſt wholly conſiſted of *the Reformed.* *Perſecution in* Scotland.

1546. *Reformed.* In the Courſe of this Year 1546, they put to Death ſeveral Perſons for the ſake of Religion at *Perth*, St. *Andrews*, and other Places. The Regent ſuffered himſelf to be ſo led by the Cardinal, that he gloried in delivering to the Flames thoſe whom he had formerly conſidered as his Brethren. Among thoſe who were ſacrificed to the furious Rage of the Cardinal, a Miniſter called *Sephocard* *, who ſuffered Martyrdom at St. *Andrews*, was particularly remarkable. This Man being condemned to the Fire, the Regent at the Inſtance of ſome one of his Friends would have ſaved his Life, and to that End he ſent a Note to the Cardinal, deſiring him to ſuſpend the Execution. But the barbarous Cardinal, without regarding the Regent's Requeſt, not only cauſed the Sentence to be executed, but would moreover feed his Eyes with the ſad Spectacle, ſitting in State in a great Window of his Caſtle. It is ſaid, that before he was delivered to the Flames, the Miniſter told the Executioner, that within few Days the Prelate who beheld him with ſuch Pride from yonder high Place, ſhould lie in the ſame as ignominiouſly and low as now he was ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf. This Prediction proved but too true for the Cardinal. Preſently after he was murdered in his own Palace, and his Body thrown into the Street out of the very Window from whence he looked on while *Sephocard* was burning.

Wiſhart's Martyrdom.

His Prediction about Cardinal Beaton.

The Cardinal is murdered.

The State of Religion in England.

As for *England*, Religion was ſtill upon the ſame Foot there, as it pleaſed the King to eſtabliſh it. The Reformation had made ſome Progreſs: but it wanted a great deal of being arrived to Perfection; however the Reformed could not forbear hoping that the King himſelf would carry it much farther. Thus perſuaded, they thought it prudent not to provoke him, and that they conſulted effectually the Welfare of their Religion, by remaining in Silence and waiting for better Times.

* The Author means Mr. *George Wiſhart*, deſcended of a noble Family, who finiſhed his Studies in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and returned to *Scotland* in 1544. See the Story of his Death in *Burnet*, Vol. I. 333.

Times. This is the true Reaſon why there were fewer Perſons that ſuffered for Religion in *England* than in *France*. It is not to be queſtioned that if there had not been a Proſpect of a farther Reformation, many People would have openly declared the Opinions which this Proſpect induced them to conceal. For very near the ſame Reaſon, thoſe who retained all the *Tenets* of the old Religion, durſt not directly oppoſe the King, for fear their Oppoſition ſhould carry him beyond the Bounds he ſeemed to have ſet to himſelf. From hence ſprung a blind and univerſal Compliance with the King's Will, and the exceſſive Power he had acquired over all his Subjects, of which he made a very ill uſe. He had been troubled for ſome time with an old Sore in his Leg, which was grown very painful to him. This added to his monſtrous Corpulency, which rendered him almoſt unable to ſtir, made him ſo froward and untractable, that none approached him without trembling. He had been always ſtern and ſevere, but was incomparably more ſo towards the End of his Days than in the Beginning. Flattery had ſo corrupted his Judgment and Senſe, that he deemed it an unpardonable Crime to contradict his Opinions, though he changed them himſelf very frequently. I have obſerved before, that he treated with Admiral *Annebaut* about aboliſhing the *Maſs*, and changing it into a *Communion*, after the Manner of the *Proteſtants*. And yet, ſhortly after, *Shaxton*, who had reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, and had been long a Priſoner for refuſing to conform to the Six Articles, being accuſed afreſh of denying the *real Preſence* in the *Sacrament*, the King was pleaſed to have him tried according to the Rigour of the Law, and he was condemned to be burnt. But this Man, who had endured the Hardſhips of a long Impriſonment, could not behold with the ſame Firmneſs the Puniſhment prepared for him. The King having ſent the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter* to perſuade him to recant, he was prevailed upon, and abjuring his pretended *Hereſy*, the

1546.

Henry *is much troubled with a ſore Leg and his Corpulency He grows cruel.*

Shaxton *is accuſed of denying the real Preſence.* Burnet. *He is condemned to be burnt. He abjures and is pardoned.*

1546. the King pardoned him. He became afterwards a cruel Perſecutor of *the Reformed.*

Ann Askew *burnt.* This Example was not capable of ſhaking the Faith of *Ann Askew*, who was accuſed of the ſame Crime, and rigorouſly proſecuted, though ſhe had good Friends at Court where ſhe was well known *. She ſtood to her Opinion, in ſpite of all the Promiſes made her to ſave her Life in caſe ſhe would recant. Some Court Ladies, touched with Compaſſion for her, having ſent her ſome Money when ſhe was in Priſon for her Subſiſtence, were the Occaſion of her being more cruelly tormented *1. Chancellor *Wriotheſly*, a great Enemy to the Earl of *Hertford*, hoping to get ſomething out of the Priſoner againſt that Lord or his Counteſs, ordered it ſo that ſhe was put to the *2 Fox. Torture. Nay, it is ſaid *2 that he would be preſent himſelf, and obſerving that the Executioner was moved with Pity towards the Priſoner, he threw off his Gown, and taking upon him the honourable Office, drew the Rack ſo ſeverely, that he almoſt tore her aſunder. But this is a Fact that ſcarce ſeems credible. However, the Woman's Bones being put out of joint, ſhe was carried in a Chair to the Place of Execution, and burnt in Company with four Men condemned for the ſame Crime. But to add to their Sufferings, they were made to hear a Sermon preached by *Shaxton* their falſe Brother, who upbraided them with Obſtinacy in very bitter and reproachful Terms. All this was not able to ſhake their Conſtancy, which they held to their laſt Breath.

The

* She was nobly deſcended and educated beyond what was uſual in that Age to thoſe of her Sex But ſhe was unfortunately married to one *Kyme*, who being a violent *Papiſt*, drove her out of his Houſe, when he found ſhe favoured the Reformation. *Burnet.*

*1 Being ask'd what Favour or Encouragement ſhe had from any in the Court, ſhe would confeſs nothing but that one in *Livery* had brought her ſome Money, which he ſaid came from two Ladies in the Court. This made the Chancellor put her to the Rack. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there; and it was believed the Queen had ſhowed Kindneſs to her. *Burnet.*

1546.

Designs against Cranmer *and the Queen.*

The Enemies of the Reformation seeing the King incensed against the *Sacramentarians*, thought it a favourable Opportunity to ruin the Queen and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom they considered as the grand Protectors of *the Reformed*. Among those who were zealous for the old Religion, the chief were Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey* his Son, *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and these had doubtless among the Courtiers and the King's Servants Creatures who failed not to do them Service on all Occasions. But what Project soever they might form, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was always in their way, who having a great Influence over the King, commonly broke their Measures. So to get rid for good and all of this formidable Adversary, they resolved to complain of him openly to the King, and accuse him of being the Head and Protector of the *Sacramentarians*, and of all those in general who rejected the Six Articles. This Resolve was put in Practice. The Person who took upon him to speak to the King, gave him to understand, that there were evident Proofs ready of what was alledged against *Cranmer*, and if he were once put in *the Tower*, so many Witnesses would appear against him, that the King would be himself surprized. *Henry* was not ignorant that *Cranmer* was against the Six Articles in his Mind, since he had himself frankly owned as much to him. But he had a real Affection for him, and therefore he would not expose him to a Judgment which must have been fatal to him. Besides, he took it very ill that such Pains should be taken to destroy a Man for whom he had so often and so openly declared. However, resolving to see how far the Malice of his Enemies would go, he consented that he should be the next Day called before the *Council* and sent to *the Tower* if there were Cause for it. But in the Night the King sent for *Cranmer*, and telling him what had been resolved, desired to know how he intended to answer for himself. *Cranmer* thanked the King, and besought him, that since

Cranmer is openly accused.

The King gives him a sensible Mark of his Affection.

1546. since he was to be questioned for his Opinions in Religion, Judges might be assigned him who understood those Matters. The King replied, That he went the wrong way to save his Life; That most certainly his Enemies had Witnesses ready to convict him in such a Manner, that the Judges would be forced to condemn him; and therefore since he took so little Care of himself, he would look to it. So he ordered him to desire the Council to use him as a Privy-Counsellor, and as they would expect to be used in the like Case, that is, that his Accusers might be brought Face to Face before he was sent to *the Tower:* and if his Request was not granted, he was to appeal to the King. At the same time he pulled off his Ring from his Finger, and giving it to him, said, that if his Appeal was rejected, he should show *the Board* that Token of his Protection. Next Morning *Cranmer* coming to the Council-door, was so long kept waiting in the Lobby, that the King hearing of the little Respect which was showed him, sent word that he should be presently brought in *. It fell out just as the King foresaw, so that *Cranmer* was forced at last to produce the King's Seal-Ring, which mortified his Enemies exceedingly. Then the whole *Board* rose up, and went and informed the King of what had passed, who told them he thought he had a wiser Council than now he found they were, and laying his Hand on his Breast, swore that he took the Archbishop to be the most faithful Subject he had. The Duke of *Norfolk* willing to excuse the Council, said, They meant the Archbishop no harm, but only to vindicate his Innocence by such a Tryal as would have freed him from all Aspersions. But the King looking sternly at him, answered, He would not suffer Men who were so dear to him to be thus handled with Impunity. He knew the Faction that

The King mortifies the Archbishop's Enemies.

* Dr. *Buts* the King's Physician, who loved *Cranmer*, went and told the King what a strange Thing he had seen: *The Primate of all England waiting at the Council-door among the Footmen and Servants.* Whereupon the King sent to the Board to have him brought in immediately.

that were among them, and their Malice to one another, which he would either extinguiſh or puniſh very ſpeedily. Then he commanded them all to be reconciled to the Archbiſhop. They immediately obeyed, though it was but in outward Appearance. But for *Cranmer*'s Part he heartily forgave them, as he plainly ſhowed afterwards. 1546.

The Queen is accuſed, who luckily brings her ſelf off.

So great a Mortification one would think ſhould have made theſe Men more wary. But their extreme Deſire to compaſs their Ends would not ſuffer them to give over their Deſign upon the Queen. They perceived, that if the King were againſt their accuſing of *Cranmer*, it was not in order to hinder the Execution of the Law of the Six Articles, but from a pure Motive of Affection for that Prelate. That therefore the Step they had taken could not diſpleaſe him as to the Thing itſelf, but only in reſpect to the Perſon. This made them think they ſhould find it eaſier to deſtroy the Queen, becauſe the King would never willingly ſuffer that his Wife ſhould differ from him in Matters of Religion. *Catharine Parr*, who was then on the Throne, had gained the King's Affection by her extraordinary Care of him, and by giving him daily freſh Marks of her Gratitude. She had embraced the Reformation in her Heart; nay, ſhe ſometimes took the Liberty to have *Sermons* preached in her Privy-Chamber before ſome of her Ladies. It came to the King's Ears, but he took no notice of it: nay, he would ſuffer her to diſpute with him upon religious Points, imagining ſhe did it only for Inſtruction ſake. But at laſt theſe Diſputes having been carried too far, he expreſſed his Diſpleaſure at them, and even began to look more coldly upon the Queen than in times paſt. This made her Enemies fancy it was a fair Opportunity to work her Ruin, whilſt, ignorant as ſhe was of their Deſigns, ſhe was ſeeking Occaſions to inſpire the King with favourable Thoughts of the Reformation.

1546. The King vented to *Gardiner* firſt his Diſpleaſure againſt the Queen. He could not pitch upon a Man more prejudiced againſt her. *Gardiner* failed not to cheriſh the King's Reſentment, by aggravating the Queen's Obſtinacy, and her Pains to inſtil her Notions into the Ladies who ſerved her. The Chancellor, who was alſo let into the Secret, backed what *Gardiner* had ſaid, and hinted to the King, that it was the Queen who had encouraged *Ann Askew* in her Obſtinacy: nay, he inſinuated that ſhe was hatching Deſigns againſt the *State*. In ſhort, they went ſo far, that Articles were drawn againſt her which the King ſigned. The Chancellor putting up the Paper careleſly in his Pocket, it dropt from him, and the Perſon that found it carried it to the Queen, who ſeeing the King's Hand to ſuch a Paper, concluded herſelf loſt. However, one of her Friends adviſing her to go to the King and try to appeaſe him, ſhe came into his Room with a ſettled Countenance, as if ſhe knew nothing of what had paſſed. The King received her very kindly, and ſet on a Diſcourſe about Religion. She anſwered, that theſe Things were above her, and that ſhe ought to learn of him what ſhe was to believe. *Not ſo, by St.* Mary, ſaid the King, *you are become a Doctor, and able to inſtruct us.* The Queen feigning to be ſurprized at the Manner of his ſpeaking to her, anſwered very mildly, that ſhe ſaw with Grief he was offended at the Freedom ſhe had ſometimes taken to diſpute with him in Matters of Religion; but ſhe had done it innocently, with the ſole View of diverting him, knowing what Pleaſure he took in talking of thoſe Things which no body underſtood better than himſelf; her chief Aim had been, not only to make him forget his Pain by ſuch ſort of Diſcourſes, but alſo to receive Inſtruction herſelf, and indeed ſhe had profited much; and if ſhe had ſtarted Objections, it was only to give him Occaſion to clear the Difficulties which were above a Woman's Underſtanding. *And is it even ſo*, ſaid the King, *then we are Friends again.* So he embraced her with great Affection, and

ſent

ſent her away with very tender Aſſurances of his conſtant Love to her *. The next Day, which was the Day appointed for carrying the Queen to the *Tower*, the King going to take the Air in the Garden ſent for her, and preſently after came in the Chancellor with forty of the Guard with him. But the King ſtept aſide to him, and after a little Diſcourſe he was heard to call him in an angry Tone, *Knave*, *Fool*, and *Beaſt*. Then he came again to the Queen, who ſeeing him in a Paſſion with the Chancellor, endeavoured to appeaſe him. But the King told her, no Body had leſs Reaſon than ſhe to plead for him. 1546.

The King begins to hate the Enemies of the Reformation.

Theſe two Attempts againſt the Archbiſhop and the Queen, not only proved unſucceſsful to the Enemies of the Reformation, but even turned very much to their Prejudice. From thenceforward the King could not endure them, being ſatisfied, their chief Aim was to pull down whatever he had ſet up. *Gardiner* was turned out of Favour immediately, and the King would not ſuffer him to be preſent in the Council *1.

Gardiner's Diſgrace.

The King reſolves to put the Duke of Norfolk *and the Earl of* Surry *to Death.*

But a greater Storm fell upon the Heads of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*. *Henry* almoſt choaked with Fat, and perceiving his Leg viſibly to grow worſe, plainly ſaw he had not long to live. Thus perſwaded, he conſidered the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surry* as two Lords who could greatly embarraſs the Prince his Son, during his Minority. The Duke of *Norfolk* was as it were the Head of the *Romiſh* Party and the old Religion, Herbert.

* Whether the King had really deſigned her Ruin or not, is differently repreſented by the Writers who lived next that Time. Some, ſays the Lord *Herbert*, believe it was not ſo much the King's Intention to uſe the Rigour of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books.

*1 Lord *Herbert* ſays, though it appears by *Gardiner*'s Submiſſion extant in our *Records*, that not long after he fell into the King's Diſpleaſure, yet whether on this Occaſion, or that he was a ſpecial Friend to the Duke of *Norfolk* (who was now alſo in Diſgrace) or any other Cauſe, is not there determined. However, the King excluded him out of the Number of thoſe whom he appointed his Executors and Counſellors to his Son *Edward* VI.

1546. though like a good Courtier, he had ſtruck in outwardly with all the Innovations the King was pleaſed to make. *Henry* was contented with this external Compliance, though he knew he was all along linked to the Pope, whoſe Party was ſtill very ſtrong in *England*, and that his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was of the ſame Opinion. This was enough to inſpire him with a well-grounded Fear, that after his Death, theſe two Lords aſſiſted by the Pope, the Emperour, and their Friends, would labour to place the Crown on the Head of the Princeſs *Mary*, and ſo the whole Building which he had been at ſo much Pains to raiſe during his Reign, would be thrown down to the Ground. And indeed he could not queſtion, but if that Party prevailed, they would deem his Divorce from *Catharine* of *Arragon* null and void. In which caſe *Mary* was his only lawful Iſſue, and the Prince his Son a Baſtard. He could hope for no Remedy to this Evil from the Parliament, having learnt by many Years Experience, with how much eaſe that Body conſiſting of ſo many Members, was carried away with the prevailing Party. He thought therefore the beſt and ſhorteſt way to prevent theſe Miſchiefs, and to get rid of his Fears, was not to leave theſe two Lords behind him, whom he believed capable of diſturbing the Prince his Son's Minority, and even of robbing him of the Crown. For this ſingle Reaſon their Ruin was determined, after which, the queſtion was only to find a Pretenſe. And this is ſeldom wanting to thoſe who have the Power in their Hands. As ſoon as it was perceived that his Affection for the Father and Son was grown cold, there were Perſons ready to inſinuate that they had pernicious Deſigns againſt the State, and that they only waited for his Death to put them in Execution; that the Earl of *Surrey* had refuſed ſeveral good Matches * ſince he loſt

* *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey* had married *Frances* Daughter of the Earl of *Oxford*, by whom he had two Sons *Thomas*, and *Henry*, and three Daughters. The Duke of *Norfolk* would have allied

loſt his Counteſs, and it was generally reported, he aſpired to the Princeſs *Mary*: That it was not without ſome private Reaſon that he bore the *Arms* of St. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, though the Duke his Father had taken them out of his, but that however the Duke himſelf left a *Blank-Quarter* in the Place, that he might reſume them at a proper Seaſon. Upon theſe general Accuſations the King ordered them to be arreſted, and ſent to the *Tower*. Which done, care was taken to let the Publick know that they who had any Thing to ſay againſt the Priſoners, ſhould be graciouſly heard, and that the King would pardon any Perſon who was concerned in any Plot with them and would come and make it known. 1546.

They are ſent to the Tower.

Some Time before this Affair was ſet on Foot, the King had reſtored the two Univerſities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to all their Eſtates, Rents, and Privileges, though by the *Act* of Parliament which gave the Lands of the Colleges to the King, they were to be ſuppreſſed. It would needs have ſeemed very ſtrange that the Parliament ſhould not diſtinguiſh theſe two *Univerſities* from the reſt of the *Colleges*, conſidering their Antiquity, and the Advantages the Kingdom had received, and daily did receive from thence, if it had not been often ſeen that *both Houſes* long ſince proceeded only as they were directed by the Court. It is ſomewhat probable that the King doubted a good while, whether he ſhould diſſolve or preſerve theſe two Univerſities, ſince having received their humble *Petitions* upon that Account, the Beginning of the Year, he made them wait for his Anſwer till *October*. Nay, it was talked at Court for ſome Time of making great Alterations in their *Charters*. But at laſt the King reſolved to continue them upon the ſame Foot they had all along been. Shortly after,

The two Univerſities are preſerved. Herbert. Burnet.

lied himſelf to the *Seymour* Family, by engaging his Son to marry the Earl of *Hertford*'s Daughter, which his Son would not conſent to, and the Dutcheſs of *Richmond* his Daughter to Sir *Thomas Seymour*.

1546. on the 19th of *December*, he founded *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, which is one of the nobleſt Foundations of that Kind in *Europe* *.

The King ſtrikes Gardiner *out of his Will.*

Whilſt diligent ſearch was making by the King's Order, after every Thing that could ſerve to form an Impeachment againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl his Son, the King finding himſelf near his End, was fully determined they ſhould go out of the World before him. In the mean while, he ordered his *Will*, made juſt before his late Expedition to *France*, to be brought him. Having run it over, he cauſed *Gardiner*'s Name to be ſtruck out of the Number of the Counſellors he had appointed for the Council of *State* during *Edward*'s Minority. Sir *Anthony Brown*, who was preſent, would have ſpoke a Word in the Biſhop's Behalf *1. But the King anſwered, He knew *Gardiner*'s Temper, and although he could govern him, yet none of thoſe who were to come after him would be able to do it.

This *Will*, which is extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, is dated *December* 30th 1546, and the King's Name is at the End with thoſe of ten Witneſſes. But it is hard to know for certain, whether it was ſigned with the King's own Hand. This is what was called into queſtion afterwards. Mr. *Rymer* who made the Collection of the *Records*, would have done well to have put this Matter out of Diſpute, and informed the World whether he had the Original in his Hands, and if ſo, whether the King's Name was his own Hand-Writing. This he might have eaſily known by comparing his Name on the *Will*, with his uſual Signings, of which doubtleſs he had ſeveral in his Power. The Importance of this Inquiry conſiſts in that the *Act* of Parliament which impowered the King to ſettle the Succeſſion, ordered that it ſhould be

* It was founded out of three others, St. *Michael*'s College, built by *Harvey* of *Stanton* in *Edward* II's Days; *King*'s *Hall*, founded by *Edward* III; and *Fiſhwick*'s *Hotel. Camb.* He founded alſo *Chriſt-Church* Hoſpital about the ſame Time.

*1 Thinking it was only an Omiſſion. *Burnet.*

be done by *Letters Patents* under the Great Seal, or by his laſt *Will* ſigned with his own Hand. Now it fell out afterwards, that the Line of *Scotland* not being placed in Order which belonged to them, queſtioned the Validity of the *Will*, maintaining that *Henry* had not ſigned it with his own Hand-Writing. Indeed it could be alledged againſt this, that the *Will* being dated a Month before the King's Death, there was no room to ſuppoſe that *Henry* was then unable to ſign it. On the other Side, it is not impoſſible but that having ordered his *Will* to be writ over again the 30th of *December*, he might delay to ſet his Hand, and ſo be prevented by Death. But there is moreover a ſtrong Preſumption that he did not ſign it with his own Hand; and that is, he was, very probably, unable to write ſeveral Months before his Death, doubtleſs, by reaſon his Fingers were ſwoln to ſuch a Degree that he could not hold his Pen. This Conjecture is confirmed by two Papers extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, both of a prior Date to the *Will*. The firſt is a Power of the 31ſt of *Auguſt* 1546, given by *Henry* to three of his *Miniſters* to ſign in his Name all the Royal Commiſſions, and Acts of *Grace*. The ſecond is a like Power of the 13th of *October* following, to ſome of his Council to ſign all *Acts* to which the King's Hand was required. The Reaſon alledged for theſe *Powers*, was taken from the Multiplicity of Affairs, wherewith the King was overwhelmed. But as he had never leſs Buſineſs than at that Time, it is extremely probable, that this was only a Cloke to hide his Indiſpoſition. However, as this Diſpute, which concerned only the Royal Family of *Scotland*, was ended by the Acceſſion of that Family to the Throne of *England*, it is no longer of any Conſequence. And therefore it ſuffices juſt to mention wherein it conſiſted *. Here follows the manner wherein *Henry* ſet- 1546.

led

* *Maitland* Secretary to the Queen of *Scotland*, accounted the ableſt Man of his Nation at that Time, in a Letter to Sir *William Cecil*,

1546. tled the Succeſſion, purſuant to the Power given him by *Act* of Parliament in the Year 1543.

Order of the Succeſſion.

I. Prince *Edward* and all his Iſſue.

II. The Children he might have by his preſent Queen, or any other whom he ſhould marry after her.

III. The Princeſs *Mary* and her Iſſue, provided ſhe married with the Advice and Conſent of the Executors of his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*, or of the major part of thoſe who ſhould then be alive, given under their Hands and Seals. This Conſent of the Executors was a Condition ſo annexed to the Right he granted *Mary*, to ſucceed in her Turn, that without it, his Intent was, ſhe ſhould entirely forfeit her Title to the Crown.

IV. The Princeſs *Elizabeth* upon the ſame Condition with *Mary*.

V. *Frances Brandon* eldeſt Daughter of his Siſter *Mary* and the Duke of *Suffolk*.

VI. *Eleanor Brandon*, *Frances*'s younger Siſter.

If it happened that all theſe Perſons above-named ſhould die without Heirs, or that their Iſſue ſhould come to fail, it was the King's Will that the Crown ſhould go to the next Heir. By that he could mean only *Mary* the young Queen of *Scotland*, Grand-daughter of his eldeſt Siſter *Margaret*, who ought naturally to have

Cecil, afterwards Lord *Burleigh*, ſays, "The King neither ſigned "the Will, nor ordered the Stamp to be put to it: He had been "oft deſired to ſign it, but always put it off: But when he ſaw "his Death approaching, one *William Clarke* Servant to *Thomas* "*Hennage* put the Stamp to it, and ſome Gentlemen that were "waiting without, were called in to ſign as Witneſſes. For this "he appealed to the Depoſition of the Lord *Paget*, and deſired "the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter* and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pem-*"*broke*, Sir *William Petre*, Doctor *Butts*, &c. might be examined, "and their Depoſitions entered in the Chancery. He alſo appeal-"ed to the Original *Will*, by which it would appear, that it was "not ſigned but ſtamped only; and therefore not being according "to the *Act* of Parliament, was of no Force." See this Letter *Burnet*'s Collect. Numb. 30. Vol. I.

have come in before the Children of the King's younger Sister *Mary*. 1546.

Lastly, he added, that in case *Mary* should not perform the Condition required of her, the Crown should devolve to *Elizabeth*, as if *Mary* had died without Heirs.

In like manner, if *Elizabeth* neglected to perform the same Condition, his Intent was, that the Crown should go to *Francis Brandon*, just as if *Elizabeth* had died without Issue.

He appointed for *Executors* of his last *Will* and *Testament* Thirteen Lords, most part of whom were his Privy-Counsellors, as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley*, the Earl of *Hertford* young *Edward*'s Uncle, *&c.* These Thirteen * Executors were also nominated for the Prince his Successor's Privy-Council, till he should be full eighteen Year's of Age. Moreover, he named certain Persons who were to be called to the Council upon extraordinary Occasions. *Executors.*

He ordered his *Executors* to pay first all his Debts, and then to make good all his Grants he had made to private Persons. *Debts.*

He made the Prince his Son Heir to all his Goods, Plate, Jewels, Money, Cannons, Ammunition, Ships, with all Things belonging thereto, and charged him to be guided by the Advice of those whom he had appointed for his Privy-Counsellors, till he should attain to eighteen Years of Age. *Heir.*

He gave to his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth* a yearly Pension of three Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and to each a Portion of Ten Thousand Pounds or more, if the *Executors* thought proper. *Legacies.*

He

* There are 16 named in all, of whom there were only seven that were Lords or Bishops; *viz.* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley*, Earl of *Hertford* young *Edward*'s Uncle, Lord St. *John*, Lord *Russel*, Viscount *Lisle*, Bishop *Tunstal*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Mountague*, Justice *Bromley*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Harbard*, Sir *Edward Wooton*, and Doctor *Wootton* his Brother.

1546. He left his Queen a Legacy of three Thouſand Pound, to be laid out either in Jewels or Plate, as ſhe pleaſed, and a Thouſand Pound in ready Money beſides her Dower.

Laſtly, he gave five Hundred *Marks* to each of his *Executors* who were Lords, and to the others three Hundred each.

Remark on Henry's *Settlement of the Succeſſion to the Crown.*

The moſt remarkable Thing in this *Will* was, the King's paſſing over in Silence his eldeſt Siſter *Margaret*'s Iſſue, or at leaſt his placing them after the *Line* of his youngeſt Siſter *Mary*. And even the Clauſe in his *Will*, which ſaid that after the Iſſue of *Eleanor Brandon*, the Crown ſhould go to the next Heir, muſt, in order to give *Margaret* and her Poſterity a Right, have been explained in their Favour, ſeeing the general Terms [*next Heir*] were liable to ſundry Interpretations. This was the Effect of the Power which the Parliament had given the King to ſettle the Succeſſion, or rather to unſettle it and put it in a horrible Confuſion, if Divine Providence had not taken greater Care of it than he. 'Tis not poſſible to deviſe any other Reaſon of his Proceedings, but his Hatred of the *Scots*, and the Apprehenſions he was under that the Kingdom of *England* would one Day fall under the Dominion of a Prince or Princeſs of that Nation, which however all his Care and Precaution was not able to hinder.

1547. *The Earl of* Surry *is beheaded.* Herbert.

Whilſt the King was ordering his *Will* to be writ out fair, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s and the Earl of *Surry*'s Proceſs was carrying on with great Zeal. The King being determined to diſpatch theſe two Lords out of the way, nothing was able to ſave them. The Son was brought to his Tryal firſt at *Guild-Hall*, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other Commiſſioners, and put upon an *Inqueſt* of Commoners, becauſe he was not a *Peer* of the Realm, the Duke his Father being alive. Several Witneſſes were examined, whoſe *Depoſitions* the Lord *Herbert* has inſerted in his Hiſtory. But none of the Evidences ſeem poſitive enough to convict him of High-Treaſon,

Treaſon of which he was accuſed. What was chiefly urged againſt him was his giving St. *Edward*'s *Arms*, from whence it was inferred that he aſpired to the Throne. However, the King being determined he ſhould die, he received Sentence of Death, and was beheaded [on *Tower-Hill*] the 19th of *January* *. 1547.

The Duke of Norfolk *tries in vain to obtain his Pardon.*

Mean while the Duke of *Norfolk* made uſe of all ſorts of means to obtain the King's Pardon. He knew him well enough to be ſenſible that nothing leſs than an entire Submiſſion was capable of appeaſing him. To that End, he wrote him a very humble and ſubmiſſive Letter, declaring he could not call to Mind he had ever offended him, and intreated him for God's Sake to let him know the Cauſe of his Diſgrace. He prayed likewiſe, that his Accuſers might be brought Face to Face with him before his Majeſty, or at leaſt his Council, that his Cauſe might be maturely examined. He affirmed that he believed he had offended no Man, otherwiſe than in appearing very zealous againſt the *Sacramentarians*. But therein he had acted only agreeably to his Majeſty's Sentiments and Orders. He concluded with conjuring him to be ſatisfied with taking all or part of his Lands and Goods as he ſhould pleaſe, leaving him only ſomething for his Subſiſtance.

This

* *Henry Howard* (eldeſt Son of *Thomas* 3d Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*) died much pitied, being a Man of great Parts and High-Courage, with many other noble Qualities. His Sentence was generally condemned, as an Act of high Injuſtice and Severity, which loaded the *Seymours* with a popular Odium that they could never overcome. Sir *Richard Southwel* depoſing, that he knew certain Things of the Earl, which touched his Fidelity to the King, the Earl vehemently affirmed himſelf a true Man, and offered to fight in his Shirt with his Accuſer. As to his giving the *Arms* of the *Confeſſor*, he ſaid he did it according to the Opinion of the King's *Heralds*. His Siſter *Mary* Dutcheſs of *Richmond* being examined, confeſſed that the Earl her Brother ſhould ſay, *Theſe new Men* (meaning the *Seymours*) *loved no Nobility, and if God called away the King, they ſhould ſmart for it*, with ſome other paſſionate Words and circumſtantial Speeches, little for his Advantage. He lies buried in *Trumlingham* in the County of *Suffolk*. *Burnet. Herbert. Dugdale.*

1547. This Letter had a quite contrary Effect to what the Duke expected. By clearing himself, he accused the King of Injustice, an Offence which would not have been easily pardoned, though his Destruction had not been determined. The Duke seeing the King was unmoved, signed the 12th of *January*, before the Lord Chancellor and several other Privy-Counsellors, a Writing wherein he confessed, that on several Occasions he had been guilty of High-Treason, in concealing from the King, that his Son the Earl of *Surrey* bore the Arms of St. *Edward* the *Confessor*, which did only belong to the King: That himself had born in the first Quarter of his *Arms*, ever since his Father's Death, the *Arms* of *England*, with a Difference of the *Labels* of Silver, which are the proper *Arms* of the King's eldest Son, and of no other. That he owned this to be High-Treason by the Laws of the Realm; and that he signed this Submission without Compulsion [or Advice,] and threw himself entirely upon the King's Mercy.

He is Attainted in Parliament.

It is very probable that the Duke was induced of his own accord, or by the Advice of his Friends, to make this Confession, imagining he should never obtain his Pardon, unless he confessed himself Guilty, that the King might have room to show Mercy. But it was all to no Purpose. His Ruin was resolved upon, and the King was not wont to go from such Resolutions when once he had taken them. Mean while, as it was easy to see that the *Peers*, who were the Duke's proper Judges, could not condemn him upon the Evidences which were to be produced against him, the King thought he should more easily compass his Ends by an *Act of Attainder*. So the Parliament meeting at this Time, a Bill of Attainder was brought into the *House* of Lords, and read three Times, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of *January*, and passed. In all likelihood the Duke's Confession under his own Hand, contributed very much to the passing of the *Bill*. At least it served for an Excuse to those who durst not be against it. The *Bill* being sent

ſent down to the *Commons*, was read thrice, and ſent up alſo paſſed on the 24th of *January*. According to the Method, too frequently practiſed in this Reign, it contained only general Accuſations, without ſpecifying any Thing, except the Duke's bearing the *Arms* of *England*, with three Labels of Silver. It was very ſtrange that his *Arms* ſhould not have been taken notice of before now, which he had born ſo long in the ſight of the King himſelf, and the whole Court, which he had received from his Anceſtors, and for which he had the Opinion of the *Heralds*. The *Bill* having paſſed in both *Houſes*, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Hertford*, and ſome other Lords were commiſſioned under the Great Seal to give the Royal Aſſent. Which done, a Warrant was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to cut off the Duke's Head on the 29th of *January*. But luckily for him, the King died the Night before, and the Council did not think it adviſeable to begin the new Reign with the Execution of one of the greateſt Lords of the Kingdom. It is to be obſerved, that during all the Proceedings both of the Court and of the Parliament againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surrey*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* kept all the while at his Houſe at *Croydon*, without ever appearing at Court. As theſe two Lords were juſtly deemed his moſt mortal Enemies, he was not willing it ſhould be ſaid, that he had any Hand in what was tranſacting againſt them.

1547.

A Warrant for his Execution.

He eſcapes narrowly.

Cranmer *retires to* Croydon *during the Duke's Proceſs.* Burnet.

Whilſt theſe Proceſſes had been carrying on, the King was ſeized in his Bed with an Illneſs which brought him inſenſibly to his End. However, the Conſideration of the Account he was going to render to God, was not capable of moving him to uſe Compaſſion towards two Lords, of one of the moſt antient Families in *England*, who had done him great Services, and hitherto were guilty of no Crime which deſerved ſo ſevere a Puniſhment. On this Occaſion, as well as on many others, Paſſion and Policy got the

The King's Death approaches.

1547. the better in the King's Mind, of Justice and Mercy. He was bent at any rate to sacrifice these two Lords to his Son's the Prince's Safety, and to establish by their Death, all the Alterations he had made in Religion, being perswaded they would do their utmost Endeavour to destroy them. What fell out afterwards shows that he was not mistaken with regard to the Duke of *Norfolk* who survived him. This Lord's Life, which was preserved by a sort of Miracle, serves to demonstrate withal, how fruitless and vain are Man's Care and Foresight, when contrary to the Purposes and Decrees of God.

He is warned of his approaching End.

The King's Illness continually increased, and no Man dared to put him in Mind that his End was at Hand. Every one was afraid that a Prince who was always approached with Fear and Trembling, would look upon this charitable Warning as a Crime, and would punish it according to an *Act* of Parliament, wherein those who should be so bold as to foretell the King's Death, were adjudged Traitors. But at last Sir *Anthony Denny*, one of his Privy-Counsellors, had the Courage and Charity to warn him that he had but a very little while to live. The King thanked him, and expressed his great Grief and Horror for all the Sins of his past Life. Whereupon *Denny* asked him if any *Clergyman* should be sent for, and he said, if any, it should be the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But *Cranmer* being then at *Croydon*, he could not come till the King was speechless. He had but just Time to desire him to give some Sign of his dying in the *Faith* of *Christ*. The King squeezed his Hand, and presently after expired, in the Night between the 28th and 29th of *January* 1546-7, in the Fifty-sixth Year of his Age, having reigned Thirty-seven Years and nine Months. His Death was kept private three Days. Probably the Council took Time to consult whether the Duke of *Norfolk* should be executed. At last, after three Days, the Lord Chancellor signified to both *Houses*, that

He shows Signs of Repentance.

He sends for Cranmer, *and cannot speak.*

He dies.

His Death is kept private.

that the King was dead, and that the Parliament was thereby diſſolved *. 1457.

* The Reader may ſee *Henry*'s Character drawn at length by the Lord *Herbert*. But as his Life and Actions ſufficiently make him known, I ſhall only add what Biſhop *Burnet* ſays of him at the End of his firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. King *Henry* VIIIth is rather to be reckoned among the *Great* than the *Good* Princes. He exerciſed ſo much Severity on Men of both Perſwaſions, that the Writers of both Sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much Care to ſet forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices: I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the *Ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *Worſt*.

Remarkable Things not taken notice of by Rapin.

In 1527 the King following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, fell in upon his Head, and had not one *Edmund Moody* a Footman jumped in and raiſed up his Head which was ſtuck faſt in the Clay, he had been drowned.

In 1546 one *Foxley* fell aſleep *April* 17th, and could not be waked by any Means till he had ſlept 14 Days and 15 Nights. The King's Phyſicians, as well as the King himſelf examined him, but the Cauſe of his ſleeping thus could not be known. He was Porter to the *Mint* in the *Tower*.

About the latter End of this Reign the *Publick Stews* which had long been allowed by the *State*, were ſuppreſſed. They were a continued row of Houſes along the *Thames*-Side in *Southwark*, ſixteen in Number, and diſtinguiſhed by *Signs*. In the Reign of *Henry* II, there were ſeveral Regulations made concerning theſe Houſes, to be ſeen in *Stow*'s Survey of *London*. *Cambden* thinks they were called *Stews*, from the Fiſh-Ponds near them, for the fatting and cleanſing Pike and Tench.

In *Henry* VIII's Reign was inſtituted the Government of the Preſident of the *North*; *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* was the firſt Preſident. In the 23d Year it was enacted, that Butchers ſhould ſell their Meat by Weight, Beef for a Half-penny the Pound, and Mutton for 3 Farthings.

In the 24th Year, he built his Palace of St. *James*, where alſo he made a Park.

In the 30th Year, the manner of caſting Pipes of Lead for Conveyance of Water under Ground, was firſt invented by *Robert Brock* one of the King's Chaplains, *Robert Cooper* Goldſmith, making the Inſtruments and putting the Invention firſt in Practice. And in the 35th, the firſt *Caſt* Pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Backſtead* in *Suſſex*, by *Ralph Page* and *Peter Baude*.

About his 15th Year, it happened that divers Things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rhyme was made.

1547.

Turkeys, *Carps*, *Hops*, *Piccarel*, and *Beer*,
Came into *England*, all in one Year.

In the 28th Year of *Henry* VIII *Wales*, which had been a Province to the *Engliſh* Nation, was incorporated into the ſame and made a Member thereof, and brought under the ſame Fundamental Law; a Work that had been long a doing, and from the Time of *Edward* III brought on to perfection by Degrees.

King *Henry*'s Body lies buried at *Windſor*, under a moſt ſtately Tomb, begun in Copper and gilt, but not finiſhed.

The End of the Reign of HENRY VIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE INDEX.

N. B. K. ſtands for King, *D.* for Duke, *E.* for Earl, *Km.* for Kingdom, the Letter *(n)* before the Number of the Page means the Note at the Bottom of the Page.

A.

ABBIES ſurrendred to K. *Henry*, 504, 505, 511, 537, 553, 556, 569, 572. See *Monaſteries.*

Abbots (Mitred) who they were. 572. *n.*

Act, againſt *Annates*, 446. *Peter-pence*, *Papal* Authority, 478, 528. confirming K. *Henry*'s Title, 485. ſettling the Title of the Kings of *England* for ever, 655. making it Treaſon to ſpeak evil of the King, 486. or, to conceal the Incontinence of a Queen of *England*, 620. Act for erecting new Biſhopricks, 576. for encreaſing the Royal Power, *ib.* about Marriages, 599. to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, 654. to limit the Juriſdiction of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, 655. See *Henry*, and *Parliament.*

Adrian VI. Pope, 238. labours to procure a Peace between the Chriſtian Princes, 251. injoyns by a Bull a 3 Years Truce among them, 252. joyns in a League with the Enemies of *France*, *ib.* dies, 258. his Character, 259. a good Chriſtian, but an indifferent Pope, *ib.* exhorts the *German* Princes to deſtroy *Luther*, 268

Adrian (Cardl.) the Pope's Collector in *England* betrays *Wolſey*, 145. depos'd, 180

Agnadel (Battle of) 24

St. *Alban*'s (Abbey of) granted to *Wolſey*, 223. K. *Henry* reſerves it, 417

Albany (D. of) elected Regent of *Scotland*, 134. detain'd in *France*, *ib.* comes to *Scotland*, 151. complains to the Pope of K. *Henry*'s Encroachments on *Scotland*, *ib.* takes *Hamilton*-Caſtle, 163. goes to *France*, 172. detain'd there, 193. releas'd, 227. goes back to *France*, 233. K. *Henry* tries to get him remov'd from the Regency, 264. eſcapes to *Scotland*, 266. marches with an Army to the Borders of *England*, 267. retires, 268. returns to *France*, 276. End of his Regency, *ibid.*

Allen (*John*) Judge of the Legate's Court, commits numberleſs Extortions, 191. accuſed, and convicted, 192. oppreſſes the Nation, 299. proſecuted for it, *ibid.*

Alenſon (Dutcheſs of) treats about K. *Francis*'s Ranſom, 284

Alva (D. of) over-runs *Navarre*, 65

Alviano, 24, 25, 90, 92.

Angus (E. of) See *Dowglaſs.*

Ann Bullen, See *Bullen.*

Ann of *Cleve*, a Marriage propos'd between her and K. *Henry*, 565. concluded, 588. comes to *England*, *ib.*

the K. diſlikes her, *ib.* nulls his Marriage with her, 593, 597. ſhe conſents to the Divorce, 597
Annates, Act againſt them, 446
Annebault Admiral of *France*, 667. Ambaſſador to *England*, 681
Appeals to *Rome*: Statute againſt them, 457
Arragon (K. of) See *Ferdinand*, *Charles*.
Arran (E. of) See *Hamilton*.
d'*Arcy* (Lord) ſides with the *Yorkſhire* Rebels, 543. executed, 552
Articles, the ſix Bloody ones, 573
Aske heads the *Yorkſhire* Rebels, 541, executed, 552
Askew (*Ann*) executed, 687
Attainders of High Treaſon, the Power of repealing them granted to K. *Henry*, 247
Audley (Sir *Thomas*) made Lord Chancellor, 448. his Character, 609. dies, 656
Augmentations (Court of) 511
Augsburgh (Diet of) 421, 425
——— (Confeſſion of) 514
Avocation of K. *Henry*'s Cauſe about his Divorce to *Rome*, 390, 394

B.

Bainham burnt, 435
Bambridge (*Chriſtopher*) made Archbiſhop of *York*, 5. appointed Ambaſſador at *Rome*, 13. made Cardinal, 39. dies, 129
Barbaroſſa, Admiral of the *Turks* beſieges *Nice*, 653
Barlow (Biſhop) his Character, 565
Barnes (Dr.) executed, 603
Barton (*Elizabeth*) an account of her, 475, 477
Bayfield burnt, 435
Bearn, Campaign there, 256
Beaton (Cardinal) his remarkable Advice to the K. of *Scotland*, 630. his Character, 638. forges a Will for K. *James* V. 638. ſeizes the Regency of *Scotland*, *ib.* remov'd, 640. breaks the Treaty made between *Scotland* and *England*, 642, *&c.* ſeizes the Government, 644. ſends for the E. of *Lenox*, 644. hinders the E. of *Arran* from becoming Maſter of the Queen. 645. gets all the Power under the Regent's Name, 648. cauſes *Wiſhart* to be burnt, 685. murdered, *ibid.*
Becket; his Bones burnt, and Shrine ſeiz'd, 558
Bellay (*Martin de*) an Account of him, 221. *n.* Remark on a Paſſage of his Memoirs, *ibid.*
——— (*William de*) ſent by K. *Francis* to K. *Henry*, 459, 472. goes to *Rome*, 472
Bennet ſent by K. *Henry* to *Rome*, 389
Bible burnt by *Tonſtal*, 488. the Convocation petitions to have it in *Engliſh*, 511, 512. printed by K. *Henry*'s Order, 560. and ordered to be ſet in Churches, *ib. n.* ſet up in Churches, 586. People allow'd to have it in their Houſes, *ib.* and 633. Diſputes concerning the Verſion of it, 621
Biez, (Marſhal de) Commander of the *French* Forces, 666, 668, 669
Bilney burnt, 435
Biſhops (Engliſh) condemn K. *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Catherine*, 359. the Pope excluded from having to do with their Election, 478. renounce the Pope, 487
Biſhopricks: Six new ones founded, 583. See *Oxford*, &c.
Bologna, 8
Bonner (*Edmund*) his Character, 610. ſent to *Marſeilles*, 471. acquaints the Pope with K. *Henry*'s Appeal to the next Council, *ib.* and with *Cranmer*'s Appeal, *ib.* the Pope threatens to throw him into a Cauldron of boiled Lead, 472. made Biſhop of *Hereford*, 565. and of *London*, *ib.* behaves inſolently to K. *Francis*, 565.
Bonnivet, Admiral of *France*, 244, 254, 255, 270
Bourbon, (D. of) Conſtable of *France*, enters into Engagements with the Emperor, 250. his Conſpiracy diſcovered by the K. of *France*, 253. flies into *Germany*, 254. gets Money to pay his Troops, 269. prepares to enter *Provence*, 271. brings Troops from *Germany*, 277, 315, 316, 322, 324. ſtorms *Rome*, 325. ſlain, *ibid.*
Brandenburgh, (Elector of) proteſts againſt the Decree of *Worms*, 425

Brandon (*Charles*) created D. of *Suffolk*, 115. marries the Queen *Dowager* of *France*, 135. retires from Court, 143. dies, 673.
Brereton (*William*) accuſed of criminal Converſation with Queen *Ann*, 517
Breton (*Andrew*) 40
Brief: a forged one of *Julius* II. produc'd by the Emperor's Miniſters, 378. *Vannes* and *Bryan* ordered to ſearch the Pope's Records for it, 381
Briſtol erected into a Biſhoprick, 611
Bruges (Treaty of) 240
Bryan (Sir *Francis*) ſent to *Rome*, 381. his Inſtructions, *ib.* threatens the Pope. *ib.* ſends the King Word he had nothing to expect from the Pope, 383. recall'd, 389. ſent to *Marſeilles*, 471
Bucer comes over to *England*, 515
Buchanan (*George*) an account of him, 615, *n.*
Buckingham (D. of) his Diſgrace and Death, 224. Act of Attainder paſs'd againſt him, 742.
Buda taken by the *Turks*, 613
Bull granted to *Wolſey* to viſit all the Religious Houſes, 177. one empowering him to ſuppreſs Monaſteries, *ib.* and 383. *Bull* againſt K. *Henry* 502. a Decretal one about his Divorce, 362, 373. committed to *Campegio*, 377. burnt by the Pope's Order, 380, 398. Bulls granted to *Cranmer* upon his being made Archbiſhop. 458. Proclamation againſt receiving any Bulls from *Rome*, 413
Bullen, (Sir *Thomas*) 351
Bullen (*Ann*) an account of her, 351. carried to *France*, *ib.* the Time of her return to *England*. 352, 357. whether K. *Henry*'s Love for her was the Cauſe of his divorcing Queen *Catherine*? 351, 353, 360. remov'd from Court during the Proceſs of the Divorce, 396. exaſperates K. *Henry* againſt *Wolſey*, *ib.* writes to him, 418. married to K. *Henry*, 440. her Marriage is made publick, and confirm'd by *Cranmer*, 460, 461. crown'd, 461. *Sanders*'s Calumnies againſt her, 467. her Marriage with K. *Henry* declar'd valid by Parliament, 479. mollifies the K. towards the Reformers, 489. countenanc'd the Reformation, 515. the Succeſſion of the Crown ſettled upon her Iſſue, 479. the King grows jealous of her, 516. is accuſed of Adultery and Inceſt, 517. confined to the Tower, 518. what ſhe confeſs'd, 519. condemn'd, and beheaded, 521, 522. her Behaviour, *ib. n.* different Opinions about her, 523. her Marriage with K. *Henry* nulled, 525. her Sentence confirm'd by the Parliament, 527
Bullen, (Lady) betrays Queen *Ann*. 519
Bulloign, 663, 664

C.

Calais: Conference there, 216, 217, 219
Calendar reform'd. 164
Cambray (League of) 21, 22, *&c.* Remarks on the Peace concluded there, 402
Cambridge-Univerſity makes a Scruple of deciding in favour of K. *Henry*'s divorce, 409
Campana ſent by the Pope to *England*, 380
Campeius ſent *Legate a Latere* to *England*, 178. his Entry into *London*, 179. recalled, 190. made Biſhop of *Salisbury*, 277. appointed one of the Commiſſioners to examine into K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 377. retards his Journey to *England*, 378. exhorts K. *Henry* to keep Queen *Catherine*, 379. and *Catherine* to comply with the King's deſire, *ib.* feigns to want freſh Orders, *ib.* ſhews the Decretal to the King and *Wolſey*, *ib.* refuſes to ſhew it to ſome Lords, *ib.* his Artifice to delay the Cauſe, 380, 391, 395. preſides in the Examination of K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 391. returns to *Rome*, 398. his Baggage is ſearched, *ib.* aſſiſts at the Diet of *Augsburgh*, 406, 425. exhorts the *Germans* to root out the *Proteſtants*, 425. depriv'd of the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, 507
Canons, 32. Commiſſioners appointed

to examine them, 475, 656
Canterbury (Archbiſhop of) See *Warham, Cranmer.*
Cardinal-College, founded by Cardinal *Wolſey*, 263
Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor, 354
Carew (Sir *Nicolas*) executed, 586
Caſſali (Sir *Gregory*) joyned with *Knight* to treat about K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 363. *Wolſey*'s Letter to him, *ib.* preſſes the Pope to ſign the four Inſtruments, 354. ordered by K. *Henry* to demand Bulls not liable to diſpute, 373
Caſſils (E. of) ſent Ambaſſador to *England*, 306, taken Priſoner, 631. embraces the Reformation, 632. returns to K. *Henry* according to his Engagement, 643
Catherine of *Arragon* married to K. *Henry*, 7—10. he begins to think of divorcing her, 349. her Marriage with him condemned by the Biſhops, 359. declar'd void by the Parliament, 479
Campegio perſuades her to comply with K. *Henry*'s Reſolution of divorcing her, 379 the Emperor enters into a Proteſtation againſt her being divorc'd, 389. is cited to appear before the Legates, 391. her Proctors except againſt them, *ib.* kneels down before the K. and makes a moving Speech, *ib.* and *n.* withdraws, and will never appear again, *ib.* cited a ſecond time, 392. ſends in her Appeal, and is declar'd contumax, *ib.* the Proceſs againſt her reduc'd to 12 Articles, *ib.* Arguments againſt the King's Divorcing her, 415. the K. tries to bring her to conſent to the Divorce, 435. takes his Leave of her, *ib.* refuſes to part with the Title or Quality of Queen, 481. dies, 509. her Character, *ib.* and *n.*
Catherine Howard married to K. *Henry*, 604. declared Queen, *ib.* her Character, 610. her Lewdneſs diſcovered, 616. her Confeſſion, 618. is attainted by the Parliament, *ib.* and executed, 620
Catherine Parr married to K. *Henry*, 649. favoured the Reformation, *ib.* her Character, 691. is accuſed, *ib.* but eſcapes, 692
Catholick: K. *Ferdinand*, left that Title to his Succeſſors, 153
Ceriſoles, (Battle of) 657
Charles: of *Auſtria* becomes K. of *Arragon*, 153. makes a Treaty with K. *Francis*, 159. ratifies the League of *London*, 165, arrives in *Spain*, and diſmiſſes Cardinal *Ximenes*, 166. aſſigns Cardinal *Wolſey* a Penſion, 171. promiſes him the Pontificate, 197. his large Grants to him, 242. careſſes him, 245. elected Emperor, 184, 185. crowned, 200. Cauſes of Jealouſy between him and K. *Francis*, 186. comes to *England* to confer with K. *Henry*, 196. calls for his Aſſiſtance againſt *France*, 209. joins in a League with the Pope, 211. his Army takes *Mouzon*, and ravages *Champagne*, &c. 218. ſets out for *Spain*, and goes by *England*, 239. is made Kt. of the Garter, 240. ſigns the Treaty of *Bruges*, *ib.* makes the E. of *Surry* Admiral of his Fleet, *ib.* contrives how to invade K. *Francis* in his own Kingdom, 271. becomes formidable to all *Europe*, 278. makes a Treaty with the Pope, 279. his Generals forc'd to disband part of their Army, *ib.* his Moderation at the News of the Victory of *Pavia*, 280. offers Terms for K. *Francis*'s Liberty, *ib.* viſits him, 284. offers *Sforza* the Inveſtiture of *Milan*, 286, 310. reſolves to make Peace with *Francis*, 307. calls him Villain, 317. his Memorial concerning the offers made him by the K. of *France*, 333, &c. his Anſwer to K. *Henry*'s Demands, 341. writes to him to excuſe the ſacking of *Rome*, 344. tries to ſet him at variance with K. *Francis*, *ib.* propoſes a Match between the D. of *Richmond*, and *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, *ib.* makes a Treaty with the Pope, 388, 393. goes to *Genoa*, and *Bologna*, where he ſettles the Affairs of *Italy*, 405. promiſes to ruin the *Proteſtants*, 406. receives the Imperial Crown from the Pope, *ib.* his Aim in calling the Diet

Diet of *Augsburgh*, 421. baniſhes *Luther*, 424. reſolves to make War upon the Proteſtants, *ib.* and 425. diſobliges the Pope in the Affair of *Ferrara*, 426. obtains an Aid againſt the *Turks*, 441. marches againſt them, 442. ſuſpects the K. of *France*, 441. confers with the Pope at *Bologna*, 442. demands a Council, *ib.* propoſes a League for the Safety of *Italy*, *ib.* and 453. threatens the Pope, 448. the Cauſe of all the Obſtacles to K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 451. withdraws his Troops out of *Italy*, and returns to *Spain*, 454. forms vaſt Projects, 493. his Expedition to *Africa*, 494, 613. tries to inſpire the K. of *Scotland* with Jealouſies againſt *England* and *France*, 508. promiſes *Milan* to a Son of K. *Francis*, 513. offers to decide his Quarrel with K. *Francis* in ſingle Combat, 549. foments the Troubles in *Germany*, 555. breaks his Word with K. *Francis*, 606. amuſes him with the Hopes of giving him the Low-Countries, 613. attack'd by K. *Francis*, 625. makes a League with K. *Henry*, 633, 651. his vaſt Projects againſt *France*, 653, 662. beſieges *Luxemburgh*, 662. makes a Treaty with *France*, 664. attacks the Proteſtants, 682. *&c.* makes a League againſt them with the Pope, 683

Cheſter erected into a Biſhoprick, 611

Chriſtiern, K. of *Denmark* comes over to *England*, 248

Clement VII. Pope, grants *Wolſey* the Legateſhip for Life, 262. refuſes to renew the League, 269. confirms K. *Henry*'s Title of *Defender of the Faith*, 276. makes a Treaty with the Emperor, 279. enters into a League againſt him with K. *Francis* and the *Venetians*, 312. upon the Invaſion of the *Colonna*'s, he flies to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, 314. feigns to intend to go to *Spain*, 315 endeavours to bring *Henry* into the League of *Cognac*, 318. ſets on foot a Negotiation with the Viceroy of *Naples*, 321. in great Diſtreſs, 325. retires to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, *ib.* capitulates, 326. writes to K. *Henry* to procure him his Liberty, 344. Negotiations for his Deliverance, 347, 348. eſcapes to *Orvieto*, *ib.* *Knight* and *Caſſali* talk to him about K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 363. tries to gain time, *ib.* promiſes to do what the K. deſired, *ib.* delays the Performance of his Promiſe, 354. his Artifice to gain Time, 365. reſolves to keep fair with the Emperor, 366. privately adviſes K. *Henry* to get his Marriage nulled by virtue of *Wolſey*'s Commiſſion, 373. ſends the K. a Letter in Cypher, 375. deſigns only to gain Time, 375, 377, 387, 388, 465, *&c.* approves of *Campegio*'s Conduct, 380. reſolves to make a Treaty with the Emperor, *ib.* deſigns to become Maſter of *Peruſa*, *Ferrara*, &c. 386. makes a private Treaty with the Emperor, *ib.* falls ill, *ib.* gives *Gardiner* a Brief, whereby he ingages not to revoke the Powers given the Legates, 387, avocates K. *Henry*'s Cauſe about his Divorce to *Rome*, 393, 394. ſends a Meſſenger to *England* with the Bull of Avocation, *ib.* revokes the Cenſures contain'd in the Bull, 396. returns a ſoft Anſwer to a Letter ſent him by the great Men of *England*, 412. propoſes to grant the King a Diſpenſation to have two Wives, 413. complains of K. *Henry*'s aboliſhing the *Annates*, 448. makes new Overtures to him, 450. is againſt a Council in *Germany*, and why, 455. nulls the Archbiſhop's Sentence, 469. promiſes to give K. *Henry* Satisfaction, 471. publiſhes a Sentence againſt K. *Henry*, 473. refuſes to revoke it, *ib.* dies, 485

Clergy refuſes the Pope a Subſidy, 149. defamed by *Wolſey*, 190. decide in favour of K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 429. all accuſed of breaking the Statutes of *Præmunire*, *ib.* are condemn'd, and offer the K. 100,000 *l.* 430. give K. *Henry* the Title of *Head of the Church of England*, *ib.* the People rejoyce at their Diſgrace, 434. ap-

prove the King's Divorce with *Ann Bullen*, 529. Injunctions given to them, 539. grant to K. *Henry* a Subſidy, 600
Clothiers in *England* mutiny, 370
Cognac (League of) 312, &c.
Colleges ſuppreſſed, 621, 666
Colonna (Cardinal) puts in for the Papacy, 260, &c.
Colonna, General of the League between the Emperour and the Pope, 212, 213, 243, 248, 254
The *Colonna*'s make War upon the Pope, 314. ſubmit, *ib.*
Commons deſire to be included in the Pardon granted by *Henry*, 433. inclined to reduce the Power of the Clergy, 445. preſent an Addreſs to the King againſt them, *ib.* make Statutes againſt them, 446
Conclave, an account of it, 236, *n.*
Conſtable (High) when and in whom that Office ceaſed, 226, *n.*
Conſtable of *France*. See *Bourbon*.
Conſtitutions (Eccleſiaſtical) altered in *England*, 510, 656. Conſtitutions made by the Clergy, 531
Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York* decide in favour of the King's Divorce, 459. A Statute ordering they ſhould be called only by the King's Writ, 475 condemn, 67 Opinions chiefly of the Reformers, 529
Cortez diſcovers *Mexico*, 194. *n.*
Councils. See *Piſa*, *Milan*, *Lyons*, *Mantua*, *Trent*, &c.
Council. The Pope propoſes the calling a General one, 450. the Proteſtants inſiſt upon a free one, 455. which is put off, 457 — that of *Mantua* removed to *Vicenza*, 569
Courtney (*Henry*) executed. 568
Courts (Eccleſiaſtical) their Juriſdiction limited, 655
Cranmer (*Thomas*) an account of him, 397. his Character. 609. travels into *Germany*, and embraces *Luther*'s Doctrine, *ib.* and 458. delivers his Opinion about K *Henry*'s Divorce, 398. which is mightily approved by the King, *ib.* taken into Favour, *ib.* ordered by the King to write upon the Divorce, 408. goes with the Ambaſſadors to the Pope and Emperour, *ib.* maintains his Maſter's Cauſe with great Warmth, *ib.* appointed the Pope's Penitentiary in *England*, *ib.* made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 458. backward to accept of it, *ib.* takes the Oath to the Pope, but proteſts againſt it, 458, 459. ſummons Q. *Catharine* 461. and pronounces Sentence againſt her, *ib.* confirms the King's Second Marriage, *ibid.* appeals to the next Council, 471. ſupports the Reformers, 489, 594. ordered to retire to *Lambeth*, when Q. *Ann* was condemned, 518. one of the Contrivers of the King's Marriage with *Ann* of *Cleve*, 568. oppoſes the Six Articles, 575. encouraged by the K. 578. and ordered to give in his Reaſons for oppoſing the Six Articles, 579, writes in *Cromwell*'s Behalf, 592. in a dangerous Condition, 604. informs the King of Q. *Catharine*'s Lewdneſs, 617. a Plot formed againſt him, 649. informed of it by the King, and ordered to proceed againſt his Accuſers, 651. receives ſeveral Marks of the King's Eſteem, 651, 652. gets ſome of his Friends put into the vacant Biſhopricks, 472. a new Plot againſt him, 688. openly accuſed, *ib.* the King's remarkable Kindneſs for him, 689. gives him his Ring, *ib.* retires from Court during the D. of *Norfolk*'s Tryal, 701
Crepy (Treaty of) 664
Cromwell (*Thomas*) ſpeaks for *Wolſey* in the Houſe of Commons, 402 ſupports the Reformers, 489, 494. appointed Viſitor-General of the Monaſteries, 505. made the King's Vicegerent in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, 530. brings about the King's Marriage with *Ann* of *Cleve*, 565. the King bears him ill Will upon that Account, 589. created E. of *Eſſex*, 590. diſgraced, *ib.* his Death is decreed, 592. accuſed of High Treaſon, and ſent to the Tower, *ib* is condemned unheard, *ib.* executed, 601

—— (*Gregory*) his Son, created Lord *Cromwell*, 602
Crown-Sol, 305. *n.*

D.

Dauphin contracted to the Princeſs *Mary*, 182, 183
Decretal of the Pope about K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 362, 373. *See Bull.*
DEFENDER of the Faith, That Title when and upon what Occaſion given to K. *Henry*, 229
Denny (Sir *Anthony*) admoniſhes K. *Henry* of his approaching end, 704
Didier (St.) 662, 663
Diet of *Worms*, 424, 675. of *Spire*, 424, 662. of *Norimberg*. 424. of *Augsburgh*, 425. of *Ratisbon*, 441
Dirham, accuſed of criminal Converſation with Q. *Catharine*, 617. executed, 618
Divorce, Account of K. *Henry*'s with Q. *Catharine*, 349—494. Remarks upon it, 491, &c.
Doncaſter (Conference of) 546
Dorſet (Marquiſs of) See *Thomas Grey*
Dowglaſs (*Archibald*) E. of *Angus*, marries the Queen Regent of *Scotland*, 133. declared Regent, 276. the Queen leaves him, 384. forbid the Court, *ib.* attempts to ſurprize *Edinburgh*, *ib.* retires to *England*, 385. returns to *Scotland*, 639
—— (*George*) raiſes Trouble in *Scotland*, 201. flies to *England*, 385. returns to *Scotland*, 639
Draco ſent to K. *Henry*, 515
Dudley accuſed, 5. and condemned, 7, 28
—— (*John*) reſtored to his Father's Honour and Eſtate, 61. Viſcount *Liſle*, and Lord High Admiral ſent againſt *Scotland*, 657. made Governour of *Bulloign*, 665

E.

Edinburgh taken and burnt by the *Engliſh*, 658
Edward (Prince) born, 553. created Prince of *Wales*, &c. 554. a Match projected between him and the Princeſs of *Scotland*, 632, 640
Elizabeth (Princeſs) 523. deprived of the Title of Princeſs of *Wales*, 526. her Rank in the Succeſſion, 696
Elliot (Sir *Thomas*) ſent to *Rome* by K. *Henry*, 450
Emperour. See *Maximilian*, *Charles*.
Empſon, accuſed, 5. and condemned, 7. 28
Enghien (E. of) Commander of the *French* Forces, 656, &c.
Eraſmus comes to *England*, 3
Eſſex (E. of) See *Cromwell*, *Parr*.
Excuſator, 449
Exeter (Marchioneſs of) attainted, 577
Expoſition of the Chriſtian Doctrine, 605. thoſe who rejected it declared Hereticks, 611

F

Farneſe (Cardinal) choſen Pope, 485. See *Paul* III.
Ferrara, 19
—— (D. of) recovers his Towns, 215, 327. ſides with *France*, 347
Ferdinand, K. of *Arragon*, takes Poſſeſſion of *Naples*, 15. falls off from the League of *Cambray*, 29. forms a private Deſign of conquering *Navarre*, 63. his Artifices to compaſs his Ends, *ib.* &c. includes K. *Henry* in a Treaty without his Conſent, 84. propoſes to him a new League, 104. prolongs the Truce with K. *Lewis*, 116. makes a League with the Pope, 131. ſeeks K. *Henry*'s Friendſhip, 137. forms a League againſt *France*, 139. deceives the *Suiſs*, 140. dies, 153
Ferdinand elected K. of the *Romans*, 436. defeated, 485
Firſt-Fruits granted to the King, 486
Fiſher (Biſhop) refuſes to ſet his Hand to a Paper condemning K. *Henry*'s Marriage, 359. 392. countenances *Elizabeth Barton*, 475 refuſes to take the Oath to K. *Henry*, 480. ſent to the *Tower*, *ib.* condemned by the Parliament, 487. executed, 500. made Cardinal, *ib.*
Flodden (Battle of) 110
Florence. 20. recovers its Liberty, 327. reſolves to preſerve it, 406. beſieged,

beſieged, 407. put under the Government of the *Medicis*, *ib.*
Foix (*Gaſton de*) 68
Fontarabia taken by the *French*, 219, 244. retaken by the *Spaniards*, 257
Fox Biſhop of *Wincheſter* falls out with the E. of *Surrey*, 11. introduces *Wolſey* to Court, 12. retires to his Dioceſe, 143. dies, 388.
—— (*Edward*) ſent to the Pope to get a new Bull, 374. ſent to the League of *Smalcald*, 503. made Biſhop of *Hereford*, 507. dies, 565
France in great Conſternation at the Defeat of K. *Francis*, 282
——(K. of) See *Francis*.
Francis I. K. of *France*, 135. prepares to recover *Milan*, 138. paſſes into *Italy*, 140. attempts to recover *Tournay*, 143. gives *Wolſey* a Penſion in lieu of it, 183. promiſes to help to make him a Cardinal, 145. forms a Deſign of invading *Naples*, 158. tries to gain the Pope, 159. ſends him Troops, 166. diſpatches Ambaſſadors to *England*, 177. aſpires to the Empire, 184 Occaſions of the Quarrel between the Emperour and him, 186. privately labours to raiſe Commotions in *Naples*, &c. 193. promiſes K. *Henry* to detain the D. of *Albany* in *France*, *ib.* gains *Wolſey* to get *Calais* given up, 195. invades *Navarre*, 208. ſtirs up *La Mark* againſt the Emperour, 209. joins in a League with the Pope for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, 210. orders a Levy of *Swiſs*, 213. his Conqueſts in the Low-Countries, 218. diſobliges the Conſtable, *ib.* calls upon K. *Henry* to aſſiſt him againſt the Emperour, 234. his Overſight in leaving *Lautrec* without Money, 245. prepares to go into *Italy*, 251. diſcovers the Conſtable's Conſpiracy, 253 marches into *Italy*, 272. taken Priſoner, 278. rejects the Conditions propoſed for his Liberty, 281. is carried into *Spain*, 283. and ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Madrid*, 284. treats about his Ranſom, by offering to reſign *Burgundy*, 308. offers two Millions in lieu of it, 312. returns to his own Dominions, 310. ratifies the Treaty of *Moore*, 311. but refuſes to execute that of *Madrid*, 312. enters into a League againſt the Emperour, *ib.* neglects the Affairs of *Italy*, 316. deceives the Pope and *Venetians*, 317. his Offers to the Emperour, 334. his Reply to his Memorial, 337. hath a Conference with *Wolſey*, 388. aſſembles the chief Men of his Kingdom to conſult with them about a Peace, 341. ſends K. *Henry* the Order of St. *Michael*, 342. joins in a League with the *Venetians*, 345. proclaims War againſt the Emperour, 367. complains of the Pope's Negotiations with the Emperour, 380. keeps up a ſecret Negotiation with the Emperour, 385. makes large Promiſes to the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, &c. *ib.* ſends to the Pope to preſs him to decide K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 387. deceives his Allies, 404. K. *Henry*'s Generoſity to him, *ib.* and 407. his two Sons releaſed from being Hoſtages to the Emperour, *ib.* marries *Leonora*, *ib.* tries to gain the Pope, 427. offers to marry the Duke of *Orleans* with *Catharine* of *Medicis*, *ib.* tries to raiſe the Emperour Trouble, 437. joins in a League with K. *Henry*, 438. hath an Interview with him, 439. adviſes him to marry *Ann Bullen*, 440. Negotiations between them, 482. invades the *Milaneſe*, 484 is refuſed a Paſſage through the D. of *Savoy*'s Dominions, *ib.* declares War againſt him, *ib.* and 512. favours the Reformation, 490. ſends Ambaſſadors to K. *Henry*, to try to over-reach him, 490. his Demands from him. 491. his great Projects, 492. ſlights K. *Henry*, 567. a Quarrel between them, 607. prepares to make War upon the Emperour, 612. invades his Dominions, 625. his Ambaſſadors to *Turkey* and *Venice* murdered, 613. makes

makes War with *England*, 666. desires a Peace, 671. &c. which he obtains, 679
French invade *England*, 667. land in the *Isle of Wight*, *ib.* and 668. their Fleet engages with the *English*, *ib.*
Frideswide's Priory suppressed, 277
Frondsperg, 315, 322
Furstemberg, 257

G.

Gardiner (*Stephen*) his Character, 609. sent by K. *Henry* to the Pope to get a new Decretal, 374 recalled, 389. sent to *Marseilles* 471. his Dissimulation in renouncing the Pope, 487. opposes the Reformation, 489. and the Suppression of Monasteries, 504. puts K. *Henry* upon persecuting the Reformed, 561. Author of the Six Bloody Articles, 574. diverts the King from joyning with the Protestants of *Germany*, 585. opposes the People's having the Bible in their Houses, 586. causes some Protestants to be burnt at *Windsor*, 649. breaks *Cranmer*'s Measures, 672 incenses K. *Henry* against Q. *Catharine*, 691. disgraced, 692. his Name put out of the King's Will, 696
Genoa, 21, 212. restored to *France*, 91, 92, 141. taken and plundered, 244. reduced, 346. restored to Liberty, 372
Germany (Affairs of) 674. See Reformation and Protestants — Divisions there about Religion 555. Wars there between the Emperour and Protestants, 682, &c.
Glocester erected into a Bishoprick, 611
Gordon, Commander of the *Scotch* Army, 629
Grey (*Thomas*) Marquess of *Dorset*, leads an Army into *Spain*, 62
Guienne, K. *Henry* forms a Project of conquering it. 54
Guillard (*Lewis*) Bishop of *Tournay*, 115. restored by the Pope 144

H.

Hamilton (*James*) E. of *Arran*, his Character, 637, 639. made Regent of *Scotland*, 640. sides with the Queen and the Regent, 646. abjures the Protestant Religion, *ib.*
Hamilton (*Andrew*) heads a Faction in *Scotland*, 201
Hans-Towns, many of them embrace the Reformation, 422
Head of the *Church*, that Title when given to K. *Henry*, 430
HENRY VII. his Funeral, 4
K. *HENRY* VIII. his Education. 2. self-conceited, 3. his Character. *ib.* his Counsellors, *ib.* issues out a Proclamation to encourage People to bring in their Complaints, 5. marries *Catharine* of *Arragon*, 10. crowned, *ib.* minds only his Diversions, 31. very fond of Musick, *ib.* engages in a League with K. *Ferdinand* against *France*, 37—39. 50, 56. resolves to carry the War into *Guienne*, 55. acquaints the Parliament with his Design, and obtains a Subsidy, 61. sends Ambassadors to the *Council* of *Lateran*, *ib.* is imposed upon by K. *Ferdinand*, 61—67. sends an Army into *Spain* to assist him, 61, imposed upon by the Pope, Emperor, *&c.* 75, 89, 90. tries to prevent a Rupture with *Scotland*, 77. concludes a League at *Mechlin* with *Margaret* of *Austria*, &c. 87. prepares to pass into *France*, 96. goes over to *Calais*, 97. takes *Terouenne* and *Tournay*, 98. 101. visits *Margaret* of *Austria*, 101. makes War with *Scotland*, 107, &c. desires the Popes Leave to bury K. *James* III. his Letter to *Wolsey* about the Peace with *France*, 121. refuses to restore *Tournay*, 124. sends Ambassadors to renew the Alliance with the Archduke, 138. engages in a fresh War with *France*, 142. renews his Alliance with K. *Ferdinand*, 147. *Fr. Sforza* sends an Embassy to him, *ib.* resolves to aid the Emperor privately, 148. foments the Dissentions in *Scotland*, 151. the Emperor pretends he had a mind of resigning the Empire to him, 156. which comes to nothing. 171.

171. tries to have the D. of *Albany* removed from the Regency of *Scotland*, 162. refuſes to grant the Pope Money towards a Cruſado, 170. aſpires to the Empire, and ſends Peace to the Diet, 185. the *Emperor* and K. of *France* try to gain him by means of Cardinal *Wolſey*, 188. gives himſelf up entirely to that Favourite, *ib.* ſtands Godfather to K. *Francis*'s ſecond Son, 189. reprimands ſharply Card. *Wolſey*, 192. gets K. *Francis* to detain the D. of *Albany* in *France*, 193. hath an Interview with the K of *Erance*, 197. the Emperor comes and confers with him, 196. he goes to *Graveling*, and returns the Emperor his Viſit, 198. ſends an Ambaſſador to K. *Francis*, requiring him to forbear Hoſtilities againſt the Emperor, 210. cauſes *la Mark* to lay down his Arms, *ib.* offers to become Mediator between the Emperor and K. of *France*, 216. his falſe Politicks in breaking with *France*, 223, 226. writes againſt *Luther*, 228, 229. ſends his Book to the Pope, 229. the Title of *Defender of the Faith* given him thereupon, *ib.* confirmed by Pope *Clement*, 276. his Reaſons for making War with *France*, 230. ſends to the D. of *Albany* to get out of *Scotland*, 231. writes to the Parliament upon the ſame Account. *ib.* finds Means to avoid a War with *Scotland*, 233. proclaims War againſt *France*, 234. takes an Account of every one's Age and Eſtate, and impoſes a Tax upon *England*, *ib.* gets a general Loan. *ib.* ſigns the Treaty of *Bruges*, 140. lends the Emperor Money, 242. renews his Alliance with *Chriſtiern* K. of *Denmark*, 248. agrees to invade *Picardy*, 249 ſends thither an Army commanded by the D. of *Suffolk*, 257. cauſes a Subſidy payable in 4 Years, to be paid at once, 263. forms a Deſign of becoming Maſter of *Scotland*, 264. tries to get the D. of *Albany* removed, and his Siſter made Regent, *ib.* invades *Scotland*, 265. and offers his Daughter in Marriage to the K. of *Scotland*, *ib.* complains of *Luther* the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxo* 269, contrives how to invade *Francis* in his own Dominio 271. binds himſelf to find the E perour Money, *ib.* goes off fr him, 273, 290. thinks of fidi with *France*, 289, 291. 294, 2 demands a Benevolence, 2 throws all the Blame upon Ca *Wolſey*, 298. receives ſeveral Co plaints againſt him, 299. his ſha Letter to him, 300. his Generoſ to the K. of *France*, 303. makes t Pope a Preſent, 315, 323. decei the *Pope* and *Venetians*, 320. reſol to make a League offenſive and d fenſive with *France*, 328. his D mands upon the Emperor, 33 ſends the Emperour's Memorial the K. of *France*, 337. reſolves proclaim War againſt the Emperou 340. his Demands upon him, ſends K. *Francis* the Order of t Garter, 342. demands of the Em perour the Pope's Liberty, 34 his DIVORCE with Qu. *Catharin* when firſt ſet on foot, 349. wheth occaſion'd by his falling in Lo with *Ann Bullen*, 351, 357. Motiv and Reaſons of this Divorce alledg by him, 358, 359. endeavours clear his Doubts, 358. the Reaſo he laid before the Pope, 361. pr claims War againſt the Emperou 367. ſends to demand new Bu from the Pope, 373. deſires hi to join another Legate with *Wolſe* 377. *Campegio* exhorts him to kee *Catharine*, 379. complains of t Pope's Negociation with the Em perour, 380. his Inſtructions t *Vannes* and *Brian*, whom he ſe to *Rome*, 381. the Expedients h propoſed by them, 383. uſes all h Intereſt to get *Wolſey choſen* Pop 386. reſolves to have his Divorc tried before the Legates, 389. tri but in vain, to overreach the Pop *ib.* offers by his Ambaſſadors Guar

Guard of two thouſand Men, 381. grants the Pope's Legates a Licence to execute their Commiſſion about his Divorce, 490. cited to apppear before the Legates about his Divorce. 391. ſays that his Scruples about his Marriage ſprung from thoſe of the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, 392. the Buſineſs of his Divorce is avocated to *Rome*, and he cited to appear there within 40 Days, 395, 449, 452. Proteſts againſt this Citation, 450. he is enraged and ſurprized at the Legate's Proceedings, *ib.* and 396, 397. takes a Progreſs into ſome Counties, 397. takes the *Great Seal* from *Wolſey*, 399. grants him a Protection, 400. ſends him a Ring, *ib.* continues to purſue the Buſineſs of the Divorce at *Rome*, 408. diſpatches learned Men to conſult the Univerſities, 409. reſolves to alter his Behaviour towards the Pope, 410. gets the Great Men of the Kingdom to write him a Letter in ſtrong Terms, 412. rejects the Offer made him by the Pope of a Diſpenſation to have two Wives, 413. iſſues a Proclamation againſt receiving any Bull from *Rome*, 413. deſigns to bring the Affair of the Divorce before the Parliament, 413. publiſhes his Reaſons for the Divorce, *ib. &c.* grants *Wolſey* a full Pardon, 417. comes to an Agreement with him, *ib.* ſeizes upon his two *Colleges*, 418. gave him Leave to remove to *Richmond*, *ib.* cauſes *Ann Bullen* to write to him, *ib.* ſhews a Concern for his Death, 421. dares not truſt the Pope, 427. brings the Affair of the Divorce before the Parliament, 428. the Clergy give him the Title of *Head of the Church*, 430. grants them a Pardon, 433. and to the Commons, *ib.* tries to bring the Queen to conſent to the Divorce, 435. takes his Leave of her, *ib.* commands the Laws againſt Hereticks to be put in Execution. *ib.* tries to frighten the Emperour and Pope, 438. joins for that purpoſe in a League with the K. of *France*, *ib.* hath an Interview with him, 439. marries *Ann Bullen*, 440. reprimands the Commons for making a Motion that he ſhould take again Qu. *Catharine*, 447. threatens the Pope, 448. makes him ſome Offers, 451. makes Inroads into *Scotland*, 453. his Marriage is made publick, 460. bent to make the Breach with the Pope wider, 470, 477, 485. the Pope publiſhes a Sentence againſt him, 473. the King is highly offended at it, 477. ſends the Abp. of *York*, and Bp. of *Durham* to tell *Catharine*, that ſhe muſt forbear aſſuming the Quality of Queen, 481. uneaſy at her Obſtinacy, 482. Negotiations between him and K. *Francis*. *ib.* orders the Laws againſt Hereticks to be rigorouſly put in Execution, 488. and prohibits the importing of their Books, *ib.* his Offers to the K. of *France*, 491. demands the Arrears due to him, *ib.* how he ſtood diſpoſed as to Religion, 494. renders himſelf a Foe both to Catholicks and Proteſtants, 495. incenſed againſt the Friars, *ib.* would never ſuffer his Subjects to believe more than himſelf, 496, 497, 562 aims all along at an abſolute Power, 496, 576, &c. 498, 529–561. excommunicated by the Pope, 502. reſolves to ſide with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, 503, 514 lays before his Council the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries, 504 orders a Viſitation of them, *ib.* tries to perſuade the K. of *Scotland* to renounce the Pope, 507 his Reply to the Emperour's Propoſals, 513. falls in love with *Jane Seymour*, and grows jealous of Q. *Ann*, 516 cauſes her to be beheaded, 517—525 rejects all Terms of Accommodation propoſed by the Pope, 528 ſends Articles to the Convocation containing Alterations in Doctrines, 530 proteſts againſt the Council of *Mantua*, 534 ſells the Abby Lands at eaſy Rates, 538 tries to gain time with the *Yorkſhire* Rebels, 545

breaks

breaks his Word with them, 551 reſolves to ſuppreſs all the Monaſteries, 553, and orders a ſtrict Viſitation, *ib.* Satyrs writ againſt him at *Rome*, 559 incenſed againſt Cardinal *Pole*, *ib.* orders the new Verſion of the Bible to be printed, 560 diſputes publickly with *Lambert*, 562 hath ſome Negotiations with the *German* Proteſtants, 593 ſhews he had no deſign of altering the old Religion, 573 gets the Revenues of the Religious Houſes, 575 lays them out in needleſs things, 582 erects ſix Biſhopricks, 583, 611 aſſures *Cranmer* of his conſtant Kindneſs, 578 pardons thoſe who rejected the Six Articles, 581 marries *Ann* of *Cleve*, 566, 588 diſlikes, and divorces her. 588, 593 —597 appoints Commiſſioners to examine the Doctrines of Religion, 589 marries *Catharine Howard*, 604 a Quarrel between him and K. *Francis*, 607 is abſolute in his Kingdom, 609 goes to *York* to meet the K. of *Scotland*, 616 ſuppreſſes Colleges and Hoſpitals, 621. wants the Commons to offer him a Subſidy, 622 borrows Money every where, 623 endeavours to hinder the K. of *France* from aſſiſting *Scotland*, *ib.* reſolves upon a War with *Scotland*, 625 his Deſign in it, 626, 627 revives the Pretenſions to the Sovereignty over *Scotland*, 628 defeats the *Scots*, 631 orders the *Scotch* Priſoners to be brought to *London*, and talks with them, *ib.* ſends them back, 632 concludes a League with the Emperour, 633, &c. Reaſons of his being diſſatisfied with K. *Francis*, *ib.* propoſes to the *Scots* the marrying of Prince *Edward* with their *Queen*, 640, &c. marries *Catharine Parr*, 649 informs *Cranmer* of a Plot againſt him, and gives him ſeveral Marks of his Eſteem, 649—653 forms vaſt Projects againſt *France*, 654 ſettles the Succeſſion of the Crown, *ib.* is declared by the Parliament clear of all Debts, 656 continues the War with *Scotland*, 657, 66[illegible] 673 Conventions between him and the Earl of *Lenox*, 660 goes to *Calais*, and beſieges *Bulloign*, 66[illegible] offers the K. of *France* Peace, [illegible] fortifies the Sea-Port Towns, 66[illegible] concludes a Peace with the K. of *France*, 679 ſeizes the Church Plate, 681 his vaſt Expences in the laſt War with *France*, *ib.* ſtands God father to the *Dauphin*'s Daughter *ib.* ſome Alterations in Religion propoſed to him by the *French* Ambaſſadors, *ib.* the Negotiation of the *German* Proteſtants with him, 682 grows very corpulent which renders him cruel, 686. perſecutes the Reformed, *ib.* informs *Cranmer* of a new Plot againſt him, 689. gives him his Ring, 69[illegible] ſeverely rebukes thoſe that had accuſed him, *ib.* and thoſe that accuſed Q. *Catharine*, 693 begins to hate the Enemies of the Reformation, *ib.* reſolves to put the D. of *Norfolk* and E. of *Surry* to Death, *ib.* reſtores the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, 604 gets his Will tranſcribed, 697, whether he ſigned it enquired into, 698 the Order of the Succeſſion how ſettled, *ib.* his Executors, 69[illegible] Heir, Debts, &c. *ib.* draws near his End, 703 ſhews ſome Signs of Repentance, 704. ſends for *Cranmer*, *ib.* dies, *ib.* his Death is concealed, *ib.*

Henry Fitzroy, K. *Henry*'s natural Son, created D. of *Richmond* High-Admiral, &c. 30[illegible]

Hereſy, no Perſon proſecuted for it during Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Adminiſtration, 48[illegible]

Hereticks burnt, 435. See Proteſtants. Statute of *Henry* IV againſt them repealed, 474 an Act in their favour, 63[illegible]

Hertford (E. of) takes *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, 65[illegible]

Heſſe (*Landgrave* of) proteſts againſt the Diet of *Worms*, 425 with-draw

draws, *ib.* defeats Prince *Ferdinand*, 435
Hilsey (John) made Bishop of *Rochester*, 507
Hospitals suppressed, 621, 666
Howard (Catharine) See *Howard.*
Howard (Thomas) Admiral, engages the *French*-Fleet, 62, 95 lost, 95 —(*Thomas*) contracted to *Mary Dowglass*, 528 sent to the Tower, 529
Humes (Alexander) opposes the Qu. of *Scotland*'s Regency, 134 advises her to carry her Son over to *England*, 152. flies thither himself, *ib.* his Rebellion, 163 beheaded, 172

J.

James IV K. of *Scotland* prepares to assist *France*, 77 concludes a League with K. *Lewis*, *ib.* enters *England*, and sends a Defiance to K. *Henry*, 107 takes *Norham*, 108 defeated and slain, 110 K. *Henry* desires leave to bury his Body, 111
James V, his Character, 615 escapes out of the Hands of his Regents, and assumes the Government, 384 calls a Parliament, *ib.* thinks of siding with the Emperour, 453 brings it about not to have an Interview with K. *Henry*, 508 refuses to renounce the Pope, *ib.* and 615 marries *Magdalen* of *France*, 551 demands *Mary* of *Guise* in Marriage, 555 sends an Army to oppose the *English*, 629 resolves to fight them, 630 his Army defeated, 631 dies. *ib.*
Jedburrough taken by the *English*, 266 267, 661
Jesuits (Order of) when founded, 607
Indulgencies, an Account, and sale of them, 168 and *n.*
Insurrection in *London*, 172 near *London*, 298 in *Lincolnshire*, 540 in *Yorkshire*, 541
Interests of the Pope, 184 of the several Princes of *Europe*, 187
Interim granted to the Protestants, 613
Interview between K. *Henry* and K. *Francis* 195, 197 between him and the K. of *Scotland* proposed, 508, 616
Ipswich a College founded there by Cardinal *Wolsey*, 264
Ireland erected into a Km. 621
Italy (Affairs of) 13, 119, 243, 269
Julius II Pope, his Character, 17 makes Peace with the *Venetians*, 27, 32 and the D. of *Ferrara*, 33 sets the *Swissers* against *France*, *ib.* like to be surprized at *Boulogna*, 34 excommunicates all the Adherents of the Council of *Pisa*, 53 dies, 83 Bull dispensing with K. *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Catharine*, 8 Nullities found in it, 361

K.

Karne (Doctor) sent to *Rome* by K. *Henry* with the Title of *Excusator*, 449 protests against the King's Citation, 453
Kent. (Maid of) See *Barton.*
Kildare, 6 of that Family put to Death, 553 the youngest escapes, *ib.*
King of *England*'s Title settled, 655
Kingston's (Sir *William*) Account of Queen *Ann Bullen*'s Behaviour, 522, *n.*
Knevet informs against the D. of *Buckingham*, 224
Knight (Doctor) sent to *Rome* with 4 Instruments about K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 362 sends the Pope a Memorial, *ib.* talks to him about the Divorce, 363

L.

Lambert (John) disputes publickly with K. *Henry*, &c. 562 burnt, 563
Landsquenets, 243
Langden (Abbot of) the first that resigned his Monastery, 505, *n.*
Lanoy presses K. *Francis* to ratify the Treaty of *Madrid*, 310, &c. 316
Lassels (*John*) informs *Cranmer* of Queen *Catharine*'s Lewdness, 617
Lateran (Council of) 53, 61, 69 reforms the Calendar, 164
Latimer (*Hugh*) made Bishop of *Worcester*, 507 his Character, 565 resigns his Bishoprick and is sent to the

the Tower, 580
Lautrec, 85, 213, 214, 243, 244, 332, 346, 347, 326, 371 dies, 376
League between the Pope and K. *Francis*, 210 between the Pope and the Emperour, 211 at *Cognac* againſt the Emperour, 312 between the K. of *France* and the *Venetians*, 345 againſt the *Turks*, 567 between K. *Henry* and the Emperour, 633, *&c.*
Legates. See *Wolſey* Campeius.
Legates's Court erected, 190
Leith taken, 658
Lenox (E. of) ſent for by C. *Beaton* from *France*, to oppoſe the Regent's Deſigns, 645 they try to ſend him back, 647 he takes up Arms, *ib.* forced to accept of a Peace, 648 ſides with the K. of *England*, 659 who ſends him to *Scotl.* 666
Leo X. Pope, 84 his Character, 205 his Brief to K. *Henry* for burying K. *James*'s Body, 111 tries to reconcile the *French* and *Swiſs*, 116 makes Peace between the Emperour and the *Venetians*, 117 ſends K. *Henry* a conſecrated Cap and Sword, 120 propoſes a new League to the K. of *France*, 130 makes one with *Ferdinand*, 131 forms a vaſt Project for his Houſe, 132 makes his Peace with K. *Francis*, 141 reſtores the Biſhop of *Tournay*, 144 endeavours to drive the *French* out of *Italy*, 158 excites Chriſtian Princes to War againſt the *Turks*, 165 levies a Tenth upon the Clergy, 167 demands Money of K. *Henry*, 170 ſends Legates to all Courts to ſollicite the Cruſado, 173 endeavours to bring them into an offenſive League againſt the *Turks*, 180 keeps *Florence*, and governs it by a Legate, 184 grants *Wolſey* a Penſion upon *Spaniſh* Sees, 190 ſtirs up the Elector of *Saxony*, againſt *Luther*, and excommunicates him, 200 joins with *France* for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, 210 leagues with the Emperour. 211 the Reception he gave K. *Henry*'s Book, 229 gives him the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *ib.* dies, 214
Leſparre becomes Maſter of *Navarre*, 208 enters *Spain*, *ib.* beaten and taken Priſoner, 209
Lewis XII. his Wars in *Italy*, 15, 24, 25 the Pope quarrels with him, 32 joins in a League with the Emperour, 35, 36 excommunicated, 69 makes a Peace with the Pope, 105 gives K. *Henry* an offer of Peace, 120, 124 marries the Princeſs *Mary*, 130 dies, 135
Liſle (Treaty of) 102
Loan, a general one impoſed upon *England*, 235
London-Merchants oppoſe the Tax impoſed by K. *Henry*, 236
Longland oppoſes the Reformation, 489 and the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, 504
Low-Countries, Campain there, 215 Ambaſſy from thence to K. *Henry*, 370
Loyola (*Ignatius de*) An Account of him, 607, *n.*
Luther (*Martin*) begins to appear 169 the Pope ſtirs up the Elector of *Saxony* againſt him. 200 his Books burnt, *ib.* excommunicated, *ib.* burns the Pope's Bull and Decretals, *ib.* writes againſt the Papal Authority, 227 K. *Henry* writes againſt him, 229 he anſwers his Book, 269 Differences between him and *Zuinglius*, 268 and *n.* K. *Henry* exhorts the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony* to hinder the publication of his *German* Bible, 269 baniſhed the Empire, 424 ſeveral of his Treatiſes brought to *England*, 488
Luxemburgh. 662
Lyons (Council of) 71

M.

Madrid (Treaty of) 308
Magdalen (Princeſs) married to *James* V. K. of *Scotland*, 551 dies, 554
Mamalucks 165 and *n.*
Mannock accuſed of criminal Converſation with Queen *Catharine*, 617 and

and executed, 618
Mantua (Congreſs of) 43, 71
——(Council of) 534
——(D. of) 347
Marignano (Battle of) 141
Margaret Counteſs of *Richmond* dies, 10
Margaret (Dutcheſs of *Savoy*) viſits K. *Henry*, 102
Margaret of *York* made Counteſs of *Sarum*, 115
Margaret Queen Dowager of *Scotl.* marries the E. of *Angus*, 133 gets this Marriage annulled, and marries *Henry Stewart*, 384
Marſeilles, Interview there between the Pope and K. of *France*, 470
Mary (Princeſs) K. *Henry*'s Siſter, Treaty about her Marriage with K. *Lewis*, 122 affiance to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, 182 proteſts againſt it, *ib.* marries K. *Lewis*, 130 and afterwards the D. of *Suffolk*, 135
Mary (Princeſs) K. *Henry*'s Daughter born, 153 contracted to the *Dauphin*, 183 promiſed to the Emperour, 222 to the K. of *France*, 338 a Marriage propoſed between her and the Dauphin, 490 her Father reconciled to her, 526
Mary (Princeſs of *Scotl.*) born, 631 a Match concluded between her and Prince *Edward*, 632, 640, 641 crowned, 646
Maximilian ſends Ambaſſadors to K. *Henry*, 13 beſieges *Padua*, 26 a League between him and K. *Lewis*, 36 ſides privately with the Pope, 43, 44 ſerves as a Volunteer in K. *Henry*'s Army, 99 ſends an Ambaſſador to him, 149 marches into *Milan*, 156 pretends he had a Mind of reſigning the Empire to K. *Henry*, 157 but had really no ſuch Deſign, 171 makes Peace with *Venice*, 161 reſtores *Verona* to the *Venetians*, 164 concludes a League with K. *Francis*, &c. againſt the *Turks*, 165 dies, 183
Maxwell (Lord) commands the *Scotch* Army, 629
Mechlin (League of) 87
Medicis (*Lorenzo de*) marries *Catharine* of *Boulogne*, 167 dies, 184
—(*Julio de*) made the Pope's prime Miniſter, 259 elected Pope, 260, *&c.* See *Clement* VII
—(*Catharine de*) married to the D. of *Orleans*, 454
—That Family reſtored to the Government of *Florence*, 394, 407
Melanchton comes to *England*, 515
Mendoza (*Hugo de*) 369
Merindol, Maſſacre there, 682
Mexico diſcovered, 194
Milan, 212, 254 the *French* loſe it, 270 Negotiation between *Francis* and the Emperour about it, 549
—(Council of) 51 removed to *Lyons*, 71
—(Duke of) See *Sforza*.
Miſſals reformed, 606
Modena, 20
Mohatz (Battle of) 319
Monaſteries ſuppreſſed for *Wolſey*'s Colleges, 383 compound with the King, 434 K. *Henry* orders them to be viſited, 504 ſuppreſſed by him, 504, 505, 511, 537, 553, 556, 569, 572 what the Revenues of them amounted to, 572, 582 diſorders that were found in them publiſhed, 506, 538 pious Frauds diſcovered in them, 557 the Revenues of them granted to the King, 575
Monks blacken K. *Henry*, 499 ſome executed, 500 allowed to quit their Monaſteries, 506
Mongommery (E. of) 673
Montreuil, 663, 665
Moore (Treaty of) 305
More (Sir *Thomas*) made Lord Chancellor, 399 reſigns the Greal Seal, 448 countenances *Elizabeth Barton*, 475 refuſes to take the Oath to K. *Henry*, 480 ſent to the Tower, *ib.* condemned by the Parliament, 487 perſwades K. *Henry* to perſecute the *Proteſtants*, 488, 489 executed, 501 Account of his *Utopia*, 502, *n.*
Mourning firſt uſed in *Scotland*, 554

N

INDEX.

N.

Naples beſieged by *Lautrec*, 371 ——(Viceroy of) War between him and the Pope, 322, 324

Navarre taken by the *French*, 208 retaken by the *Spaniards*, *ib.* K. *Francis* ſends an Army there, 219 ——(Queen of) favours the Reformation, 490

Nevil (Sir *Edward*) executed, 568

Nice beſieged by the *French* and *Turks*, 651

Nix, Biſhop of *Norwich*, 531

Norfolk (D. of) retires from Court, 143 ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 470, 471 oppoſes the Reformation, 489, 609 and the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, 504 appointed High-Steward at the Tryal of Queen *Ann Bullen*, 521 commands the K's Forces againſt the *Yorkſhire* Rebels, 543, 544 ſtirs up K. *Henry* againſt *Cromwell*, 591 his Character, 609 commands the *Engliſh* Army againſt *Scotland*, 629 and againſt *France*, 663 K. *Henry* reſolves to put him to Death, 692 is ſent to the Tower, 693 writes to the K. to endeavour to obtain his Pardon, 699 is attainted, 702 wonderfully eſcapes death, 703

Norris (*Henry*) accus'd of criminal Converſation with Queen *Anne*, 517—520

Northumberland, (E. of) arreſts Cardinal *Wolſey*, 419 his pretended Contract with *Ann Bullen*, 525, 529

Noyon (Treaty of) 159

O.

Oath taken by the *Engliſh* to K. *Henry*, 480 form it, 486 a new one, 655

Orleans (D. of) marries *Catherine* de *Medicis*, 454, 471 dies 670

Oxford-Univerſity makes a Scruple of deciding in favour of K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 409

Oxford erected into a Biſhoprick, 611

P.

La Paliſſe, 68, 69

Parr, (*Catherine*) See *Catherine*.

——(Lord) created E. of *Eſſex*, 653 ——(Lord) of *Horton*, *ibid.*

Pardon, a General one granted by K. *Henry*, 487, 601

Parliament ſits, 457, 474, 510 highly offended at the Sentence pronounc'd by the Pope againſt the King, 477 diſſolv'd after having ſat ſix Years, 512 confirms Queen *Ann Bullen*'s Sentence, 527 grants K. *Henry* the Revenues of the Monaſteries, 575 enacts that the ſame Obedience ſhould be paid to the King's Proclamation as to Acts of Parliament, 576 their ſlaviſh Subjection to K. *Henry*, 598 confirms whatever the K. enjoyns, *ib.* grants him Subſidies, 632, 674, *&c.* declares the K. clear of all debts, 656 grants the K. the Revenues of the Colleges and Hoſpitals, 674 diſſolved by the K's death, 704

Parliament-Men to loſe their Wages if they abſent themſelves, 13 a Sheriff impriſon'd for arreſting one, 622

Parma 20, 83, 214.

Paul III. Pope, 485 excommunicates K. *Henry*, 502 tries to make up Matters with him, 528 publiſhes a Bull of Excommunication againſt him, 559 propoſes the calling a Council at *Trent*, 625, 675 makes a League with the Emperor againſt the Proteſtants, 683

Pavia, 274 Victory obtain'd there by the Emperor, 280

—— (Cardinal of) ſtabb'd, 46

Peace between *England* and *Scotland*, 490 between *France* and *England*, 678

Perhaps, ſtreſs laid upon that Word, 378

Peter-pence aboliſh'd, 478

Peterburgh erected into a Biſhoprick, 611

Peto inveighs againſt K. *Henry* in a Sermon before him, 495

Piedmont: War there, 656

Piſa, 20, 25 Council there, 36, 44, 49, 51 removes to *Milan*, 51 renounc'd by the Emperor, 73

Plague among the Emperor's Troops 346 in the *French* Army, 377

Plot againſt ſome Proteſtants, 649 againſt *Cranmer*. See *Cranmer*.

Pole (Sir *Richard*) 115 *n.*
——(Sir *Jeffrey*, and *Henry*) executed, 568
——(*Reginald*) an account of him, 535 falls out with K. *Henry*, 536 his Book *de Unione Eccleſiaſticâ*, *ib.* made Cardinal, 537 maintains in a Book that it was more meritorious to fight againſt K. *Henry* than the *Turk*, 560 labours to create him Troubles, 567 had ſome private Views as to the Crown, 568 his Correſpondents in *England* executed, *ibid.*
Polydore Virgil, the Pope's Sub-collector in *England* committed by *Wolſey* to the Tower, 145 Arch-Deacon of *Wells*, 145
Pope. See *Julius*, *Leo*, *Adrian*, *Clement*, *Paul*, Pope's Authority aboliſh'd in *England*, 478, 479. Proclamation againſt uſing the Pope's Name, 487 Statutes againſt him, 528
Præmunire, *Wolſey* caſt into one, 400 all indeavours to reſtore the Papal Authority in *England* made liable to a Præmunire, 528
Preſident of the *North* firſt inſtituted, 704
Proteſtants whence ſo call'd, 425 thoſe of *Germany* inſiſts upon a free Council, 406, 422, 455 the Emperor promiſes the Pope to ruin them, 406 deſire leave to declare their Belief before the Diet of *Augsburgh*, 425 oppoſe the chuſing a K. of the *Romans*, 426 K. *Francis* favours them, 490 require K. *Henry* to declare for the *Augsburgh* Confeſſion, 503, 514 ſend Doctors to him, 515 avoid the Emperor's Snares, and K. *Henry*'s, 584 Thoſe in *England* perſecuted, 488, 489, 562 ſome burnt at *Windſor*, 649 ſome of their Opinions condemn'd by the Convocations, 529 their Grievances, 555 their Intereſt declined at Court, 594 reject the Pope's Offers of a Council at *Trent*, 625
Proteſtant-Princes of *Germany*, endeavour to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*, 471

R.

Ratisbon (Diet of) adjuſts Matters with the Proteſtants, 441
Reformation; Beginnings and Occaſion of it, 169 progreſs of it in *Germany*, 277, 268, 422, and in *England*, 487, 685, *&c.*
Regiſter for Chriſtenings, *&c.* when firſt ordered to be kept, 561 *n.*
Relicks found in Monaſteries, 557 and *n*
Religion; State of it in *England*, 685, *&c.*
Richmond, (Counteſs of) See *Margaret*
Rochford (Lord) accuſed of Inceſt with Queen *Ann*, 517 beheaded, 521
——(Lady) accuſed of being an Accomplice in Queen *Catherine*'s Lewdneſs, 618. beheaded, 620
Rome ſack'd, 326
Roſe : a conſecrated one ſent by the Pope to K. *Henry*, 29
Rota, (Court of) 327 and *n.*
Ruthal (*Thomas*) made Biſhop of *Durham*, 5

S.

Salisbury (Counteſs of) attainted, 557
Sanctuaries, Act concerning them, 486
Sanders, Remarks on his Hiſtory, *&c.* 349 his Calumnies againſt Queen *Ann Bullen*, 67 *n.* 518 makes *El. Barton* and her Accomplices paſs for Martyrs, 476
Savoy (D. of) refuſes K. *Francis* a Paſſage thro' his Dominions, 484
Saxony (Elector of) ſtirr'd up by the Pope againſt *Luther*, 200 ſupports him, *ib.* makes a ſolemn Proteſtation againſt the Decree of *Worms*, 425
Scotland, (Affairs of) 40, 76, 107, 132, *&c.* 151, 193, 306, 319, 384, 614, 627, *&c.* Treaties between that Kingdom and *England*, 12, 201. See Treaties, Quarrels, and Wars between thoſe two Kingdoms, 40, 107, 631, 657, 661, 673 Troubles in *Scotland*, 201 invaded by K. *Henry*, 265, 453, 657. Perſecution there, 684, 685
——(K. of) See *James*.
——(Qu. *Dowager* of) See *Margaret*.
Scots, invade *England*, 266 defeated by

the *Engliſh*, 631 their Priſoners brought to *London*, 632
Sephocard, See *Wiſhart*.
Seymour (*Jane*) K. *Henry* falls in Love with her, 516 marries her, 525 dies, 553
—— (*Edward*) created E. of *Hertford*, 554. See E. of *Hertford*.
Sforza is put in Poſſeſſion in *Milan*, 73 loſes it, 91 reſtor'd, 92, 273, 286, &c. 307, 405 beheads the K. *Francis*'s Envoy, 483 dies, 508
Shaxton (*Nicholas*) made Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, 507 his Character, 565 reſigns his Biſhoprick, and is ſent to the Tower, 580 condemn'd to be burnt, 686 abjures, *ib.* and 687 preaches at the burning of *Anne Askew*, 687
Sheriff. one impriſon'd for arreſting a Parliament-Man, 622
Shrewsbury (E. of) See *Talbot*.
Sienna (Cardinal of) conſpires againſt the Pope, 167 ſtrangled, *ibid.*
Sinclair (*Oliver*) made General of the *Scotch* Army, 630 taken Priſoner, 631
Smalcald (League of) 426 K. *Henry* hath ſome deſign of ſiding with it, 514 the Emperor endeavours to diſſolve it, 556
Smeton (*Mark*) 517--520
Soliman takes *Buda*, 612, 613
Sommerſet (*Charles*) made E. of *Worceſter*, 115
Spain: Troubles in that Kingdom, 199
Spire (Diet of) 424, 425, 662
Spurs (Battle of) 99
Stafford: See D. of *Buckingham*.
—— (*Henry*) his Son reſtor'd to his Father's Honour and Eſtate 247
—— (Lord) ſent to the Tower, 4 created E. of *Wiltſhire*, *ibid.*
Statutes againſt *Appeals* to *Rome*, 457 of *Henry* IV. againſt Hereticks repeal'd, 474 for aboliſhing the Pope's Authority, 478 for aboliſhing *Annates*, *ib.* *Peter* pence, *Procurations*, *Dilegations*, &c. *ib.* againſt the Pope, 528 *the Bloody Statute*, 573
Stewart, (*Henry*) marries *Margaret* Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, 384
——(*John*, See D. *Albany*.
Stews in *England* aboliſh'd, 705 *n.*
Stokeſley, Biſhop of *London*, 563 *n.* dies, 565
Suffolk, (E. of) beheaded, 97
——(D. of) See *Brandon*.
Suffragan-Biſhops, 486 and *n.* 568
Surry (E. of) his Character, 11 falls out with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *ib.* ſent to levy an Army againſt *Scotland*, 78 marches towards K. *James*, 109 created D. of *Norfolk*. See D. of *Norfolk*.
Surry (E. of) made Admiral of the Emperor's Fleet, 242. invades *Scotland*, 265, 267 is beat by the *French*, 677 K. *Henry* reſolves to put him to death, 692 is ſent to the Tower, 693 beheaded, 698
Sweating-Sickneſs in *England*, 172
Swiſſers ſet at Variance with *France*, 33, 51, 69, 104, 140

T.

Talbot (*George*) E. of *Shrewsbury* takes up Arms againſt the *Yorkſhire* Rebels, 542
Tax impos'd on *England* by K. *Henry*, 234
Temſe moves to Addreſs the K. to take Queen *Catherine* again, 447
Tenth upon the Clergy levied by the Pope, 167
Tenths granted to the King, 486
Terouenne taken, 98, 100 given to the Emperor and raz'd, *ibid.*
Tindal (*William*) an account of him, 488 tranſlates the New Teſtament into *Engliſh*, *ib.* burnt at *Filford*, *ib. n.*
Tonſtal (*Cutkbert*) Biſhop of *London*, ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, 295 burns *Tindal*'s Bible, 488 the greateſt Encourager of it, *ib. n.*
Tournay taken, 100, 101 K. *Henry* refuſes to reſtore it, 124 Negotiations about it, 174. Treaty about the Reſtitution of it, 182 beſieg'd by the Emperor, 217
—— (Biſhop of) See *Guillard*.
Treaty of *Bruges*, *Moore*, &c. See *Bruges*, &c.

Treaties between *Scotland* and *England*, 12, 163, 306, 641
——between *England* and *France*, 28 125, 137, 182, 198, 329, 338, *&c.* 438 —between the Emperor and *England*, 13
——between the Emperor and the Pope, 393
——between K. *Lewis* and *Ferdinand*, 84, 116
——between K. *Francis*, and K. *Charles*, 159
Trent (Council of) call'd, 625, rejected by the *Proteſtants*, *ib.* remarks upon it, 676. opened, *ib.* and 684
Trimouille ſent by *Lewis* into *Italy*, 90, *&c.* 105
Trinity-College founded, 694
Truce between *England* and *Scotland*, 335
——between *England* and *Flanders*, 370
——the Pope and the Emperor, 314
—— the Pope and the Viceroy, 323
——the Emperor and K. of *France*, 566, 567
Turks, K. *Francis* and K. *Charles* form a League againſt them, 165 prepare to invade *Hungary*, 385, 424, 440 gain the Battle of *Buda*, 613

V.

Vannes (*Peter*) ſent by K. *Henry* to *Rome*, 381. threatens the Pope, *ib.* ſends the K. Word he muſt expect nothing from the Pope, 383
Venetians. Account of their Wars with the Pope, *&c.* 17, 24, 25, 32, 83, *&c.* the Emperor and Pope conclude a League againſt them, 72 make Peace with them, 161 declare againſt *France*, 251 propoſe a League againſt the Emperor, 278, 286, 312. join in a League with K. *Francis*, 345 forced to reſtore *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, &c. to the Pope, 405
Venice (Doge of) writes to Cardinal *Wolſey*, 199
Verona reſtor'd to the *Venetians*, 164
Vicenza (Council of) 569
Univerſities decide in favour of K. *Henry*, 409, 467 who was the firſt Mover of conſulting them, *ib. n.* their Determinations printed, 435—thoſe of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* reſtor'd by K. *Henry*, 694
Urbino, 20, taken by La *Rovere*, 166 annex'd by the Pope to the Church, 185
——(D. of) diſpoſſeſs'd of his Dominions by the Pope, 158, 322

W.

Wages of Parliament-Men, 137. *n.*
Wales, incorporated with *England*, 704
Warham Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, acquaints K. *Henry* with Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Oppreſſions, 191. remonſtrates to K. *Henry* that his Marriage with *Catherine* was againſt the Law of God, 353. dies, 451, 457 countenances *El. Barton*, 475
Weſtminſter erected into a Biſhoprick, 611
Weſton (*Francis*) 517—520
Wight (Iſle of) the *French* make a Deſcent upon it, 467
Wincheſter (Biſhoprick of) given to *Wolſey*, 388 K. *Henry* reſerves to himſelf the Revenues of it, 417
——(Biſhop of) See *Fox*, *Gardiner*.
Wiſhart burnt, 685 his Prediction concerning *Beaton*, *ibid.*
Wittemburg (D. of) depriv'd of his Dominions, 200 reſtor'd to them, 485
Wool. Act againſt exporting any out of the Kingdom, 136
Wolſey (*Thomas*) an account of him, 12 *n.* 142 his Character, 247, 421 riſes at Court, 13 his vaſt Preferments, 189 made *Prime-Miniſter*, 93 and Biſhop of *Lincoln*, 115 and Adminiſtrator of *Tournay*, 115 and Archbiſhop of *York*, 130 obtains the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, 180 gets the Abby of St. *Albans* in *Commendam*, 223 procures the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, 248 the Pope gives him the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, 388 governs the King in an abſolute Manner, 142 made *Cardinal*, 146 and Lord Chancellor, 150 loaded with Favours, *ibid.*

ib. &c. the Emperour's large Grants to him, 242 careſſed by him and the K. of *France*, 188, 193, 245 the K. of *France* gives him a Penſion of 12,000 Livres in lieu of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, 183, 305 the Emperour promiſes him the Biſhoprick of *Badajos*, and the Popedom, 196, 197 the Pope grants him Penſions upon *Spaniſh* Sees, 199 the Duke of *Milan* promiſes to pay him a yearly Penſion of 10,000 Ducats, 148 a Penſion is granted him by *Charles* K. of *Caſtile*, 171 made Collector of a Tenth impoſed upon the Clergy, 167 gets himſelf joined in the Legateſhip with *Campeius*, 178 becomes ſole Legate, with power to viſit the Monaſteries and Clergy, 190 the Pope grants him the Legateſhip for Life, 248, 262 is afraid of loſing the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, 144, 170 reſolves to be revenged upon the K. of *France*, for making him loſe that Biſhoprick, 144 treats with K. *Henry* about the reſtoring of *Tournay*, 171, 175 ſends *Polydore Virgil* to the Tower, 145 treats privately with the Emperour, 147 Inſtances of his Pride, 149, &c. 189, 220 calls to an Account thoſe that had managed the King's Money, 153 defames to the Pope all the Clergy of *England* 190, aſpires to the Popedom, 192, 248 makes Intereſt for it, 260, 386 diſappointed of it, 236, &c. angry with Archbiſhop *Warham* for ſubſcribing himſelf his Brother, 191 regulates the Interview between K. *Henry* and K. *Francis*, 195 goes to the Congreſs of *Calais*, 217 meets the Emperour at *Bruges*, and makes a League with him againſt *France*, 222 procures a Bull, impowering him to make 50 Knights, &c. 223 demands of the Clergy a Subſidy for the King, 245 and of the Houſe of Commons, 246 but receives a Mortification, *ib.* perſuades K. *Henry* to cauſe a Subſidy payable in four Years to be paid at once, 263 forms a Project of founding two Colleges, 263 empowered by the Pope to ſuppreſs Monaſteries for the endowing of them, 277 obtains Letters Patents, and Grants, for his College at *Oxford*, 302, 318. authorized to viſit all the Monaſteries, 277 contributes to the Rupture between the Emperour and K. *Henry*, 291 attempts to levy Money without a Parliament, 297 is like to be turned out of Favour, 299 appeaſes the King, *ib.* removes from Court thoſe whom he miſtruſted, 301. confers with the K. of *France*, 332 returns to *England*, 340 cheriſhes K. *Henry*'s Scruples about his Marriage, 359 writes to *Caſſali* 363 a bold Act of his, which drew on him the King's Anger, 369 aſſembles the great Men, and tries to juſtify the War againſt the Emperour, 370 obtains from the Pope a Commiſſion to decide K. *Henry*'s Divorce, 373, 376 appointed by the Pope with *Campeio* his Vicegerent in the Affair of the Divorce, 377 ſends a Letter to the Pope, 389 ſits about the King's Divorce, 390 lets *Campegio* preſide in that Affair, 391 Remarks on his Behaviour in the Divorce, 396 *Ann Bullen* exaſperated K. *Henry* againſt him, *ib.* impeached by the Attorney-General, 399 the Great Seal taken from him, *ib.* caſts himſelf on the King's Mercy, 400 declared to be put out of the Protection of the Laws, *ib.* an Inventory of his Goods *ib* ordered to leave *York-Place*, *ib.* his Joy and Meanneſs at the Receipt of a Ring ſent him by K. *Henry*, 401 his Affair brought before the Parliament, *ib.* Articles of his Impeachment by the Lords, 401 remains between Hope and Fear, 417. the King makes an Agreement with him, *ib.* tries in vain to ſave his Colleges, 418 has ſtill ſome Hopes, *ib.* ſent away to *York*, 419 arreſted for High-Treaſon, *ib.* conducted to *London*, dies by the way, *ib.* his laſt Words 420 where buried, *ib.* the King's Con-

Concern for his Death, 421 countenanced in ſome Meaſure, the Reformed, 487
Worceſter (E. of) See *Sommerſet*, 115
Wormes (Diet of) 424, 425, 675
Wriotheſley (Lord) made Lord Chancellor, 656 his Cruelty to *Ann Aſkew*, 687 comes to apprehend Q. *Catharine*, 692

X.

Ximenes (Cardinal) made Regent of *Caſtile*, 154 diſmiſſed, 166

Y.

York-Place taken Poſſeſſion of by K. *Henry*, 417

Z.

Zapol dies, 612
Zuinglius, 268

FINIS.

ERRATA in VOL. VII.

PAGE 3. *Line* 2. dele paſt. *P.* 12. *l.* 17. Scotland *r.* England. *Ibid. l.* 36. Surry *r.* Savoy. *P.* 23. *l.* 21. 1709 *r.* 1509. *P.* 32. *l.* 5. retire *r.* return. *P.* 42. *l.* 22. ever *r.* even. *P.* 47. *l.* 31. accuſed *r.* excuſed. *P.* 53. *l.* 9. Ferdinand *r.* a Ferdinand. *P.* 59. *l.* 37. Conqueſt *r.* Conqueſts. *P.* 60. *l.* 13. his *r.* with his. *Ibid. l.* 18. dele not. *Ibid. l.* 33. him *r.* them. *P.* 82. *l.* Aſſurances *r.* Aſſurance. *P.* 96. *l.* 23. after Inſtructions put *a* . and for &c *r.* He. *P.* 91. *l.* 25. from *r.* for. *P.* 117. *l.* 16. that *r.* their. *P.* 115. *Note*, l. 8. not from *r.* from. *P.* 128. *l.* 36, a Hundred Thouſand *r.* a Million of. *P.* 167. *l.* 1. *&c.* Lautree *r.* Lautrec. *P.* 168. *l.* 26. either's *r.* either. *P.* 191. *l.* 28. withal *r.* with it. *P.* 201. *l. ult.* were *r.* was. *P.* 208 *l.* 21. after Country put a , . *P.* 224. *l.* 9. daring *r.* dared. *Ibid. l.* 23. Martin *r.* Morton. *P.* 253. *l.* 18 French Comte *r.* Franche Conté. *P.* 307. *l. ult.* for *r.* from. *P.* 315. *l.* 27. after it put a . and read He. *P.* 344. *l.* 33. ſhowing *r.* ſowing. *P.* 357. *l.* 38. but *r.* not *P.* 388. *l.* 13. dele not. *P.* 389. *l.* 6. the Biſhop *r.* Biſhop. *P.* 410. *l.* 15. Cranmer's whole *r.* Cranmer, whoſe. *P.* 415. *l.* 33. three *r.* theſe. *P.* 417. *l.* 39. *and* 40. 4, 6. *r.* 40, 60. *P.* 437. *l.* 4. always *r.* all ways. *P.* 441. *l.* 14. accordingly *r.* exceedingly. *P.* 452. *l.* 30. unlawful *r.* lawful. P. 465. *l.* 25. inſtead of [or that being ſo, it was in the Power of a Pope to diſpenſe with it] *r.* [or that not being ſo, it was in the Power of a Pope to grant a Diſpenſation.] P. 528. *l. ult.* deſigning *r.* deigning. P. 531. *l.* 2. Favourites *r.* Favourers. P. 534. *l.* 6. communicating *r.* communicated. P. 535. *l.* 18. were *r.* was. P. 565. *l.* 35. her *r.* them. P. 621. *l.* 4. King *r.* Kings. P. 635. *l.* 37. Divorce *r.* the Divorce. P. 638. *l.* 2. old *r.* new. P. 657. *l.* 15, and 26. Conqueſt *r.* Conqueſts.

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